



768 SPENCE (Joseph) POLYMETIS: Or, An Enquiry concerning the Agreement Between the Works of the Roman Poets, And the Remains of the Ancient Artists. Being An Attempt to illustrate them mutually from one another. In Ten Books. London: for R. Doddsley. 1747. Folio, First Edition, xii, 362 pp., with engravings in text; and portrait and 41 plates, contemporary polished calf, gilt back, neatly repaired, a pleasing and fresh copy of one of the most handsome folios of this period to be produced in England. £15 15s

[SPENCE (Joseph) Polymetis : or an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets, and the remains of Ancient Artists, being an attempt to illustrate them mutually from one another, Portrait and 31 Plates, some folding, and 16 tailpieces, engraved by F. Boitard, folio, calf, Third Edition. £6 10s London, 1774

Herbert Arthur Evans.

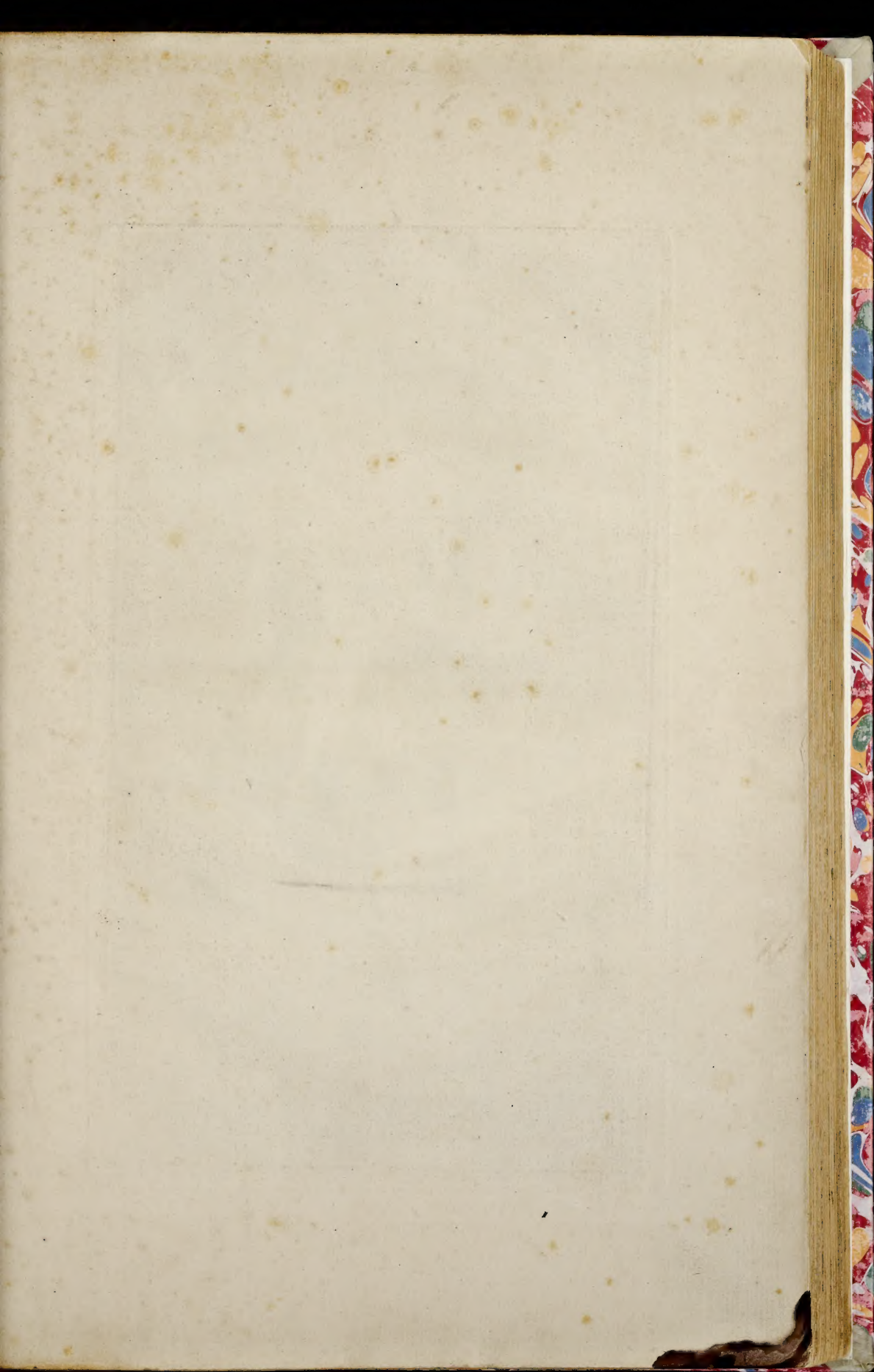
76 Spence, Joseph. Polymetis: or an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets, and the Remains of the Ancient Artists. 188 leaves of text, list of subscribers, index, engravings in the text and 41 plates, some folding, by Louis Philippe Boitard, portrait frontispiece by Vertue after Isaac Wood. Folio. Cont. calf, rebaked. London 1747. FIRST EDITION. Jefferson Library 4230. Ex-Library copy in very good condition. \$85.00
The First Edition of the much read treatise on ancient mythology and art includes on p. 291 the satirical vignette of the Provost of Eton and his pupils, suppressed from later editions.

225 SPENCE (J.). Polymetis : or, an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets, and the Remains of the ancient Artists. Being an Attempt to illustrate them mutually from one another. In Ten Books. The Second Edition, corrected by the Author. Folio, with engraved portrait of Spence by Vertue after the painting by Isaac Wood, 41 plates and 17 smaller illustrations; contemporary calf, repaired. 1755 £15 \$42.00
Joseph Spence, anecdotalist and friend of Pope, was held in considerable esteem by the leading literary men of his time and his Polymetis "remains an agreeable book owing to the urbanity of its old-fashioned scholarship, the justice of some incidental observations and its affluent stores of quotation". Dict. Nat. Biog.





76.
twelve
leave
foldin
Felic
4230
The
on p
from





Joseph Wood pinxit.

G. Vertue Sculp. 1740.

POLYMETIS:

OR,

An ENQUIRY concerning the
AGREEMENT
Between the WORKS of the
ROMAN POETS,
And the REMAINS of the
ANTIENT ARTISTS.

BEING

An ATTEMPT to illustrate them mutually from
one another.

IN TEN BOOKS.

By the Rev^d. Mr. SPENCE.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected by the AUTHOR.

Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum;
& quasi cognatione quâdam inter se continentur. Cicero; pro Arch.

The Verse and Sculpture bore an equal part;
And Art reflected images to Art.

Pope; of Poetry and Statuary.

—Each from each contract new strength and light.

Id. of Poetry and Painting.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall.
M.DCC.LV.

JOHN Y. M. F. 183

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

500 N. 5TH ST. NEW YORK, N. Y.

Acquired from the

Library of the

City of New York

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

1897

P R E F A C E.

THERE is not any sort of writing that I sit down to with so much unwillingness, as that of Prefaces: and as I believe most people are not much fonder of reading them, than I am of writing them, I shall get over this as fast as I can; both for the reader's sake, and my own.

THE following work is the result of two very different scenes of life, in which I have happened to be engaged. The one, was my having been Professor of Poetry, in the University of Oxford, for ten Years; and the other, my being abroad, for above half that space of time. The former obliged me to deal in Poetical Criticism; as the latter, (and particularly the considerable stay that I made, both at Florence, and at Rome,) led me naturally enough into some observation and love for the fine remains of the antient artists. As these two periods of my life happened partly to coincide, this put me on the thoughts of joining these studies together: and in doing this indeed I found very little difficulty; for, (as Cicero says in the motto to my book,) there is a natural connexion between all the polite arts: and consequently, they may rather seem to meet one another, than to have been brought together by any contrivance.

SEVERAL of the best antient and modern writers have spoke of this connexion, in general: but I do not know of any one, that has entered into any particular enquiry in relation to it; except Mr. Addison, in his Treatise on Medals. I wish that gentleman had gone much farther, than he has; or indeed that any one, tho' of much less taste than Mr. Addison, had made a track before me; for I should then have been enabled to find my way thro' so various a subject, with much more ease; and to have made my observations, with much less inaccuracy: but I entered upon it, as one does on a country newly discovered; without any paths made, and generally much embarrassed. Had any work of this kind been published, before I went abroad; I could certainly have made this much more perfect, with extremely less pains: whereas all I can beg for it now is, that the difficulty of making one's way almost every where, may be duly considered; and that the many imperfections

tions and errors which that must occasion, may meet with the indulgence that the case deserves.

I HAVE endcavoured too at another thing, which I believe all good judges will allow to be pretty difficult: and that was to take off some of the fullness, and severity, that has generally been thrown over the studies of Criticism, and Antiquities. This labour, (for it is a very great labour to make some things read easy,) I thought partly due to the prevailing taste of the present age; in which, we of this country at least, seem to be not near so much inclined to profound reading, as we were half a century ago: and partly, to good-nature; any breach of which is certainly one of the most unpardonable faults that a writer can commit, in any age and in all countries. I do not know what others may think, but for my own part I have long thought it particularly misplaced and absurd, to put on a very grave face, in this kind of subjects: which, after all that one can say for them, are certainly not of the highest importance to mankind; and if they are not entertaining, can have but very little else to recommend them. Instead of this, I know not how it has happened, that Criticism has generally appeared like a meer scold, and Antiquity like an old pedant. Socrates gave an agreeable turn to all his lessons of morality, which till his time had been usually taught in a dry and disgusting manner. Horace introduced the same pleasing way of teaching, among the Romans; as the authors of the *Spectator*, have done among us. Something like this, I doubt not, might be practised in treatises of Criticism and Antiquities: and tho' I may have failed intirely in attempting it, I cannot help thinking, that I have at least given no bad hint for some one that may come after me; who I hope may succeed much better in it, than I have done.

AND indeed this was one reason for my casting the whole work into the form of Dialogue: for the introducing a scene, and characters, helps to give life to a subject, that wants enlivening; and can do no harm to one that has no need of any such help. Beside which, I have some other reasons that make me fond of writing by way of Dialogue, in general; and particularly, in the present case.---By this means one avoids the frequent use of that most disagreeable of all monosyllables, I. ---The assertions are put into the mouth of other persons; and the author, at least seems the less arrogant and assuming.---The want of connexion may be hid, or supplied, by a little address in the speakers---
and

P R E F A C E.

v

and any inaccuracies in the language are less apt to be observed, (and when observed, are perhaps more pardonable,) in such chit-chat as mine is, than in a set discourse.

THE Plan, that I at first designed for this work, lay much wider; but I found myself obliged to contract it: and therefore confined myself solely to the consideration of the Imaginary, or Allegorical Beings; as received among the Romans, in the better ages of their state. Strictly speaking, I have nothing to do with their Theology: my subject, being the Descriptions and Representations of their Deities; and not the doctrines they held, in relation to them. However, in some more material points, I could not forbear touching now and then on their Theology itself: such as their Philosophical Belief of one true God only; and that peculiar regard that was generally paid by them, to three of their nominal deities, above all the rest: both of which points, I think I have proved rather more clearly, than has been hitherto done; at least by any author, that I have happened to read.

My confining myself to the Roman writers only, or such of the Greeks as were quite Romanized; has been of great use to me, toward making the whole work the less perplexed. My chief stock was laid in from all the Roman poets, quite from Ennius down to Juvenal; and from several of their prose-writers, from Varro down to Macrobius. Had I gone lower, the authorities would have grown still weaker and weaker; and my subject would have been the more liable to have been confused. It would have been still worse, if I had mixed the deities and the opinions of the people of other nations, with those of the Romans: and worst of all, if I had consulted the modern writers on antiquities; and used their authorities indifferently with those of the antients. What I endeavoured, was to learn the thoughts and practices of the Romans, from the Romans themselves: and if I have founded any little assertion whatever in relation to them, on a modern authority only; I have generally introduced it in the Dialogue, with "It is said," or "It has been thought," or some equivalent expression; on purpose to distinguish it, from what is founded on the authority of the antients.

IN

IN the last Dialogue, I have laid down the rough draught of a plan, for carrying on this work as far as I at first intended to have done : and I shall just add here, that if any body had leisure and inclination for such a work, they might double the whole scheme ; by making the same enquiry into the Greek writers, as is there proposed for the Latin. If such a thing should ever happen to be put in execution ; this book, (which is of itself but too large,) would then be no more than one quarter of the whole work ; tho', was it all properly executed, I think I may venture to say, it might make a more useful and more compleat body of Antiquities, than any that has been as yet published ; and at the same time would be less voluminous, than the single collections of either Grævius, or Gronovius, or Montfaucon.

P O L Y M E T I S:
O R,
An ENQUIRY concerning the AGREEMENT
B E T W E E N
The WORKS of the ROMAN POETS,
A N D
The REMAINS of the ANTIENT ARTISTS.

B O O K the First.

T H E I N T R O D U C T I O N .

D I A L. I.

The General Design of the Work.

POLYMETIS, who is as well known for his taste in the polite arts, as for his superior talents in affairs of state, took two or three of his friends with him the last summer to his villa near the town; to breathe fresh air, and relax themselves after the business of a long session. It was customary with the old Greeks and Romans, to talk over points of philosophy at their tables. Polymētis kept up this good old custom at his house; and the part of the entertainment that was generally the most agreeable to his friends, consisted in the discourses he gave them on learning, or on the polite arts; of which he was extremely fond. They came thither always with some expectation of it; and seldom left his table without being pleased, and perhaps improved, by their treat.

At present the party consisted only of himself, Philander, and Myfagētes; two persons equally friends to Polymētis; tho' very different in their own tempers: This, of a gayer turn; the other, of a serious one. Myfagētes, had a fine taste and genius; Philander, a good deal of industry and observation. The former had acquired a great pre-eminence by the pieces he had given the world; but look'd on fame itself as a trifling acquisition: the other, had got some share of reputation; and was labouring on, very seriously, to get more. Philander was rather apt to observe much, than to talk: Myfagētes talked much, but for the most part to the purpose. Myfagētes would sometimes laugh at things, that he esteem'd; and Philander often seem'd to esteem things, that he laugh'd at.

THEY came early to the villa: and sat down to their tea, in the library; which looks directly upon the gardens, that were just then finished and brought to their present perfection.

fection. You see, says Polymetis, I have followed the taste in fashion (which, as it happens, is certainly the best taste too) of making my gardens rather wild than regular. Their general air, I hope, has nothing stiff and unnatural in it; and the lower part, in particular, joins in with the view of the country, as if it made a part of it. Indeed the mode has allowed me to have as many temples as I could wish, in such a space of ground: but I would not have you imagine that they are temples only for shew; I have found out a use for them, which you might not think of. The statues I got formerly from Italy, and which used to crowd up all my house, are placed in them: and what I a little value myself upon, is the order in which I have placed them. Indeed, says Myfagetes, in coming through your hall, I was surpriz'd to see it deserted by all the heathen gods; that used to seem to be met there, as in council. But what is this order, I beseech you, that you value yourself so much upon? That, replied Polymetis, may lead me into a larger account than you may care for. No, interposed Myfagetes, as we shall go and see them I suppose this afternoon, I beg you would let us into your disposition of them beforehand; that we may be sufficiently prepared to admire it as we ought.

THE deities of the Romans (says Polymetis) were so numerous, that they might well complain of wanting a Nomenclatur to help them to remember all their names. Their vulgar religion, as indeed that of the heathens in general, was a sort of Manicheism. Whatever was able to do good or to do harm (1) to man, was immediately looked on as a superiour power; which, in their language, was the same as a deity. It was hence that they had such a multitude of gods, that their temples were better peopled with statues, than their cities with men. It is a perfect mob of deities, if you look upon them all together: but they are reducible enough to order; and fall into fewer classes, than one would at first imagine. I have reduced them to six; and considering their vast number, it was no little trouble to bring them into that compass.

You see that Rotonda, with a Colonnade running round it, on the brow of the hill? Within that, are the great celestial deities; as the milder ones relating to the human mind and civil life, (Fidelity, Clemency; Peace, Concord; Plenty, Health; all the Mental or Moral Deities, of the better sort;) are placed in the Colonnade about it; one in each opening between the pillars. That temple, lower down the hill to the right, contains the beings which preside over the element of fire: which, according to the antients, had its place next to the supream mansion of the gods. You may call this, if you please, the temple of the Sun and Stars. There I have lodged all my antiques that relate to the Sun, to the Planets, to the Constellations; and to the Times and Seasons, as measured by the former. That Octogon, opposite to it on the left, is the temple of the Winds, and of the imaginary beings of the air. Those two temples on either hand below them contain, one the deities of the Waters, and the other the deities of the Earth:

and

1 The Greeks had their Bad Gods, as well as their Good ones; *Δαιμονες κακοι και αγαθοι*: as we see by their authors; and in ancient inscriptions. There is a gem in the cabinet at St. Genevieve at Paris, in particular, which was used formerly as an amulet; with this inscription, *Αντο πωσις κακοι Δαιμονες*.

In the same manner, the vulgar scheme of religion among the Romans admitted as easily of bad, as of good deities; as one learns, very plainly, from Pliny. 'Innumeros quidem (deos) credere; atque etiam ex virtutibus vitisque hominum, ut pudicitiam, concordiam, mentem, spem, honorem, clementiam, fidem; aut ut Democrito placuit duos omnino, poenam & beneficium; majorem ad socordiam accedit. Fragilis & laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digessit, infirmitatis suae memor; ut portionibus quilibet coleret, quo maxime indigeret. Itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus & numina in iisdem innumerabilia reperimus: inferis quoque in genera

'descriptis; morbisque, & multis etiam pestibus; dum esse placatos trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque etiam publice Febri sanum in Palatio dicatum est; Orbone, ad eadem Larum: ara & Malæ Fortune, Exquiliis. Quamobrem major cœlitum populus, etiam quam hominum intelligi potest.' Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 7. p. 82. Ed. Elz.—This last sentiment is more humourously exprest by Petronius: *Nostre regio tam presentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire.* Satyricon. p. 35.

The reason for their worshipping bad gods as well as good ones, is given us by Valerius Maximus; where he is speaking of the goddesses of distempers. Cæteros quidem ad beneficiendum venerabantur; Febrem autem, ad minus nocendum, templis colebant: quorum adhuc unum in Palatio, alterum in aræ Marianorum monumentorum, tertium in summâ parte Vici Longi extat. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

and if I had a temple for the Infernal beings, with the Vices of men round it, in the same manner as their Virtues are placed round the celestial one, I question whether you could name any one imaginary being in all the theology of the antients, that might not properly enough be placed in one or other of these fix repositories.

WHAT a pity it is, says Myfagetes smiling, that you should not get a Hell to adorn your garden with, and make the work compleat? Why seriously, replied Polymetis, I have thought even of that. One might have contrived a deep wood, toward the bottom of the hill, which should have led you through a narrow walk (growing every step darker and darker, as more thickened with yew and cypress) down to a vast, rough, horrid cave: in which such a gloomy light let in from above, as falls about the middle of the grotto of Paulilipo, might have half shewn you and half concealed the dismal deities and inhabitants of the lower world. But had this been proper for a garden that does not belong to Benedictins (2) or Carthusians, it might however be very well spared in my present design. My collection, you know, consists wholly of antiques: and there are so few antient statues that any way relate to the subterraneous world, that I should have been at some loss for the most proper furniture for such a repository; had I been ever so fond of introducing it. As to what other remains there are of this kind, tho' you do not meet with them in my garden, I may perhaps find another place more convenient to shew you some of them; if you should be fond of such terrible sights. So that on the whole, I think I have done right in contenting myself here with the temples of the heavens, and the four elementary ones, which you see under it: in which are all the figures I have of the imaginary beings that belong to either of them; disposed each according to his rank and character.

THE statues are placed in niches made for them; and ornamented with copies of such antient relievos or pictures as relate to them. In their pedestals, I have contrived drawers, to put in the medals, gems, prints and drawings, I have been so long getting together: such under each, as have any reference to the deity they are placed under: much in the manner as the books of the Sibyls were kept by Augustus in the (3) base of the Palatine Apollo. And thus I have disposed of all my collection, with somewhat more of regularity and order, than is generally observed in much better collections than I am master of.

You, Philander, know that my principal view in making this collection was to compare the descriptions and expressions in the Roman poets that any way relate to the imaginary beings, with the works that remain to us of the old artists; and to please myself with the mutual lights they might give each to the other. I have often thought when in Italy, and at Rome in particular, that they enjoy there the convenience of a sort of cotemporary comments on Virgil and Horace, in the nobler remains of the antient statuary and painters. When you look on the old pictures or sculptures, you look on the works of men who thought much in the same train with the old poets. There was generally the greatest union in their designs: and where they are engaged on the same subjects, they must be the best explainers of one another. As we lie so far north from this last great seat of empire, we are placed out of the reach of consulting these finer remains of antiquity so much, and so frequently, as one could wish. The only way of supplying this defect to any degree among us, is by copies, prints, and drawings: and as I have long had this thought, my collection is at length grown very numerous; and indeed almost

(2) The Religious of the severer orders abroad, instead of summer-houses, and places for pleasure, have often a sort of penitential caves in their gardens; contrived so as to cast a gloom over the mind: with a single taper in its inmost recess; that shews you the figure of a Magdalen weeping over a death's head, or some such melancholy object.

(3) Postquam pontificatum maximum suscepit, quicquid fastidiorum librorum, Graeci Latiniq; generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia, contracta undique cremavit; ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque delectu habito; candiditque duobus forulis auratis, sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Suet. in Aug. c. 31.

most as full as I could desire it, as to the point which has all along been my particular aim.

I HAVE always admired your collection, says Philander; but might not one who has no such collection, make a shift with father Montfaucon? That father's work, replied Polymetis, is largely stocked with figures; and perhaps too largely, to be of service in the design we are talking of. We are much obliged to him for his industry: but his choice is rather too (4) loose and unconfined. He has taken in all the different figures he could meet with; of whatever age, or country. You have, even in the better part of his collection, Tuscan gods mixt with Roman; old Gallick figures, with those of Syria: and the monsters of Egypt, with the deities of Athens. This must bring in a great deal of confusion, and strangely multiply the appearance and (5) attributes of almost every deity. As you see them there, the descriptions of them in the Roman poets do not agree with the

(4) This charge against father Montfaucon may perhaps seem too severe. It is founded on two things: on his design itself being laid rather too wide; and on that design's not being executed so regularly, as it should be.

The father gives us the design of his work in the following words. 'Il s'agit ici de toute l'antiquité. On en rapporte toutes les parties. On donne sur chacune un grand nombre de figures. Ces figures sont expliquées, avec toute l'exactitude, & toute la précision, dont j'ai été capable. Quand les figures manquent sur certains sujets, je ne laisse pas d'expliquer ces sujets, pour faire une suite complète. Voilà le plan de tout l'ouvrage.' His antiques are therefore of all nations: and one may add, of all ages: from the very earliest that are found, quite down to the reign of the younger Theodosius. Montf. Pref. p. xiv, & xv.

In the execution of this design the father promises to set apart the first and second volumes of his work, for the gods of the Greeks and Romans: the third, for the temples, vases, and instruments they made use of in the worship of their gods: and the fourth, for the deities and worship of other nations. Ib. p. viii, & ix.

Tho' the design itself is laid too wide for any one man to be able to execute it as it ought to be; father Montfaucon would have done much better had he followed it in the method he proposes, than in the manner he has done: for he is so far from confining the gods of the other nations to his fourth volume, that he has given some of all sorts in his first, which was to be set apart for Greek and Roman figures only: at least, he has given some of all the four sorts mentioned above; to wit, Tuscan, Gallick, Syrian and Egyptian.

Whoever would be convinced of this, need only turn to one single article; that of Jupiter; in the beginning of father Montfaucon's first volume: where he will meet with figures of each of the other kinds just mentioned; and most of them acknowledged by the father's own words, not to be Greek or Roman.

And, 1, as to Tuscan figures. There is a Jupiter, and four other gods with him; Plate 17. No. 1. All of a bad manner, unlike the Roman; taken from an antique bas-relief, of which father Montfaucon says; 'Ce monument Étrusque est très remarquable.' p. 48.

2. As to Gallick figures. In the next plate, Pl. 18. No. 2. there is a Jupiter, called Jupiter Dolichenus; who, as the father says very truly, 'a plutôt l'air d'un Mars, que d'un Jupiter.' This is what I should call a Gallick figure. It is confessedly no Roman Jupiter; it is a Dolichenian Jupiter; and that, probably, ill-formed by some old French artist. At least, the father says it was found in France. 'Elle a été trouvée à Marseilles; d'où elle a été apportée au cabinet du Duc de Wurtemberg.' p. 50.

3. As to Syrian figures, the last mentioned might serve for an instance; for Doliché is an inland city of Syria; placed by the best antient authorities in the province of Samosata; now called the kingdom of Comagene. 'Ville de la Comagène,' says Montfaucon. ib. But if any body should be for a new instance, there are five all together; (Plate 12. No. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.) four of Jupiter Casius; and the fifth, of one Agreus, a god unknown to the classicals. One at least of these Casian Jupiters, must be Syrian. It has the name of Syria upon it; with the figure of a mountain, which the father calls; 'le mont Casius, dans la Syrie.' p. 44.

4. As to Egyptian figures, we have Serapis, and Isis; two of the most known among the Egyptian deities. Serapis makes his appearance more than once: Pl. 10. No. 7, 14, &c. 'C'est Jupiter Serapis,' says the father, in speaking of one of them. p. 36. Isis is represented with Jupiter; Pl. 17. No. 2. 'Jupiter couronné de laurier, est avec Isis, dans l'image suivante;' Id. p. 49.

There are several other figures under this article of Jupiter, which I should suppose to be neither Greek nor Roman; such as Pl. 8. Fig. 8, & 9.—Pl. 9. Fig. 9.—Pl. 13. Fig. 1, & 2.—Pl. 14. Fig. 3, 4, & 5.—& Pl. 18. Fig. 1, & 3. But I shall omit any particular observations on them; because I think what is already said is sufficient to justify, what is asserted above.

(5) The figures of the Roman deities have generally something about them, to distinguish them, and mark out who they are: such as the trident in the hand of Neptune, or the spear in that of Mars; the crown of ivy wreath'd round Bacchus's head, or the laurel round Apollo's. These the Romans called, signa; as the modern artists call them, attributes.

the artists; nor the works of the artists with the poets. As my view was a more particular one, I found myself obliged to confine my collection to the deities as received in Italy; and even in such parts of Italy only, where they were uniformly received. This cuts off any figures that were not of the growth, or at least made free of Rome. The forms used in the different parts of Italy, were not indifferently copies to the Roman poets. Etruria had certainly a manner to itself; and the figures used in the Cisalpine Gaul, for example, might have very great variations from the Roman. On the other hand, we are by no means to omit the figures of the true Roman deities, because made by Greek artists. Almost all (6) their best were so; for the Romans despised the practice of the arts themselves; and a Roman workman in the Æmilian square was probably pretty near on a level with our artists by Hyde-park-corner; even at the very time that they were bringing in all the most beautiful pieces of antiquity from Greece, and encouraging the best living artists of that country to come and settle at Rome. Hence many of the Grecian deities, together with the modes of dressing them, were in a manner naturalized in Rome; and after that, may be looked upon as Roman deities. But there are some (7) that never were so received there; and such I have endeavoured to exclude too, out of my collection.

I AM very glad, says Mysagetes, to hear that you have decimated your gods: for I should have been heartily vexed to see a deity with a dog's, or a hawk's head, upon its shoulders: and could never have been brought to view a Squat-Jug⁽⁸⁾ with the respect that may, perhaps, be due to whatever was formerly the divinity of a great and learned nation. But as you have thinned your deities so considerably, may I ask whether you have shewn more indulgence to the poets, or whether you have not made a reform among them too? I have taken a good deal of pains, replied Polymetis, in collecting the most considerable passages from the greater number of them; which I have ranged in order, according to the times in which they wrote: for there is a great deal of difference in the authority of a poet near the second Punic war, and one who lived in Augustus's time. This must naturally be settled according to the growth of poetry, and the improvement of the arts among the Romans; and if you please to have me answer your question fully, I must give you a long history of each. Tho' you do not seem to offer this seriously, interposed Philander, I very seriously beg that you would oblige us with an account of each. They are subjects I have often heard you speak of, and which I know

(6) It is remarkable that in the collection of such gems as have the names of the artists engraved on them (which was published by Baron Stofche, a few years ago, at Florence) they are all Greeks: and among the several inscriptions under statues and basso-relievo's, given by the same author in his preface, there is only one artist among them that is Roman.

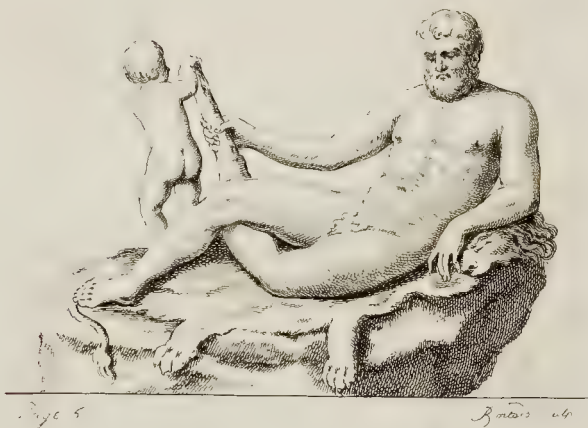
The Romans practised painting as little. One person of distinction indeed, among the Romans themselves, happened pretty early to fall into it. He was of the great Fabian family; and was hence called Fabius Pictor. After him, says Pliny, 'Non est spectata honestis manibus.' Nat. Hist. L. 35. c. 4. Fabius himself was so pleased with the art, that he wrote his name under his pictures. This, tho' so usual now, was looked on as very low and ridiculous in him. Gloria interdum etiam à claris viris, ex humilibus rebus petita est. Nam quid sibi voluit C. Fabius, nobilissimus civis, qui cum in æde Salutis, quam C. Junius Bubalceus dedicaverat, parietes pinxisset, nomen huius inscripsit? Id enim demum

ornamentum familiæ, consulatibus & sacerdotiis & triumphis celeberrimæ, decrat? Cæterum fordido studio deditum ingenium, qualemcumque illum laborem suum, silentio obliterari noluit. Val. Maximus, Lib. 8. Cap. 14. §. 6.

(7) They were sometimes quite opposite. Thus the Grecian Juno was often represented naked; whereas the Roman Juno is always dressed in all the decency of a Roman matron. The Grecian Idea of Fortitude was expressed by a person finely armed, with a face that has as much of beauty as severity in it; but the Roman Virtus is rougher, and of a lower stamp; and is often only dressed like one of their own common soldiers.

(8) It was thus that the wife Egyptians figured their deities. To Anubis, they gave the head of a dog; as that of a hawk, to Osiris. Canopus was usually represented among them under the shape of a great catfish pot. Virgil ridicules their Lutrator Anubis, and the rest of them. Æn. 8. 698

know you have long since turned much in your mind. The morning does not look fit for walking: and I intreat you——Nay, no intreaties, I beseech you, says Polymetis. If you are willing to hear it, I am as willing to tell you whatever I can recollect on those heads: and indeed I have been so used to think on these subjects, that I could talk them over I believe with some sort of method: however, it will be better, if you will allow me an hour or two to run over the particulars by myself; and in the mean time I will leave you to divert yourselves, either here in my library; or in my gardens; or wherever you please.



Page 5

Boissier 46

D I A L. II.

Of the Rise of Poetry among the Romans.

POLYMETIS made his appearance no more all the morning. He seemed a little thoughtful even at dinner; which was no sooner over, than Philander put him in mind of his promise. We long, says he, to hear your two histories of the Roman Poetry, and of the arts of Rome: or do you intend to weave them together into one? for I have often heard you say, that their fate and fortunes were very much alike. No, says Polymetis, they are likely to run into such a length, that I shall give them to you separately; that you may have the more distinct idea of each: and I shall begin, with what account I can give you of the progress of their poetry.

THE Romans, in the infancy of their state, were intirely rude (1) and unpolished. They came from shepherds; they were increased from the (2) refuse of the nations round them: and their manners agreed with their original. As they lived wholly on tilling their ground at home, or on plunder from their neighbours; war was their business, and agriculture the chief art they followed to any degree. Long after this, when they had spread their conquests over a great part of Italy, and began to make a considerable figure in the world; even their great men retained a roughness, which they raised into a virtue by calling it Roman spirit; and which might often much better have been called Roman barbarity. It seems to me, that there was more of (3) austerity than justice, and more of insolence than courage, in some of their most celebrated actions. However that be, this is certain, that they were at first a nation of soldiers and husbandmen: roughness was long an applauded character among them: and a sort of (4) rusticity reigned, even in their senate-house.

In a nation originally of such a temper as this; taken up almost always in extending their territories; very often in settling the balance (5) of power among themselves; and not unfrequently in both these at the same time; it was long before the politer arts made any appearance: and very (6) long before they took root or flourished to any degree. Poetry was the first that did so; but such a poetry, as one might expect among a warlike, busied, unpolished people.

NOT

(1) Rudis fuit priscorum vita, & sine literis. Pliny, Nat. Hist. L. 18. c. 29.

(2) As their first increase was owing to the place of refuge set up by Romulus, to invite all the murderers and fugitives in their neighbourhood to join them.

(3) In Valerius Maximus's instances of severity, there are twelve from his own nation, to three from all the kingdoms round about them. He himself begins the account of the former, with these words: 'Armet se duritia pectus necesse est, dum horridæ ac tristis severitatis acta narrantur; ut humaniore cogitatione sepositâ, rebus auditu asperis vacet:' and closes it with these; 'Etiâ Romanæ severitatis exemplis totus terrarum orbis instrui potest; tamen externa,' &c. Lib. 6. cap. 5.

(4) Horace calls Italy, in this period, 'Agrestis Latium;' and says, a little after,

———— In longum tamen ævum
Manferunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1. y. 160.

(5) The struggles, between the Patricians and Plebeians, for power, take up the greatest part of this age.

(6) Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et, post Punica bella quietus, querere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles & Thæspis & Æschilus utile ferrent.
Hor. Lib. 2. Ep. 1. y. 163.

———— Delicias quoque vitæ sanctius omnes,
Carmina, picturas, & Dædala signa polire,
Ulus & impigre simul experientia mentis
Paulatim docuit pederentium progredientis.
Lucr. L. 5. y. 1452.

NOT to enquire about the (7) songs of triumph, mentioned even in Romulus's time ; there was certainly something of poetry among them in the next reign under Numa : a prince who pretended to converse with the muses, as well as with Egeria ; and who might possibly (8) himself have made the verses, which the Salian Priests sung in his time. Pythagoras, either in the same reign, or if you please some time after, gave the Romans a tincture of poetry (9) as well as philosophy ; for Cicero assures us that the Pythagoreans made great use of poetry and music : and probably they, like our old Druids, delivered most of their precepts in verse. Indeed the chief employment of poetry in that and the following ages among the Romans, was of a religious kind. Their very prayers, and perhaps their whole (10) liturgy, was poetical. They had also a sort of prophetic, or sacred writers, who seem to have wrote generally in verse ; and were so numerous, that there were above (11) two thousand of their volumes remaining even to Augustus's time. They had a (12) kind of plays too in these early times, derived from what they had

(7) Ο δὲ Ρωμύλος, ὡς ἀν μαλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ Διὶ κατὰρτισμένην καὶ τοῖς σάλλαις ἰδίῃ ἐπὶ τῇσι τράχησι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ στρατοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑστῆσαν ἐπὶ τῇσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν τροπαίου, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἄν τι Ἀκρόνως ἐκαστὸν ἐν ταῖς τελεμαῖς καὶ κλητύῳ αὐτοῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν εὐχὴν τερνίζοντο, δαφνὶ δὲ ἐκαστὸν τὴν κισσὸν κομῶντες ἠπλάθει, δὲ τῷ δαφνί τῷ τροπαίῳ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρεβόμενοι ὄρον ἐκαστὸν, εὐχόμενοι σπουδαίως ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐτοιμῇ τῇ στρατίᾳ, δ' ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν μετα' ἡμέρας καὶ θαλάσσης. Ἦ μὲν ἐν πομπῇ τὸν αὐτοῖς θρησκείαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέχον. Plutarch. in Vita Rom. p. 27. Ed. Par. 1624.

What sort of songs these were, we may guess a little from some expressions relating to them, in Livy. Ducti ante curram hostium duces ; militaria signa prelati ; secutus exercitus præda onustus. Epulæ infiructæ dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos ; epulantesque, cum carmine triumphali & solennibus jociis, conestantium modo, curram secuti sunt. Livy, lib. 3. §. 29.—Longè maximum triumphus spectaculum fuit Cossus ; spolia opima regis interfecit gerens : in eum milites carmina incondita, sequentes eum Romulo, canere. Id. lib. 4. §. 20.—Itaque cum ex senatus consulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari licentiâ iactati : quibus consul increpitus, Menenii celebre nomen laudibus fuit. Ibid. §. 53.

(8) Ovid seems to hint that Numa wrote some of their old religious forms, in some kind of verse :
Conjuge qui felix nymphâ, ductibusq; Camænâs,
Sacrificos docuit ritus ; genemque feroci
Assuetam bello pacis traduxit ad artes.

Met. 15. 484.

And Horace calls the old Salian verses, in particular, Numa's verses. L. 2. Ep. 1. 86.

(9) Cicero asserts this in general, Tusc. Quest. L. 4. and Vitruvius says in particular, that Pythagoras and his followers delivered their precepts in a certain number of verses ; or in a cube of 216 Verses, as he calls it : L. 5. Proem.

(10) Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Discebat unde preces, vatem ni musa dedisset ?
Pescit opem chorus, & præsentia numina sentit :
Cælestes implorat aquas doctâ prece blandus ;
Avertit morbos ; metuenda pericula pellit :
Impetrat & pacem, & locupletem frugibus annum :
Carminibus superi placantur ; carmine manes.

Horace, L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 138.

(11) These are probably what Horace calls ;
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum.

L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 26.

For their number, see Dial. 1. Note 3. I do not imagine that these were all written in verse : for tho' the authors are called Vates, and their works Carmina, those words do not necessarily imply that they were all poetry.

The name of carmen is used often for a charm : as particularly in Pliny, L. 28. C. 2. Perhaps too it was used for any thing that was worded in an high poetical style : for the same author calls the form of words by which the Decii devoted themselves to death, carmen. Ibid. That form, he says, was extant in his time : and was probably the same with that we have in Livy, L. 8. §. 9.—Jane, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares ! Divi Novensiles, Divi Indigetes ! Divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Diique Manes ! Vos precor, veneror ; veniam peto, feroque ; uti Populi Romani Quiritium vim victoriamque prosperetis ; hostesque Populi Romani Quiritium, terrore, formidine, morteque, afficiatis : sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro republicâ Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis Populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Divi Manibus Tellurique devoceo.

Perhaps the solemn forms, prophecies, and charms, in use among the old Romans, were all originally, and most of them afterwards, written in verse ; and thence the terms of Carmen, Cantare, Incantare, & Decantare, might come to be used of them even when they were in prose.

Some of these terms are made use of in speaking of charms, so early as in the laws of the twelve tables. Quei malum carmen incantasset, malumque venenum facit duitive, paraciddia estod.

As to the use of the word Vates for prose writers ; see Note 17, posth.

(12) Ludi Scenici inter alia cælestis ire placamina instituti dicuntur : cæterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, & ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Hetruria acciti ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Thufco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juvenus simul inconditi inter se jocularia fundentes versibus cœpere ; nec absoni à voce motus erant. Accepta igitur re, sæpiusque usurpando excitatâ ; vernaculis artificibus, quia Histæ Thufco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histriionibus inditum : celi

had seen of the Tuscan actors, when sent for to Rome to expiate a plague that raged in the city. These seem to have been, either like our dumb-shews; or else, a kind of extempore farces: a thing to this day a good deal in use, all over Italy; and in Tuscany, in a more particular manner. Add to these (13), that extempore kind of jesting dialogues, begun at their harvest and vintage-feasts; and carried on so rudely and so abusively afterwards, as to occasion a very severe law to restrain their licentiousness: and those lovers of poetry and good eating, who seem to have attended the tables of the richer sort much like the old Provincial poets, or our own British bards; and sang there, to some instrument of music (14), the achievements of their ancestors, and the noble deeds of those who had gone before them, to inflame others to follow their great examples.

THE names of almost all these poets sleep in peace, with all their works: and if we may take the word of the other Roman writers of a better age, it is no great loss to us. One of their best poets represents them as (15) very obscure and very (16) contemptible; one of their best historians (17) avoids quoting them, as too barbarous for politer ears; and

qui non sicut ante Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant; sed impletas modis satiras, descripto jam ad tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot annos, qui ab fatiris ausus est primus argumento fabulam ferere, idem scilicet id quod omnes tum erant suorum carminum actor, dicitur (cum sepius revocatus vocem obtudisset) veniam petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem statuisse, canticumque egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu quia nihil vocis usus impediabat. Inde ad manum cantari histriionibus ceptum: diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto joco res avocatur; & ludus in artem paulatim verterat: juvenus, histriionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus jacitare cepit; quæ inde Exodia postea appellata, consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt: quod genus ludorum ab Ofici acceptum tenuit juvenus, nec ab histriionibus pollui passa est. Eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur, & stipendia tanquam expertes artis ludicæ faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est; ut appareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulenti regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit. Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis religionibus datum, aut religione animos aut corpora morbis levavit, &c. Livy, L. 7. §. 3.—Valerius Maximus speaks, much in the same manner, both of the origin, and the abuse of the stage, at Rome. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. §. 1, 4, & 6.

- (13) Agricola præfici, fortes parvoque beati,
Conditæ post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum pueris & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant;
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit:
Libertatque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter; donec jam fixus apertam
In rabiem cepit verti jocus, & per honellas
Ire domos impune minax. Dolere cruento
Dente lacessiti; fuit intus illis quoque cura
Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
Penæque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
Describi. ———

Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 154.

I suppose this Fescennine poetry was a sort of dialogues, from Horace's expression of, Versibus alternis; like some of Virgil's eclogues; particularly the beginning of the third: and not unlike those, so much used at present among the extempore poets in Italy.

Alternis dicitis: amant alterna Camæne.

Virg. Ecl. 3. §. 59.

(14) Est in Originibus, solitos esse in epulis canere convivæ ad tibicinem, de clarorum hominum virtutibus. Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 1. p. 289 Ed. Elz. —Majores natu in conviviis ad tibias egregia superiorum opera, carmine comprehensa, pangebant; quo ad ea imitanda juventutem alacriorem redderent. Valerius Max. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. §. 10.

- (15) —Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat; & illud
Quod mecum ignoret, solus vult scire videri.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 87.

(16) Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt; federa regum
Vel Gabii vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatium,
Disstiter Albano musas in monte locutas.

Ibid. §. 27.

——— Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius; & grave virus
Manditiæ populæ. ———

Ibid. §. 157

(17) Tum septem & viginti virginæ, longam indutæ vestem, carmen in Junonem Reginam canentes ibant; illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis; nunc abhorrens & inconditum, si referatur. Livy, L. 27. §. 38.

Martius was one of the most famous among these old Vates; and Livy therefore sometimes does him the honour to quote some things from his Carmina.—Religio deinde nova objecta est ex carminibus Martianis. Vates hic Martius illustris fuerat; & cum inquisitio priore anno ex senatus-consulto talium librorum fierat, in M. Emili prætoris Urbani qui eam rem agebat manus venerant.—Ex hujus Martii duobus carminibus, alterius postea aucta declarato auctoritas eventu, alteri quoque ejus nondum tempus venerat afferere falem. Priore carmine Cannensis prædicta clades in hæc fere verba erat: “Annem
Trojugena Cannam, Romanæ, fuge; ne te alieni-

genæ

and one of their most judicious emperors ⁽¹⁸⁾ ordered the greatest part of their writings to be burnt, that the world might be troubled with them no longer.

ALL these poets therefore may very well be dropt in the account; there being nothing remaining of their works, and probably no merit to be found in them if they had remained: and so we may date the beginning of the Roman poetry from Livius Andronicus, the first of their poets of whom any thing does remain to us; and from whom the Romans themselves seem to have ⁽¹⁹⁾ dated the beginning of their poetry, even in the Augustan age.

THE first kind of poetry, that was followed with any success among the Romans, was that for the stage. They were a very religious people; and stage-plays, in those times, made no inconsiderable part in their public ⁽²⁰⁾ devotions. It is hence perhaps that the greatest number of their oldest poets of whom we have any remains, and indeed almost all of them, are dramatic poets.

THE foremost in this list were Livius, Nævius, and Ennius. Livius's first play (and it was the ⁽²¹⁾ first written play that ever appeared at Rome, whence perhaps Horace ⁽²²⁾ calls him Livius Scriptor) was acted ⁽²³⁾ in the 514th year from the building of the city. He seems to have got whatever reputation he had, rather as their first, than as a good writer; for Cicero, who admired these old poets more than they were afterwards admired, is forced to give up Livius; and says that his pieces did not deserve ⁽²⁴⁾ a second reading. He was for some time the sole writer for the stage; till Nævius rose to rival him; and probably far exceeded his master. Nævius ventured too on an epic, or rather an historical poem, on the first Carthaginian war. Ennius followed his steps in this, as well as in the dramatic way: and seems to have excelled him as much, as he had excelled Livius: so much at least, that Lucretius says of him, "That he was the first of their poets who deserved a ⁽²⁵⁾ lasting crown from the Muses." These three poets, were ⁽²⁶⁾ actors as well as poets; and seem, all of them, to have wrote whatever was wanted for the stage, rather than to have consulted their own turn or genius. Each of them published sometimes tragedies, sometimes comedies, and sometimes a kind of dramatic satires: such satires, I suppose, as had been occasioned ⁽²⁷⁾ by the extempore poetry that had been in fashion the century before them. All the most celebrated dramatic writers, of antiquity, excel only in one kind. There is no tragedy of Terence, or Menander; and no comedy of Actius, or Euripides. But these first dramatic poets among the Romans attempted every thing indifferently; just as the present fancy, or the demand of the people, led them.

THE

genæ cogant in campo Diomedis conferere manus: sed neque credes tu mihi, donec compleris sanguine campum: multa que millia occisâ tua deferat amnis, in pontum magnum ex terrâ frugiferâ. Piscibus atque avibus, ferisque quæ incolunt terras, iis fiet esca caro tua; nam mihi ita Jupiter fatus est." L. 25. §. 12.

(18) Augustus. Dialogue 1. Note 3.

(19) —Habet hos numeratque poetas,
Ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab ævo.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 62.

(20) See Note 12, antech.

(21) The plays in the age before Livius were extempore; (see Note 12, antech.) He was the first who composed one in form, and wrote it down for the actors to learn by heart. Livius qui primus fabulam, C. Clodius Cæci filio & Tuditanus consulis, docuit;

anno ipso antequam natus esset Ennius, U. C. 514. Cicero de claris Orat. §. 72. Ed. Oxon. 1716. In giving the date, he follows the authority of his friend Atticus: there was a dispute about it. Id. ibid.

(22) See Note 19, antech.

(23) See Note 21, antech.

(24) Livianæ fabulæ, non satis dignæ quæ iterum legantur. Cicero. de claris Orat. §. 71. Ed. Oxon. 1716.

(25) Ennius ut noster cecinit; qui primus amœno
Dedit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam.
Lucretius, L. 1. 119.

(26) See Note 12, antech.

(27) See Note 13, antech.

THE quiet the Romans enjoyed after (28) the second Punic war, when they had humbled their great rival Carthage; and their carrying on their conquests afterwards, without any great difficulties, into Greece; gave them leisure and opportunities for making very great improvements in their poetry. Their dramatic writers began to act with more steadiness and judgment; they followed one point of view: they had the benefit of the excellent patterns the Greek writers had set them, and formed themselves on those models.

PLAUTUS was the first that consulted his own genius, and confined himself to that species of dramatic writing for which he was the best fitted by nature. Indeed his comedy (like the old comedy at Athens) is of a (29) ruder kind; and far enough from the polish that was afterwards given it, among the Romans. His jests are often rough; and his wit, coarse: but there is a strength and spirit in him, that makes one read him with pleasure. At least, he is much to be commended for being the first that considered what he was most capable of excelling in, and not endeavouring to shine in too many different ways at once. Cæcilius followed his example in this particular; but improved their comedy so much beyond him, that he is named by Cicero (30) as perhaps the best of all the comic writers they ever had. This high character of him was not for his language, which (31) is given up by Cicero himself as faulty and incorrect; but (32) either for the dignity of his characters, or the strength and weight of his sentiments.

TERENCE made his first appearance, when Cæcilius was in high reputation. It is said (33) that when he offered his first play to the Ediles, they sent him with it to Cæcilius for his judgment of the piece. Cæcilius was at supper when he came to him; and as Terence was dressed very meanly, he was placed on a little stool, and desired to read away; but upon his having read a very few lines only, Cæcilius altered his behaviour, and placed him next himself at the table. They all admired him as a rising genius; and the applause he received from the public, answered the compliments they had made him in private. His Eunuchus in particular was acted twice in (34) one day; and he was paid more for that piece, than ever had been given before for a comedy: and yet, by the way, it was not much above thirty pound. We may see by that and the rest of his plays which remain to us, to what a degree of exactness and elegance the Roman comedy was arrived in his time. There is a beautiful simplicity, which reigns thro' all his works. There

13

(28) See the first quotation in Note 6, anteh.

Cessit enim nummum in loculos demittere; post hoc
Securus, cadat an recto stet fabula talo.

(29) At nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modò ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto;
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus & aure.

Horat. ad Pisonem, §. 274.

Lib. 2. Ep. 1. §. 176.

(30) Itaque licet dicere et Ennium summum epicum poetam, sicut ita videtur; & Pacuvium, tragicum; & Cæcilium fortasse, comicum. Cicero, de opt. gen. Orat. sub initio.

Perhaps Horace speaks with the more reserve in this case, because Cicero had cried up Plautus's wit as elegant and fine. Duplex est jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscœnum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum: quo genere non modò Plautus noster & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt. De Officiis, L. 1. §. 29.

Horace had scarce so good an opinion of the old comedy at Athens neither; (see Note 47, posth.) and has a severer stroke at Plautus, in another of his poems, for his negligence in writing:

—Aspice Plautus
Quo pasto partes tutetur amantis ephēbi;
Ut patris attentis, lenonis ut insidiis;
Quantus sit Dorcennus edacibus in paratis;
Quàm non adstricto percurrat pulpita focco.

(31) Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius ista fuit laus, tanquam innocentis, sic Latinè loquendi. Nec omnium tamen; nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium malè locutos videmus; sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant, nec eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, rectè loquebantur. Cicero. Brutus, §. 74.

(32) Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Aëtius alii;
Dicitur Asiaticam togam convenisse Menandro;
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;
Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 59.

(33) In Dacier's Life of Terence.

(34) Ib. d.

is no searching after wit, and no ostentation of ornament in him. All his speakers seem to say just what they should say, and no more. The story is always going on; and goes on just as it ought. This whole age, long before Terence and long after, is rather remarkable for strength than beauty in writing. Were we to compare it with the following age, the compositions of this would appear to those of the Augustan, as the Doric order in building if compared with the Corinthian; but Terence's work is to those of the Augustan age, as the Ionic is to the Corinthian order: it is not so ornamented, or so rich; but nothing can be more exact and pleasing. The Roman language itself in his hands seems to be improved beyond what one could ever expect; and to be advanced almost a hundred years forward than the times he lived in. There are some (and I think you, Philander, was formerly of that number) who look upon this as one of the strangest phenomena in the learned world: but it is a phenomenon which may be well enough explained from Cicero. He says, that in several families the Roman language was spoken (35) in perfection even in those times: and instances particularly in the families of the Lælii and the Scipio's. Every one knows that Terence was extremely intimate in both these families: and as the language of his pieces is that of familiar conversation, he had indeed little more to do, than to write as they talked at their tables. Perhaps too, interposed Mysis, he was obliged to Scipio and Lælius, for more than their bare conversations. That is not at all improbable, replied Polymetis; and indeed the Romans themselves seem generally to have imagined, that he was (36) assisted by them in the writing part too. If it was really so, that will account still better for the elegance of the language in his plays: because Terence himself was born out of Italy; and tho' he was brought thither very young, he received the first part of his education in a family, where they might not speak with so much correctness, as Lælius and Scipio had been used to from their very infancy. Thus much for the language of Terence's plays: as for the rest, it seems from what he says (37) himself, that his most usual method was to take his plans chiefly, and his characters wholly, from the Greek comic

(35) See Note 31, anteh.

(36) Licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur. Quintilian. Instit. L. 10. C. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665. — Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à C. Lælio scribi. Cicero, ad Attic. L. 7. Ep. 3.

Donatus (in his life of this poet) quotes Memmius to shew that Terence was assisted by Scipio, and Nepos to shew that he was assisted by Lælius: in the following words. Q. Memmius in oratione pro se ait; 'P. Africanus, qui à Terentio personam mutatus, quæ domi luserat ipse, nomine illius in scenam detulit.' Nepos auctore certo comperisse se ait: C. Lælium quondam in Puteolano, calendis Martiis, admonitum ab uxore temporis ut discumberet, petiit ab eâ ne interPELLARET; serius tandem ingressum triclinium dixisse, non sæpe in scribendo magis successisse sibi: deinde rogatum ut scripta illa proferret, pronuntiasse versus qui sunt in Heautontimorumenos:

Satis pol protervi me Syri promissa huc induxerunt.
Terence himself seems rather to be pleased with this opinion, than to disown it:

Nam quod illi dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
Eum adjuvare; assidueque unâ scribere:
Quod illi maledictum vehementer esse existant,
Eam laudem hic ducit maximam; cum illis placet
' Qui verbis universis et populo placent:
' Quorum operâ in bello, in otio, in negotio,
' Suo quisque tempore usu' est sine superbiâ.

ProL. to the Adelphi.

I take what he says before another of his plays, to be just the same sentiment:

Tom quod malevolus vetus poeta didicit,
Repente ad studium hunc se applicasse musicum,
Amicûm ingenio fretum, haud naturâ suâ;
' Arbitrium vestrum, vestra exlimitatio
Valebit.' —

ProL. to the Heautontimorumenos.

(37) Of the six plays we have of Terence's, he himself tells us that five are from the Greek: he does not say any thing of his copying his Hecyra from them. He mentions this of the Phormio and Heautontimorumenos, only in general: part of the Adelphi, he says, he translated literally from Diphilus; that he took the Eunuchus, and the Andria, from two plays of the same names, by Menander; and that in each he inserted a character or two from other plays of the same author.

Menander fecit Andriam & Perinthiam:
Qui utramvis rectè norit, ambas noverit.
Quæ convenere, in Andriam ex Perinthia
Fateatur transulisse, atque usum pro suis.

ProL. to Andria, §. 14.

— Nunc quam aperi sumus
Menandri Eunuchum, postquam Adiles emerunt,
Perfecit; sibi ut inspicundi esset copia.

ProL. to Eunuchus, §. 21.

Colax Menandri est; in eâ est parastus Colax,
Et miles gloriosus: eas se non negat
Personas transulisse in Eunuchum suum.

Ibid. §. 32.

Synprothnescontes Diphili comœdia est;
Eam Commorientes Plautus tetit fabulam.
In Græcâ, adulescens est qui leonem eripit
Merezzicem; in primâ fabulâ. Eum Plautus locum
Reliquit

comic poets. Those (38) who say that he translated all the comedies of Menander, certainly carry the matter too far. They were probably more than Terence ever wrote. Indeed this would be more likely to be true of Afranius than Terence; tho', I suppose, it would scarce hold, were we to take both of them together.

WE have a very great loss in the works of Afranius: for he was regarded, even in the (39) Augustan age, as the most exact imitator of Menander. He owns himself, that he had no restraint in copying him; or any other of the Greek comic writers; wherever they set him a good example. Afranius's stories and persons were Roman, as Terence's were Grecian. This was looked on as so material a point in those days, that it made two different species of comedy. Those on a Greek story were called, *Palliata*; and those on a Roman, *Togata*. Terence (40) excelled all the Roman poets in the former, and Afranius in the latter.

ABOUT the same time that comedy was improved so considerably, Pacuvius and Aëtius (one a cotemporary of Terence, and the other of Afranius) carried tragedy as far towards perfection, as it ever arrived in Roman hands. The step from Ennius to Pacuvius, was a very great one; so great, that he was reckoned in Cicero's time, the (41) best of all their tragic poets. Pacuvius, as well as Terence, enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of Lælius and Scipio; but he did not profit so much by it, as to the improvement of his language. Indeed his style was not to be the common conversation style, as Terence's was: and all the stiffings given to it might take just as much from its elegance, as they added to its dignity. What is remarkable in him is, that he was almost as eminent for painting, as he was for poetry. He made the decorations for his own plays; and Pliny (42) speaks of some paintings by him in a temple of Hercules, as the most celebrated work of their kind, done by any Roman of condition, after Fabius Pictor. Aëtius (43) began to publish, when Pacuvius was leaving off: his language was not so fine, nor his verses so well turned even as those of his predecessor. There is a remarkable story of him in an old critic (44), which as it may give some light into their different manner of writing, may be worth telling you. Pacuvius, in his old age, retired to Tarentum, to enjoy the soft air and mild winters of that place. As Aëtius was obliged on some affairs to make a journey into Asia, he took Tarentum in his way, and staid there some days with Pacuvius. It was in this visit that he read his tragedy of Atreus to him, and desired his opinion of it. Old Pacuvius after hearing it out, told him very honestly, that the poetry was sonorous and majestic, but that it seemed to him too stiff and harsh. Aëtius replied, that he was himself very sensible of that fault in his writings: but that he

was

Reliquit integrum. Eum hic locum sumisit sibi
In Adelpbos: verbum de verbo expressam extulit.
Prol. to Adelpbi, §. 11.

Ex integrâ Græcâ integram comædiam
Hodie sum actures Heautontimorumenon:
Duplex quæ ex argumento facta est simpliciter.
Novam esse ostendi, & quæ esset. Nunc qui scripserit
Et cuja Græca sit, ni partem maxumam
Existimarem scire vestrum id dicerem.

Prol. to Heautontimorumenos, §. 9.
Epidicazomenon quam vocant comædiam
Græci, Latini Phormionem nominant.

Prol. to Phormio, §. 26.

He seems to have followed Menander more than any other of the Greek comic writers; both by what he says himself, and by what Julius Cæsar says of him:

Tu quoque, tu in summis, O dimidiata Menander,
Poneris, & merito; puri sermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore

Cum Græcis; neque in hac despectus parte jaceres:
Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi dēsse, Terenti.
Old Life of Terence, by Suetonius.

(38) See Dacier's Life of Terence.

(39) See Note 32, anteh.

(40) See Note 58, posth.

(41) See Note 30, anteh.

(42) Proximè celebrata est, in foro Boario, æde
Herculis, Pacuvii poetæ pictura. Ennii forore geni-
tus hic fuit; clarioremque eam artem Romæ fecit,
gloriâ scenæ. Pliny, Nat. Hist. L. 35. c. 4.

(43) Aëtius iisdem Ædilibus ait se et Pacuvium do-
cuisse fabulam; cum ille octoginta, ipse triginta annos
natus esset. Cicero. Brutus, §. 64.

(44) Aul. Gellius, L. 13. c. 2.

was not at all sorry for it: "for, says he, I have always been of opinion, that it is the same with writers, as with fruits; among which, those that are most soft and palatable, decay the soonest; whereas those of a rough taste, last the longer; and have the finer relish, when once they come to be mellowed by time." Whether his style ever came to be thus mellowed, I very much doubt; however that was, it is a point that seems generally allowed, that (45) he and Pacuvius were the two best tragic poets the Romans ever had.

ALL this while, that is, for above an hundred years, the stage as you see was almost the sole province of the Roman poets. It was now time for the other kinds of poetry to have their turn; however the first that sprung up and flourished to any degree, was still a cyon from the same root. What I mean, is, satire; the produce of the old comedy. This kind of poetry had been attempted in a different manner by some of the former writers, and in particular by Ennius: but it was so altered and so improved (46) by Lucilius, that he was called the inventor of it. This was a kind of poetry wholly of the Roman growth; and the only one they had that was so: and even as to this, Lucilius improved it a good deal by the side lights he borrowed from the (47) old comedy at Athens. Not long after, Lucretius brought their poetry acquainted with philosophy; and Catullus began to shew the Romans something of the excellence of the Greek lyric poets. Lucretius discovers a great deal of spirit, wherever his subject will give him leave; and the first moment he steps a little aside from it, in all his digressions, he is fuller of life and fire, and appears to have been of a more poetical turn, than Virgil himself: which is partly acknowledged in the fine compliment the latter seems (48) to pay him in his Georgicks. His subject often obliges him to go on heavily for a hundred lines together: but wherever he breaks out, he breaks out like lightning from a dark cloud; all at once, with force, and brightness. His character in this agrees with what

is

(45) Tragediæ scriptores Actius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, & auctoritate personarum; cæterum nitor & summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsi defuisse. Virium tamen Actio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt. Quintilian. Instit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665.

Paterculus places the greatest excellence of the Roman tragedy in the same persons. In Actio (says he) circæque eum Romana erat tragedia, (L. 1. c. 17.) This general expression of Actius, and some about the same time, is fixt by himself to Actius and Pacuvius, in another place, where he is speaking again of the same subject. Clara etiam per idem ævi spatium fuere ingenia, in togatis, Afranii; in tragediis, Pacuvii, atque Actii; usque in Græcorum ingeniorum comparationem evecti, magnumque inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum: adeo ut in illis limæ, in hoc præne plus videatur fuisse sanguinis. Patere. L. 2. c. 9. See Note 32, anteh. & 52, posth.

(46) ——— Quid cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem?
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 1. §. 63.

——— Fuit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis & urbanus; fuerit limator idem,
Quam rudis; & Græcis intasit carminis autor; &c.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 66.

Satira quidem tota nostra est: in quâ primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius. Quintilian. Instit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 748. Ed. Hack. 1665.

(47) Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanæque poetæ,

Atque alii quorum comœdia pifca virorum est;
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus aut fur,
Quod mæchus foret, aut ficiarius, aut aliqui
Famofus, multa cum libertate notabant:
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hoc fecutus,
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque facetus.

Horat. L. 1. Sat. 4. §. 7.

(48) The passage here alluded to, is this:
Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!
Atque metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Virgil, Georg. 2. §. 492.

Virgil had been saying that his greatest delight was in the Muses: that he could wish to treat of natural philosophy in verse; but that if he had not spirit enough for so great an undertaking, he would however please himself in rural subjects. "Happy (says he) is the person that has done the former with so good an effect; and not unhappy are those, that are engaged, and can divert themselves at least in the latter."

Lucretius was the only one of the Romans who had wrote any philosophical poem, when Virgil said this: —all the points he mentions here, are treated of in that poem: —the effects of it spoken of by Virgil, are the very things which Lucretius aimed at: —and Virgil in speaking of the author of it, uses some words and expressions taken directly from this poem of Lucretius. All which (considered together with Virgil's general manner of rather hinting at things, than speaking them quite out) make it quite clear to me, that it was Lucretius whom he means, in this passage.

is (49) said of him: that a philtre he took had given him a frenzy; and that he wrote in his lucid intervals. He, and Catullus, wrote when letters in general began to flourish at Rome much more than ever they had done. Catullus was too wise to rival him; and was the most admired of all his other cotemporaries, in all the different ways of writing he attempted. His odes perhaps are the least valuable part of his works. The strokes of satire in his epigrams are very severe: and the descriptions in his idylliums, very full and picturesque. He paints strongly; but all his paintings have more of force than elegance; and put one more in mind of Homer, than Virgil.

With these I should chuse to close the first age of the Roman poetry: an age, more remarkable for strength, than for refinement in writing. I have dwelt longer on it perhaps than I ought; but the order and succession of these poets wanted much to be settled; and I was obliged to say something of each of them, because I may have recourse to each, on some occasion or another, in shewing you my collection. All that remains to us of the poetical works of this age, are the miscellaneous poems of Catullus; the philosophical poem of Lucretius; six comedies by Terence, and twenty by Plautus. Of all the rest there is nothing left us, except such passages from their works as happened to be quoted by the antient writers; and particularly by Cicero and the old critics.

You need not make any apologies, says Philander, for having dwelt so long on this subject. It lies so far back and so much in the dark, that I should have been better pleased, if you had enlarged more upon it. I could have wished, in particular, to have heard your sentiments a little more fully, as to the characters and merit of these poets of the first age. The best way to settle that, replied Polymetis, where so little of their own works remains, is by considering what is said of them by the other Roman writers, who were well acquainted with their works. The best of the Roman critics we can consult now, and perhaps the best they ever had, are Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian. If we compare their sentiments of these poets together, we shall find a disagreement in them, but a disagreement which I think may be accounted for without any great difficulty. Cicero (as he lived before the Roman poetry was brought to perfection, and possibly (50) was no very good judge of poetry himself,) seems to think more highly of them than the others. He gives (51) up Livius indeed; but then he makes it up in commending Nævius. All the other comic poets he quotes often with respect; and as to the tragic, he carries it so far (52) as to seem strongly inclined to oppose old Ennius to Æschylus, Pacuvius to Sophocles, and Actius to Euripides.—This high notion of the old poets was probably the general fashion in his time; and it continued afterwards (especially among the more elderly sort of people) in the Augustan age: and indeed much longer. Horace in his epistle to Augustus (53) combats it as a vulgar error in his time; and perhaps it was an error from which that prince himself was not wholly free. However that be, Horace on this

(49) By Creech; in his Life of Lucretius.

(50) Whatever disputes there may be among the moderns on that head, it seems to have been the most common notion among the antients, that Cicero was no good poet himself: and Juvenal calls his poems, by no better a name than that of, Ridiculous.

O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam!
Antoni gladios posuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo,
Quam te conspicui, divina Philippica, famæ.

Juvenal. Sat. 10. v. 125.

This affectation of writing in a sort of monkish rhyme, (O fortunatam natam, &c.) which Juvenal chuses to instance in, was probably common in Cicero's poetical writings. There are several instances of it, in those verses that remain to us of his hand.

(51) See Note 24, anteh.

(52) Quid causæ est cur poetas Latinos Græcis literis eruditi legant, philosophos non legant? An quia delectat Ennius, Pacuvius, Actius, multi alii, qui non verba sed vim Græcorum expresseerunt poetarum? Quanto magis philosophi delectabunt, si ut illi Æschylum, Sophoclem, Euripidem; sic hi Platonem imitentur, Aristotelem, Theophrastum? Cicero. Acad. Quest. L. 1. §. 3.—Id primum in poetis cerni licet, quibus est proxima cognatio cum oratoribus, quam sint inter sese Ennius, Pacuvius, Actiusque dissimiles; quam apud Græcos, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides; quanquam omnibus par pæne laus in dissimili scribendi genere tribuatur. Id. de Orat. L. 3. §. 7.

(53) L. 2. Ep. 1. v. 18, to v. 89.

this occasion enters into the question, very fully, and with a good deal of warmth. The character he gives of the old dramatic poets, (which indeed includes all the poets I have been speaking of, except Lucilius, Lucretius, and Catullus;) is perhaps rather too severe. He says (54), "That their language was in a great degree superannuated, even in his time; that they are often negligent, and incorrect: and that there is generally a stiffness in their compositions: that people indeed might pardon these things in them, as the fault of the times they lived in; but that it was provoking, they should think of commending them for those very faults." In another piece of his which turns pretty much on the same subject, he gives Lucilius's character, much in the same manner. He (55) owns "that he had a good deal of wit; but then it is rather of the farce-kind, than true genteel wit. He is a rapid writer, and has a great many good things in him; but is often very superfluous and incorrect: his language is dash'd affectedly with Greek: and his verses are hard and unharmonious."—Quintilian steers the middle way between both. Cicero perhaps was a little misled by his nearness to their times; and Horace by his subject, which was professedly to speak against the old writers: Quintilian therefore does not commend them so generally as Cicero, nor speak against them so strongly as Horace; and is perhaps more to be depended upon in this case, than either of them. He compares the works of Ennius (56) to some sacred grove, in which the old oaks look rather venerable than pleasing. He commends (57) Pacuvius and Aælius for the strength of their language and the force of their sentiments; but says, they wanted that polish which was set on the Roman poetry afterwards. He speaks (58) of Plautus and Cæcilius, as applauded writers; of Terence, as a most elegant, and of Afranius as an excellent one; but they all, says he, fall (59) infinitely short of the grace and beauty which is to be found in the Attic writers of comedy, and which is perhaps peculiar to the dialect they wrote in. To conclude, according to him Lucilius is too (60) much cried up by many, and too much run down by Horace: Lucretius is more (61) to be read for his matter, than for his style: and Catullus is remarkable in the (62) satirical part of his works; but scarce so in the rest of his lyric poetry.

As Polymetis was saying this, a servant came in to let him know that there was company desired to see him. It was a visit of mere civility; and, luckily, a very short one. As soon as they were gone, he went on as follows.

- (54) Si quædam nimis antiquæ, si pleraque duræ
Dicere credit eos, ignavæ multa fatetur;
Et sapit, & mecum facit; & Jove judicat æquo.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. §. 68.
Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
Compositum illepidè putetur; sed quia nuper:
Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem & præmia posci.
ibid. §. 78.

tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima. ibid.—Togatis excellit Afranius. ib. p. 750.

- (55) See Horace, L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 1, to 11; 20, to 30; and 50, to 71.

- (56) Ennius sicut sacros vetustate lucos, adoremus; in quibus grandia & antiqua robor, jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem. Quintilian. Instit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 746. Ed. 1665.

- (57) See the beginning of Note 45, anteh.

- (58) In comœdiâ maximè claudicamus: licet Varro dicat Musas, Ælii Stolonis sententiâ, Plautino fermone locuturas fuisse, si Latinè loqui vellent; licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur; quæ

- (59) Vix levem consequimur umbram: adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis Venerem; quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint. ib.

- (60) Quosdam ita deditos sibi habet amatores (Lucilius) ut eum non ejusdem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio dissentio. ib. p. 748.

- (61) Macer & Lucretius legendi quidem (by young orators) sed non ut phrasin, id est corpus eloquentiæ, faciant: elegantes in suâ quique materiâ; sed alter humilis, alter difficilis. ib. p. 746.

- (62) Speaking of Iambic verse, he says; Cujus acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio:—at Lyricorum, idem Horatius ferè solus legi dignus. ib. p. 749.

D I A L. III.

Of the Flourishing State of Poetry among the Romans.

THE first age was only as the dawning of the Roman poetry, in comparison of the clear full light that opened all at once afterwards, under Augustus Cæsar. The state, which had been so long tending towards a monarchy, was quite settled down to that form by this prince. When he had no longer any dangerous opponents, he grew mild; or, at least, concealed the cruelty of his temper. He gave peace and quiet to the people that were fallen into his hands; and looked kindly on the improvement of all the arts and elegancies of life among them. He had a minister too under him, who (tho' a (1) very bad writer himself) knew how to encourage the best: and who admitted the best poets, in particular, into a very great share of friendship and intimacy with him. Virgil was one of the foremost in this list: who at his first setting out grew (2) soon their most applauded writer for genteel pastorals; then gave them the most beautiful

(1) Cæterum si, omisso optimo illo & perfectissimo genere eloquentiæ, eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem, quam calamitatos Mæcenatis, aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo malim oratorem vel hirtâ togâ induere, quam fucatis & metreticis vestibus insignire. Quintilian. de Causis corruptæ Eloquent. T. 2. p. 737. Ed. 1665.

Augustus used to divert himself often in ridiculing this affectation of Mæcenas's style. Cacozelos & antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprexit. Exaggitabat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatem suum; cuius *μυροσπερεια* (ut ait) cincinnos usquequaque persequitur, & imitando per jocum irridet, Suetonius in Aug. §. 86.

Macrobius has preserved part of one of Augustus's letters to Mæcenas; in which that prince does the very thing, that Suetonius here speaks of.—Augustus, quia Mæcenatem suum noverat esse stylo remisso, molli & delicato, talem se in epistolis quas ad eum scribebat sæpius exhibebat; et contra castigationem loquendi, quam aliis ille scribendo servabat, in epistolâ ad Mæcenatem familiari, plura in jocos effusa subtexuit. "Vale, mel gentium, melcule! Ebur ex Hetruria, Jacunar Aretinum, adamas supernas! Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragde, jaspis sigulorum, berylle Porfennæ! Carbunculum habes (*να σου τεινε παντα μαλαγματα*) mæcharum!" Which piece of burlesque might, perhaps, run thus in English: "Farewell, my dear honey, and the honey of all nations! Thou piece of ivory from Tuscany, thou fretwork-ceiling of Arezzo, thou diamond over our heads! The pearl of Tiber, emerald of the Cilnian family, jasper of the land of earthen-ware, and beril for the finger of king Porfenna! Among all these jewels, mayest thou not fail of having the carbuncle of the debauchees!"

Mæcenas's style must have been excessively affected, to have deserved such an imitation as this: and as it happens, Seneca has given us two or three instances from some works of Mæcenas himself, which shew that it could not well be set in too ridiculous a light. It is where that author is saying, that people's manner of writing is apt to take its cast from their manner of

living. To prove this, he mentions Mæcenas in particular; and gives us some quotations, from different parts of his works. Quomodo vixerit (says he) notius est, quàm ut nararri nunc debeat; quomodo ambulaverit; quàm delicatus fuerit, quàm cupierit videri; quàm vitia sua latere noluierit. Quid ergo? Non oratio ejus æque soluta est, quàm ipse discinctus? Non tam insignita illius verba sunt, quàm cultus, quàm comitatus, quàm domus, quàm uxor? Magni ingenii vir fuerat, si illud egisset viâ rectiore; si non vitasset intelligi; si non etiam in oratione diffunderet. Videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis, involutam, & errantem, & licentiæ plenam. Mæcenatis in cultu, quid turpius—

"Amne, sylvisque ripâ comantibus?
"Vide ut alveum lintribus arent;
"Versique vado remittant hortos."—Quid?
"Si quis feminæ cirro crispatae
"Labris columbatur; incipitque sus.
"Pirans, ut cervicæ laxâ feratur."—
"Tyranni irremediabilis factio
"Rimantur epulis; lagenæque tentant
"Domos; & sæpe mortem exigunt."—
"Genium festo vix suo testem.
"Tenuis Cereis filia, & crepacem molam."
"Focum mater & uxor invellunt."—

Non statim hæc cum legeris hoc tibi occurrit, hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incefferit? Seneca, Ep. 114.

(2) Phyllidis hic idem tenerosque Amaryllidis ignes
Bucolicis juvenis luserat ante modis.
Ovid. Trist. L. 2. §. 538.

— Forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit: molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerent gaudentes rure Camæne.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 45.

I should take molle here, to be meant of the sweetness of Virgil's verification in his pastorals: and facetum, of the elegance of his style and manner of writing. All writers of pastorals may be divided into two classes; the rural, and the rustic; or if you will, the genteel and the homely. This character of facetus, marks out Virgil's excelling in the genteel pastoral.

beautiful and most correct poem that ever was wrote in the Roman language, in his rules of agriculture: (6) beautiful, that (3) some of the antients seem to accuse Virgil of having studied beauty too much in that piece: and last of all undertook a political poem, in support of the new establishment. I have thought this to be the intent of the *Æneid*, ever since I first read Bosfu: and the more one considers it, the more I think one is confirmed in that opinion. Virgil is (4) said to have begun this poem the very year that Augustus was freed from his great rival, Antony: the government of the Roman empire was to be wholly in him: and tho' he chose to be called their father (5); he was, in every thing but the name, their king. This monarchical form of government must naturally be apt to displease the people. Virgil seems to have laid the plan of his poem to reconcile them to it. He takes advantage of their religious turn, and of some old (6) prophecies that must have been very flattering to the Roman people, as promising them the empire of the whole world. He weaves this in with the most (7) probable account of their origin; that of their being descended from the Trojans. To be a little more particular; Virgil in his *Æneid* shews that *Æneas* was called into their country by the (8) express order of the

(3) As Pliny and Seneca in particular. Sed nos oblitterata quoque scrutabimur; nec deterrebit quorundam rerum humilitas. — Quamquam videmus Virgilium, præcellentissimum vatem, eâ de causâ horum dotes fugisse; tantisque quæ retulit, flores modò rerum decerpisse. Pliny, l. 14. Proœm.—Virgilius noster, qui non quid verissimè, sed quid decentissimè diceretur, apexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, sed legentes delectare. Seneca. L. 13. Epist. 87.

(4) By De la Rue; in his Life of Virgil.

(5) Dum domus *Æneæ* Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
Virgil. *Æn.* 9. v. 449.

Non aliud discordanti patriæ remedium fuisse, quin ut ab uno regeretur: non regno tamen, neque dictatûrâ, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam. Tacit. *Annal.* L. 1. where he is speaking for Augustus.—Princeps here signifies much the same with princeps senatus; and so falls in with the title of pater; the senator by way of eminence, or the ruling senator; which was a title as modest, as his power was exorbitant.

He had the title of pater patriæ too, given him by all the three orders of the state; in the strongest manner that could be.

Sanctæ pater patriæ, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eque.
Ovid. *Triist.* 2. v. 126.

Patris patriæ cognomen universi repente maximoque consensu detulerunt ei. Prima plebs, legatione Antium missâ; dein, quia non recipiebat, in eunti Romæ spectacula, frequens & laureata: mox in curiâ senatus. Neque decreto, neque acclamatione, sed per Valerium Messallam, id mandantibus cunctis. "Quod bonum, inquit, fastumque sit tibi domique tuæ, Cæsar Auguste; sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem reipublicæ & læta huic precari existimamus; senatus te, consentiens cum populo Romano, consalutat patriem." Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus, his verbis; (ipse enim, sicut Messallæ, posuit.) "Compos factus votorum meorum, Patres Conscripti, quid habeo aliud Deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferre liceat?" Suetonius, in Aug. c. 58.

(6) Plutarch, in his life of Julius Cæsar; and Notes 8, & 11, posth.

(7) As being that of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and some of the best Roman historians.

(8) This is marked very strongly throughout all the first part of the *Æneid*. The very night Troy is burnt, *Æneas* is ordered to go and build a city in Italy, and to carry his gods to it; by the spirits of Hector and Creûsa. Cassandra had foretold the same frequently to his father before:

Nunc repeto hæc generi portendere debita nostro:
Et sæpe Hesperiam, sæpe Italia regna vocare.
Æn. 3. v. 185.

Apollo orders the same;

— Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Hic domus *Æneæ* cunctis dominabitur oris:
Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.
Æn. 3. v. 3.

And his domestic gods; more expressly:

— Venturos tollemus in astra nepotes,
Imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tum æmnia magnis
Magna para. —
Mutandæ fedes. Non hæc tibi litora suavit
Delius, aut Cretæ iussit considere Apollo.
Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt, —
Hæc nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus autor, &c.
Æn. 3. v. 167.

The same orders are given to *Æneas* whilst at Carthage, by the spirit of his departed father; *Æn.* 4. v. 351. And lastly, by the great messenger of the chief of all their gods:

Ipsæ deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
Regnator, cælum & terras qui numine torquet:
Ipsæ hæc ferre jubet celeres mandata per auras,
Quid struis, aut quâ spe Lybicis teris otia terris?
Alcanium surgentem & spes heredis Iuli
Respice: cui regnum Italiæ Romanæque tellus
Debeat. —

Æn. 4. v. 275.

— Tot responsa fecuti,
Quæ Superi Manesque dabant, —
Italiam petiere. —

Æn. 10. v. 32—34.

the gods. That he was made king of it by the (9) will of heaven; and by all the human rights that could be. That there was (10) an uninterrupted succession of kings from him, to Romulus. That his heirs were to reign there for ever; and that the Romans under them (11) were to obtain the monarchy of the world. It appears from (12) Virgil, and the other Roman writers, that Julius Cæsar was of this royal race; and that Augustus (13) was his sole heir. The natural result of all this is, that the promises made to the Roman people, in and through this race, terminating in Augustus; the Romans, if they would obey the gods and be masters of the world, were to yield obedience to the new establishment under that prince. As odd a scheme as this may seem now, it is scarce so odd as that of some people among us, who persuaded themselves that an absolute obedience was owing to our kings, on their (14) supposed descent from some unknown patriarch. And yet that had its effect with many about a century ago; and seems not to have quite lost all its influence, even in our remembrance. However that be, I think

it

(9) The divine right appears from what is said in the note before: Virgil takes care to join all the civil rights to it that can be.

He has an hereditary claim from Dardanus and Jafus. *Æn.* 3. *l.* 168.—He has a right by conquest. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 1.—He has a right by compact. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 175, to 225.—And he has a right, by marrying the only daughter of the then king. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 937; and 7. *l.* 50,—52.

(10) *Æneas* succeeds *Latinus*, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 265. *Iulus* succeeds *Æneas*, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 269. his race (which is therefore called the Trojan line by Virgil, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 273.) reign for the next three hundred years; then follows *Romulus*, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 276, till of the Trojan line, as grandson of *Æneas Sylvius*. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 778.

Romulus Affraci quem sanguinis Iliæ mater Educet.—

Æn. 6. *l.* 780.

Æneas, *Latinus*, and the kings before him, resided in old *Latium*, *Æn.* 7. 38, to 49; and 1. *l.* 265. *Iulus* removed the royal seat to *Alba*, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 271, &c. where it continued till *Romulus* transferred it to *Rome*. So that this continued succession of their kings is intimated too by Virgil even in the proposition of his poem: where every thing that is said ought to be of the greatest weight.

What he proposes is to “sing the great hero who came from *Troy*, by the order of heaven, to settle “in *Italy*; the difficulties he underwent in his voyage, “and the wars he sustained; before he could found a “city, and introduce his religion into *Latium*. Whence “sprung, first the *Latian* line of kings; then, their “chiefs at *Alba*; and lastly, the powers of *Rome*, that “raised herself so high among the nations.”

(11) *Homer* had said, that *Æneas* and his descendants should be princes for ever; or, in the eastern style, from generation to generation.

Ὅσσα μὲν ἀσπέρμος γένετο καὶ ἀφάρτος ἄλλοιαι
Δαρδάνῃ, οὗ Κρονίδης περὶ παῖδων φίλος παῖδων,
Οἱ εἴθεν ἐξέγενοντο γυναικῶν τε θνητῶν.
Ἦδ' οὐ γὰρ Πάριον γένος ἤχθη Κρονίων.
Νῦν δὲ δι' Αἰνείας Ἰὼν Τρώων ἀναΐξει.
Καὶ παῖδες παῖδων, οἳ κεν μετ' ὀπίθῃ γενέσθαι.

Homeri Il. T. l. 308.

That this prophecy was much insisted on by *Augustus* and his favourers, appears probable from the early care that was taken to alter the reading from *Τρῳάων* to *Παρίων*. See *Ruæus* in *Æn.* 3. *l.* 97. *Pope*, on *Il.* 20. *l.* 355, and *Bochart's* letter to *Se-*

5

grais. Agreeably to which, Virgil in inserting this prophecy in his *Æneid*, says the Trojan race, or family of *Æneas* should reign in *Italy*, and obtain the universal empire.

*Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris;
Et nati natorum, & qui nascuntur ab illis.*

Æn. 3. *l.* 97.

He uses the same, even proverbially:

*Dum domus Æneæ Capitolii immobile saxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.*

Æn. 9. *l.* 449.

There are several other passages to the same purpose,

—*Aspera Juno*—

*Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus ætas
Cum domus Affraci Phthiam claraque Mycenæ
Servitio premet.*

Say Jiguel, Æn. 1. l. 285.

*Externi veniant generi, qui sanguis nostram
Nomen in astra ferent; quorumque ab stirpe nepotum
Omnia sub pedibus, quæ sol utrumque recurrens
Aspicit oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.*

Faunus' Oracle to Latinus. Æn. 7. l. 101.

(12) *Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astra;
Julius, à magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

Æn. 1. *l.* 288.

—*Genus qui ducis Olympo,*

Proijce tela prior, sanguis meus—

Anchises, of Julius Cæsar. Æn. 6. l. 836.

Several of the Roman writers speak of this high descent of *Julius Cæsar*; and *Suetonius* in particular, who mentions a funeral oration made by *Julius Cæsar*, over one of his relations, in which he says were these words; “*Amitæ meæ, Juliæ, maternum genus ab regibus ortum; paternum, cum diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt reges, quo nomine fuit mater: à Venere, Julii; cujus gentis familia est nostra.*” *Suet. in Julio. l. 6.*

(13) His uncle *Julius* adopted him for his son; and made him his heir. *Utque primum occidit eum, hæredemque se comperit; urbe repetita, hæreditatem adiit: atque ab eo tempore exercitiis comparatus, primum cum M. Antonio Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio, per duodecim fere annos; novissimè, per quatuor & quadraginta, solus rempublicam tenuit.* *Suetonius in Aug. l. 8.*

(14) See *Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarchal Scheme*; with *Mr. Locke's* confutation of it.

it appears plain enough that the two great points aimed at by Virgil in his *Æneid*, were to maintain their old religious tenets; and to support the new form of government, in the family of the Cæsars. That poem therefore may very well be considered as a religious and political work: or rather (as the vulgar religion with them was scarce any thing more than an engine of state) it may fairly enough be considered as a work merely political. If this was the case, Virgil was not so highly encouraged by Augustus and Mæcenas for nothing. To speak a little more plainly; he wrote in the service of the new usurpation on the state; and all that can be offered in vindication of him in this light is, that the usurper he wrote for was grown a tame one; and that the temper and bent of their constitution at that time was such, that the reins of government must have fallen into the hands of some one person or another; and might probably, on any new revolution, have fallen into the hands of some one less mild and indulgent than Augustus was at the time when Virgil wrote this poem in his service. But whatever may be said of his reasons for writing it, the poem itself has been highly applauded in all ages, from its first appearance to this day: and tho' left (15) unfinished by its author, has been always reckoned as much superior to all the other epic poems among the Romans, as Homer's is among the Greeks. It preserves more to us of the religion of the Romans, than all the other Latin poets (excepting only Ovid) put together: and gives us the forms and appearances of their deities as strongly, as if we had so many pictures of them preserved to us, done by some of the best hands in the Augustan age. It is remarkable that he is commended by some of the antients themselves, for the strength of his imagination (16) as to this particular; tho' in general that is not his character, so much as exactness. He was certainly the most correct poet, even of his time; in which all false thoughts and idle ornaments in writing were discouraged: and it is as certain, that there is but little of invention in his *Æneid*; much less, I believe, than is generally imagined. Almost all the little facts in it are (17) built on history; and even as to the particular lines, no one perhaps ever (18) borrowed more from the poets that preceded him, than he did. He goes so far back as to old Ennius; and often inserts whole verses, from him, and some other

(15) Tho' this is mentioned by several antient writers; I think the plainest proof of it is the many breaks, or hemistiches, in the poem itself; a thing never done in any finished poem by any other Roman poet of his time; nor by Virgil himself, in any of his other poems which were finished.

(16) *Magnæ mentis opus* —
 — Currus & equos, faciesque decorum,
 Concipere; & qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnyes.
 Nam si Virgilio puer & tolerabile desit
 Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri:
 Surda nihil generet grave buccina. —
 Juvenal. Sat. 7. l. 71.

Juvenal on this occasion points to the very noblest efforts of imagination that Virgil has shewn in his whole poem; and it is remarkable that they all relate to their deities. Curros & equos, may refer to that terrible description of Mars in his chariot, *Æn.* 12. l. 332, or that mild one of Neptune, *Æn.* 1. l. 127, 146, and 155, as facies decorum, to that noble passage, in the description of Troy sinking in its flames:

Aspice (namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
 Mortales hebetat visus tibi, & humida circum
 Caligat, nubem eripiam) —
 Hic, ubi dejectas moles avulsæque saxis
 Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
 Neptunus muros, magnæque emota tridenti
 Fundamenta quatit; totumque ab sedibus urbem
 Eruit. Hic Juno Scæas sævissima portas
 Prima tetet, sociumque furens à navibus agmen
 Ferro accincta vocat. —

Jam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas

6

Infedit; nimbo effulgens, & Gorgone favæ. —
 Apparent diræ facies, inimicæque Trojæ
 Numina magna deum. —

Æn. 2. l. 623.

The next words are, evidently, spoken of this passage in the 7th *Æneid*:

Talibus Alesto dictis exarsit in iras.
 At juveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus:
 Dirigere ocelli. Tot Eriany sibilat hydri:
 Tantaque se facies aperit! Tum flammæ torquens
 Lumina, cunctantem & quærentem dicere plura
 Reppulit; et geminos erexit crinibus angues;
 Verberaque insonuit. —

Æn. 7. l. 451.

And the last, as evidently, of this:

At favæ, è speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
 Ardua tecta petit stabuli; & de culmine summo
 Pastorale canit signum, cornuque recurvo
 Tartaream intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
 Contremuit nemus, & sylvæ intonare profundæ.
 Audit & Trivæ longæ lacus; audit amnis
 Sulfuræ Nar albus aqua, fonteque Velini:
 Et trepidæ matres preffere ad pectora natos.

Æn. 7. l. 518.

(17) There are several even of the minutest passages in the *Æneid*, (such as Afcanius's jest, and the like) which appear to have been traditional and historical, to any one that has read Dionysius Halicarnassæus.

(18) This appears from Macrobius, and the other collectors of Virgil's imitations of Homer, &c.

other of their earliest writers. The obsolescence of their style did not hinder him much in this: for he (19) was a particular lover of their old language; and no doubt inserted many more antiquated words in his poem, than we can discover at present. Judgment is his distinguishing character: and his great excellence consisted in chusing and ranging things aright. Whatever he borrowed, he had the skill of making his own; by weaving it so well into his work, that it looks all of a piece: even those parts of his poem, where this may be most practised, resembling a fine piece of Mosaic; in which all the parts, tho' of such different marbles, unite together; and the various shades and colours are so artfully disposed, as to melt off insensibly into one another.

ONE of the greatest beauties in Virgil's private character was his modesty and (20) good-nature. He was apt to think humbly of himself, and handsomely of others: and was ready to shew his love of merit, even where it might seem to clash with his own. He (21) was the first who recommended Horace to Mæcenas. Horace was the fittest man in the world for a court, where wit was so particularly encouraged. No man seems to have had more; and all of the genteelst sort: or to have been better acquainted with mankind. His gayety, and even his debauchery, made him still the more agreeable to Mæcenas. So that it is no wonder that his acquaintance with that minister grew up to so high a degree of friendship, as is very uncommon between a first minister and a poet; and which had possibly such an effect on the latter, as one shall scarce ever hear of between any two friends, the most on a level; for there is some room to (22) conjecture, that he hastened himself out of this world, to accompany his great friend in the next. Horace has been generally (23) most celebrated for his lyric poems; in which he far ex-
celled

(19) *Unde pictæ vestis, & aquæ, Virgilius amantissimus vetustatis carminibus inferuit.* Quintilian. *Instit.* Or. L. 1. c. 7. p. 70. Ed. Hack. 1665.—A great many of these old words in Virgil have probably been altered by the transcribers. *Quid quod Ciceronis temporibus, paulumque infra, fere quoties f litera media vocalium longarum, vel subiecta longis efficit, geminabatur? ut causâ, cassus, divisiones. Quo modo et ipsum, et Virgilium quoque scripsisse, manus eorum docent.* ib. p. 71.—And others have been mistaken by the critics.—Thus for instance, they say Virgil uses *fervere* short, *Æn.* 8. v. 677. that the sound may agree more with the sense of the word; whereas the true reason was his imitating the practice of the antients; who, as we learn from the same author, used *fervo* and *ferveo* indifferently. ib. L. 1. c. 6. p. 57.

(20) Plotius, & Varius Sineuæ, Virgiliusque Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores Terra tulit. —

Horat. L. 1. Sat. 5. v. 41.

Refert Pedianus benignam cultoremque omnium bonorum atque eruditorum fuisse; & usque adeo invidiæ expertem fuisse, ut si quid eruditè dictum inspicere alterius, non minus gaudere ac si suum fuisset. Neminem vituperare, laudare bonos. Eâ humanitate esse, ut nisi perverfus maximè quisque illum non diligeret modò, sed amaret. Nihil proprii habere videbatur. Ejus bibliotheca non minus aliis doctis patebat, quam sibi.—Cœvos omnes poetas ita adjunctos habuit, ut cum inter se plurimum invidiâ arderent, illum unâ omnes colerent. Donatus's Life of Virgil.

(21) ——— Optimus olim Virgilius; post hunc Varius dixere quid effem.

Horat. L. 1. Sat. 6. v. 55.

(22) Considering the manner in which Horace lived with Mæcenas, and the freedom with which he writes, even when he is complimenting him; what

he says to him in an ode, written when that minister was extremely ill, looks I think a little too serious to be nothing but a poetical rhodomontade,

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
Nec Dis amicum est nec mihi, te prius
Obire, Mæcenas: mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
Ah, te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maurior vis, quid moror altera?
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer. Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum. Ibis, ibimus
Utique præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.

Horat. L. 2. Ode 17. v. 11.

After so solemn a profession of Horace, that he would follow Mæcenas soon, if he should die first; it seems at least a little odd, that Horace's death should follow his so soon, as it is said to have done.—They both died in the end of the year 746 V. C. according to Pere Sanadon: and according to the old life of Horace, attributed to Suetonius, Mæcenas speaks most affectionately of him in his last will; Horace dies about three weeks after him; and orders that his remains should be buried close by Mæcenas's.

(23) Multò est terrior, (he was speaking of Lucilius) & purus magis Horatius; & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus.—Lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus: nam & infurgit aliquando; & plenus est jucunditatis, et gratiæ; & variis figuris, & verbis, felicissimè audax. Quintilian. *Instit.* Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665.

His lyric poetry is the thing Ovid chuses to commend him for too, in his catalogue of the Augustan poets;

Et tenuis nostras numerosus Horatius aures,
Dum ferit Ausoniâ carmina culta lyrà.

Trist. L. 4. El. 10. v. 39

celled all the Roman poets, and perhaps was no unworthy rival of several of the Greek; which seems to have been (24) the height of his ambition. His next point of merit, as it has been usually reckoned, was his refining satire; and bringing it from the coarseness and harshness of Lucilius, to that genteel easy manner; which he, and perhaps none but he, and one person more in all the ages since, has ever possessed. I do not remember that any one of the antients says any thing of his epistles: and this has made me sometimes imagine, that his epistles and satires might originally have passed under one and the same name; perhaps that of *Sermones*. They are generally written in a style approaching to that of conversation; and are so much alike, that several of the satires might just as well be called epistles, as several of his epistles have the spirit of satire in them. This latter part of his works, by whatever name you please to call them (whether satires and epistles, or discourses in verse on moral and familiar subjects,) is what I must own, I love much better even than the lyric part of his works. It is in these that he shews that talent for criticism, in which he so very much excelled: especially in his long epistle to Augustus; and that other to the Piso's, commonly called his Art of poetry. They abound in strokes which shew his great knowledge of mankind; and in that pleasing way he had of teaching philosophy, of laughing (25) away vice, and insinuating virtue into the minds of his readers. They may serve, as much as almost any writings can, to make men wiser and better: for he has the most agreeable way of preaching that ever was. He was, in general, an honest, good man himself; at least, he does not seem to have had any one ill-natured vice about him. Other poets we admire: but there is not any of the antient poets that I should wish to have been acquainted with, so much as Horace. One cannot be very conversant with his writings, without having a friendship for the man; and longing to have just such another as he was for one's friend.

IN that happy age, and in the same court, flourished Tibullus. He enjoyed the acquaintance of Horace; who mentions him in a kind and friendly manner, both in his (26) odes and in his epistles. Tibullus is evidently the most exact and most beautiful writer of love-verses among the Romans: and was (27) esteemed so by their best judges; tho' there were some, it seems, even in their better ages of writing and judging, who preferred Propertius to him. Tibullus's talent seems to have been only for elegiac verse: at least his compliment on Messalla, (which is his only poem out of it,) shews I think too plainly, that he was neither designed for heroic verse, nor panegyric. Elegance is as much his distinguishing character among the elegiac writers of this age, as it is Terence's among the comic writers of the former: and if his subject will never let him be sublime, his judgment at least always keeps him from being faulty. His rival and cotemporary Propertius, seems to have set himself too many different models, to copy either of them so well as he might otherwise have done. In one (28) place, he calls himself the Roman Callimachus; in another

(24) *Te greges centum Siculaque circum
Mugiant vaccae: tibi tollit hianitum
Apta quadrigis equa: te bis Afro
Maurice tinctæ
Vestiant lanæ. Mihi parva rura, &
Spiritus Græcæ tenuem Camænæ,
Parca non mendax dedit; & malignum
Spernere vulgus.*
L. 2. Od. 16. §. 40.

He has the same turn of expression (according to Mr. Markland's reading) in his first ode, to Mæcenæ.—

*Te doctarum hederæ premia frontium
Dis miscent superis. Me gelidum nemos, &c.*
And when he adds:
*Quod si me Lyricis vatibus inferes,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice;*

He must be understood to speak of the Greek lyric

poets; because even the learned among the Romans, studied no language but their own, and the Greek: and they had no famous lyric poets of their own, before Horace.

(25) *Omne vas vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit; & admixtus circum præcordia ludit.*
Persius, Sat. 1. §. 117.

(26) Horace, L. 1. Od. 33. & L. 1. Ep. 4.

(27) *Elegia Græcos quoque provocamus: cujus mihi
terlus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus.
Sunt qui Propertium malunt. Ovidius utroque lascivior,
sicut durior Gallus. Quintilian. Instit. Or.
L. 10. c. 1. p. 748. Ed. Hack. 1665.*

(28) Propertius, L. 4. El. 1. §. 64.

another (29) he talks of rivaling Philetas : and he is said (30) to have studied Minnermus, and some other of the Greek lyric writers, with the same view. You may see by this, and the practice of all their poets in general, that it was the constant method of the Romans (whenever they endeavoured to excel) to set some Greek pattern or other before them. Propertius perhaps might have succeeded better, had he fixed on any one of these ; and not endeavoured to improve by all of them indifferently. Ovid makes up the triumvirate of the elegiac writers of this age ; and is more loose and incorrect than either of the other. As Propertius followed too many masters, Ovid endeavoured to shine in too many different kinds of writing at the same time. Besides, he had a redundant (31) genius ; and almost always chose rather to indulge, than to give any restraint to it. If one was to give any opinion of the different merit of his several works, one should not perhaps be much beside the truth in saying, that he excels most in his *Fasti* ; then perhaps in his love-*verses* : next, in his heroic epistles ; and lastly, in his *Metamorphosis*. As for the *verses* he wrote after his misfortunes, he has quite lost his spirit in them : and tho' you may discover some difference in his manner, after his banishment (32) came to set a little lighter on him ; his genius never shines out fairly, after that fatal stroke. His very love of being witty had forsaken him ; tho' before it seems to have grown upon him, when it was least becoming, toward his old age : for his *Metamorphosis* (which was the last poem he wrote at Rome, and which indeed was not quite (33) finished when he was sent into banishment,) has more instances of false wit in it, than perhaps all his former writings put together. One of the things I have heard him most cried up for in that piece, is his transitions from one story to another. The ancients thought differently of this point ; and Quintilian, where he is speaking of them, endeavours rather (34) to excuse than to commend him on that head. We have a considerable loss in the latter half of his *Fasti* ; and in his *Medea*, which is much commended. Dramatic poetry seems not to have flourished in proportion to the other sorts of poetry, in the Augustan age. We scarce hear any thing of the comic poets of that time ; and if tragedy had been much cultivated then, the Roman writers would certainly produce some names from it to (35) oppose to the Greeks, without going so far back as to those of *Actius* and *Pacuvius*. Indeed their own critics in speaking of the dramatic writings of this age, boast rather of single pieces, than of authors : and the (36) two particular tragedies which they talk of in the highest strain, are this *Medea* of Ovid and *Varius's Thyestes*. However, if it was not the age for plays ; it was certainly the age, in which almost all the other kinds of poetry were in their greatest excellence at Rome.

UNDER

(29) *Id. ib. El. 6. 3.*

(30) By *P. Crinitus* ; in his life of *Propertius*.

(31) *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuerit ; si ingenio suo temperare, quam indulgere maluisset. Quintilian. Instit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665. Quintilian almost always uses the word, Lascivus, to express this character of Ovid's writings. Lascivus quidem in heroicis quoque Ovidius ; & nimium amator ingenii sui : laudandus tamen in partibus. ib. p. 746. — Ovidius utroque lascivior (of his elegies) ib. p. 748. — Ut Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosi solet. Ib. p. 286.*

(32) He does not mention any thing of his standing up against his misfortunes till the fifth book of his *Tristium* : and the 2d and 3d epistles of his third book ex *Ponto*, are the first in which he begins to tell any story in his *Fasti*-style.

(33) *Difflaque sunt nobis, quamvis manus ultima coopto Defuit, in facies corpora versa novæ.*
Ovid. Trist. L. 2. 3. 556.

(34) *Illa frigida & puerilis est in scholis affectatio, ut ipse transitus efficiat aliquam utique sententiam, & hujus velut præstigiæ plausum petat ; ut Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosi solet. Quem tamen excusare necessitas potest ; res diversissimas in speciem unius corporis colligentem. Oratori vero, &c. Institut. Orat. L. 4. c. 1. p. 286. Ed. Hack. 1665.*

(35) See *Dial. 2. Note 45.*

(36) *Plures hodie reperies, qui Ciceronis gloriam quam Virgilii detractent : nec ullus Asinii aut Messallæ liber tam illustris est, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes. Quintilian. de Causis Cor. Eloq. T. 2. p. 718. Ed. Hack. 1665. — He mentions both the same tragedies, in the same manner, in his Institut. Or. T. 1. p. 749.*

UNDER this period of the best writing, I should be inclined to insert Phædrus. For tho' he published after the good manner of writing was in general on the decline, he (37) flourished and formed his style under Augustus: and his book, tho' it did not appear till the reign (38) of Tiberius, deserves on all accounts to be reckoned among the works of the Augustan age. *Fabulæ Æsopæ* was probably the title (39) which he gave his fables. He professedly follows Æsop in them: and declares that he keeps to his (40) manner, even where the subject is of his own invention. By this it appears that Æsop's way of telling stories was very short, and plain; for the distinguishing beauty of Phædrus's fables is, their conciseness and simplicity. The taste was so much fallen at the time when he published them, that both these were objected to him as faults. He used those critics as they deserved. He tells a (41) long and tedious story, to those who objected against the conciseness of his style; and answers some others who condemned the plainness of it, with a run of (42) bombast verses, that have a great many noisy elevated words in them without any sense at the bottom.

WILL you, Myfagetes, give me leave to add Manilius to this list of the Augustan poets? I know you can scarce allow him a place among them; and own, you have reason enough not to admire him. Place him where you please, answered Myfagetes, you will never reconcile me to his poetry; in which I shall always think him inferior to a great many of the Latin poets, who have wrote in these lower ages; so long since Latin has ceased to be a living language. There is at least I believe no instance, in any one poet of the flourishing ages, of such (43) language, or such (44) verification, as we meet with in Manilius; and there is not any one antient writer that speaks one word of any such poet about those times. I doubt not, there were bad poets enough in the Augustan age; but I question whether Manilius may deserve the honour of being reckoned even among the bad poets of that time. What will you say then, replied Polymetis, to the many passages in the poem which relate to the times in which the author lived; and which all have

(37) See Phædrus, L. 3. Fab. 10. §. 8, & 39.

(38) See Phædrus, L. 2. Fab. 5.

(39) — Quoniam caperis fabulis
Quas Æsopæas, non Æsopi, nomino.
Lib. 5. Prol.

(40) By what Phædrus says in his prologue to his first book, one would think that he set out with the design of translating Æsop:

Æsopæ auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polvi versibus senariis.

§. 2.

In the next, he seems to have enlarged his design; but still says, that he will stick close to the manner of Æsop:

Quicumque fuerit ergo narrandi locus,
Dum capiat aurem & fervet propositum suum,
Re commendatur, non auctoris nomine:
Equidem omni curâ morem servabo senis:
Sed si libuerit aliquid interponere,
Distorum sensus ut deleat varietas;
Bonas in partes, lector, accipias velim.

L. 2. Prol. §. 11.

(41) L. 3. Fab. 10. §. 59, 60.

(42) Lib. 4. Fab. 6.

(43) Some instances of such language in Manilius, as is not perhaps to be met with in any other poet of the Augustan age:

Et lenocinium vitæ, præfensque voluptas.

Manilius, 5. 268.

Nec tyrocinio peccet; circumque feratur.

1. 189.

Ore, magisterio, nodoque coercita virgo.

4. 190.

Et cum luce refert operum vadimonia terris.

1. 244.

Solis erit, numero nisi decesserit Olympias una.

3. 555.

Fecit & ignotis itiner commercia terris.

1. 88.

Contra micant, & lingua rabit, latratque loquendo.

5. 224.

Et ter vicinas partes pater atque trecentas

In longum, bis sex latefecit fascia partes

1. 680.

Bisque novem, Nemææ, dabis bestemque sub illis.

3. 571.

Clepusset furto mundum, quo cuncta reguntur.

1. 27.

Engonastu, ingenicla juvenis sub imagine condans.

5. 646.

Augebantque novo vicinas momine summas.

3. 459.

Crimen ubique frequens; & laudi noxia juncta est.

4. 417.

(44) Some instances of such verification in Manilius, as is not to be met with in any other of the Roman poets in the Augustan age:

Nec trahit in se tum, quo fulget Delia, lumen.

4. 811.

Tuncque in desertis habitabat montibus aurum.

1. 75.

Idcircoque manet stabilis, quia totus ab illa.

1. 168.

Atque eget alterius mundus; natura fuisset.

5. 214.

Vel

have (45) a regard to the Augustan age? If the whole be not a modern forgery, I do not see how one can deny his being of that age: and if it be a modern forgery, it is very lucky that it should agree so exactly, in so many little particulars, with the antient globe of the heavens in the Farnese palace. As to the badness of his style, there is an argument to be drawn from Vitruvius and other writers of the same time.—Nay, says Myfagetes, if you begin to draw up your arguments in form against me; and from so many different quarters; it is high time for me to quit the field. I beg I may not interrupt you. If Manilius's work will be of any use to you, let him be one of the most shining lights in the Augustan age, with all my heart. I will very readily give up all my objections, or prejudices, against him; for your service.

I THANK you, says Polymetis; and indeed as he is at present generally reckoned of that age, we had as good keep him where we found him. Allowing then Manilius's poem to pass for what it pretends to be; there is nothing remains to us, of the poetical works of this Augustan age beside what I have mentioned: except the garden poem of Columella: the little hunting-piece of Grattius; and, perhaps, an elegy or two of Gallus.

THESE are but small remains for an age, in which poetry was so well cultivated, and followed by very great numbers; taking the good and the bad together. It is probable, most of the best have come down to us. As for the others, we only hear of the elegies (46) of Capella and Montanus; that Proculus (47), imitated Callimachus; and (48) Rufus, Pindar: that Fontanus wrote a sort of piscatory eclogue; and Macer (49), a poem on the nature of birds, beasts, and plants. That the same Macer, and Rabirius, and Marfius, and Ponticus (50), and Peto Albinovanus, and several others, were epic writers in that time;

(which

Vel sine luxuriâ tantum est opus! Ipsa fuimet.

Offendisse deum nimis est; dabit ipse sibi met.

His adice obliquos diversaque fila legentes.

Fœminæ vestes; nec insunt tegmina plantis.

Hoc genitum credas de genere Bellerophonem.

Sic etiam magno quædam respondere mundo.

Singulaque propriis parentia membra figuris.

Quintilian places this poet always in very good company. Macer & Lucretius legendi quidem, sed non ut phrasin, id est corpus eloquentiæ, faciant. Elegantes in suâ quique materiâ; sed alter humilis, alter difficilis. Infit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 746. Ed. 1665.—Quid? Nicandrum frustra secuti Macer atque Virgilius? Ib. p. 739.

Paterculus pays the same compliment, (or rather a higher,) to Rabirius. Pene fluita est inhærentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio: inter quæ maximè nostri ævi eminent, princeps carminum Virgilius, Rabiriusque. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 36.

(50) Ponticus Heroo, Bassus quoque clarus Iambo.

Trist. L. 4. El. 10. p. 47.

Cum foret & Marfius, magnique Rabirius oris,

Illiciusque Macer, fidereusque Peto:

Et qui Junonem lachisset in Hercule Carus,

Junonis si non jam gener ille foret:

Quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus;

Et cum subtili Priscus uterque Numâ.

Ex Pont. L. 4. El. 16. p. 10.

(45) These passages are very numerous; and very express. Beside several things of less note, he speaks of Julius Cæsar's death. L. 4. p. 60.—of the battles at Philippi, and Actium. L. 1. p. 905, to 920.—of Agrippa. Ib. p. 795.—and of Varus's defeat in Germany. Ib. p. 896.

(46) Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Susceis; & gemino carmine nomen habes.

Ovid. de Ponto. L. 4. El. 16. p. 12.

Naiadas a Satyris caneret Fontanus amatas;

Clauderet imparibus verba Capella modis.

Ibid. p. 36.

(47) Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter.

Ib. p. 32.

(48) Pindaricæ fidicen tu quoque, Rufe, lyre.

Ib. p. 28.

(49) Sæpe suas volucres legit mihi grandior ævo;

Quæque necet serpens, quæ juvet herba, Macer.

Trist. L. 4. El. 10. p. 44.

This Peto Albinovanus was acquainted with Ovid; who writes one of his Epistles from Pontus to him: by which we find the subject of his poem was the actions of Theseus.

At tu, non dubito, cum carmine Thesea laudes,

Materiæ titulos quin tuare tuæ;

Quemque refers, imitere virum.—

L. 4. Ep. 10. p. 73.

Quintilian speaks but slightly both of him and Rabirius; (at least, as helps to his young orator.) Rabirius ac Peto, non indigni cognitione, si vacet. Infit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 747. Ed. 1665.

(which by the way (51) seems to have signified little more, than that they wrote in hexameter verse:) that Fundanius (52) was their best comic poet then, and Mællissus no bad one; that Varius (53) was the most esteemed for epic poetry, before the *Æneid* appeared; and one of the most esteemed for tragedy always: Pollio (besides his other excellencies at the bar, in the camp, and in affairs of state) is (54) much commended for tragedy; and Varus (55) either for tragedy or epic poetry; for it does not quite appear which of the two he wrote. These last are great names; but there remain some of still higher dignity, who were, or at least desired to be thought, poets in that time. In the former part of Augustus's reign, his first minister for home affairs (56), Mæcenas; and in the latter part, his grandson Germanicus, were of this number. Germanicus in particular (57) translated Aratus; and there are some (I do not well know, on what grounds) who pretend to have met with a considerable part of his translation. The emperor himself seems to have been both a good critic, and a good author (58). He wrote chiefly in prose; but some things in verse too; and particularly good part of a tragedy, called *Ajax*.

It is no wonder, under such encouragements, and so great examples, that poetry should arise to a higher pitch than it had ever done among the Romans. They had been gradually improving it for above two centuries: and in Augustus found a prince, whose own inclinations, the temper of whose reign, and whose very politics, led him to nurse all the arts; and poetry, in a more particular manner. The wonder is, when they had got so far toward perfection, that they should fall as it were all at once; and from their greatest purity and simplicity, should degenerate so immediately into a lower and more affected manner of writing than had been ever known among them. But before

(51) Quintilian in speaking of their epic poets reckons in Ovid for his *Metamorphosis*, and Lucretius for his philosophical poem. See his *Instit. Or.* L. 10. c. 1.

(52) Argotâ meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
Fludente senem comis garrere libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani.

L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 42.
Musaque Turrani tragicis inmixta cothurnis;
Et tua cum focco musa, Melisse, levis.
Ovid. ex Pont. L. 4. Ep. 16. §. 30.

(53) — Forte epos acer,
Ut nemo, Varius ducit.

Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 44.

His Thyestes, and Ovid's *Medea*, were generally reckoned the two best tragedies of the Augustan age. See Note 36, anteh.

(54) — Pollio regum
Fasta canit pede ter percussio.

Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. §. 43.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas, & vitia, & modos;
Ludumque fortune; graveque
Principum amicitias, & arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculose plenum opus aleæ,
Trachas, & incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paulam severa musa tragediæ
Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinarias, grande manus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.
Horat. L. 2. Od. 1. ad Asinium Pollionem.

(55) — Nec Phœbo gratior ulla est
Quam tibi quæ Vari præscriptis pagina nomen.
Virgil. Ecl. 6. §. 12.

— Et me fecere poetam
Pierides; sunt & mihi carmina: me quoque dicunt
Vatem pastores. Sed non ego credulus illis:
Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinnâ
Digna; sed argutos interstrepere anser olores.
Id. Ecl. 9. §. 36.
Cum Varus Gracchusque darent fera dicta tyranni.
Ovid. ex Pont. L. 4. Ep. 16. §. 31.

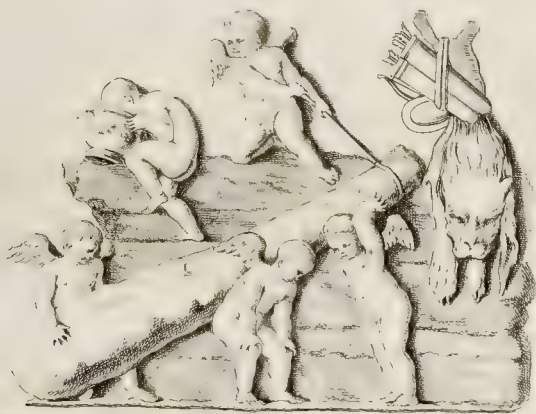
(56) See Note 1, anteh.

(57) Ovid addresses his *Fasts* to him; and speaks of him as a poet in that address:
Quæ sit enim culti sacundia sensimus oris
Civica pro trepidis cum cultis arma reis;
Scimus & ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,
Ingenui currant flumina quanta tui:
Si licet & fas est, vates rege vatis habenas.
Fast. 1. §. 25.

What is received as his translation of Aratus, has been published several times; and is inserted in the *Corpus Poetarum Lat.* p. 1563, to 1566.

(58) Multa varii generis prosâ oratione composuit; ex quibus nonnulla in cœtu familiarium, velut in auditorio, recitavit. Poeticam summam attingit: unus liber extat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus; cuius & argumentum & titulus est *Sicilia*. Extat alter, æque modicus, epigrammatum; quæ fere tempore balnei meditabatur. Tragediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedente stylo abolevit: querentibusque amicis, quidnam *Ajax* ageret? respondit; *Ajaxem suum in spongiam incubuisse*. Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans & temperatum; vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque inconcinnitate, & reconditorum verborum (ut ipse dicit) festoribus; præcipuamque curam duxit, sensum animi quam apertissimè exprimere. Suetonius in Aug. §. 85, & 86.—To this, the quotation from Macrobius; Note 1, anteh.

fore I enter on this third age, it might refresh you a little to take a turn in the garden: where, if you are not yet tired, I can go on with my story as well while we are walking. On condition that you will proceed with that, says Myfagetes, I am for a walk. At the same time Philander rose from his seat; and they went all together for the garden. When they came thither, they found the rain which had threatened all the morning, was actually falling; and so they were forced to content themselves with the portico which runs all along the garden front of the house: where, as they were taking their turns backward and forward, Polymetis finished his account of the Roman poets in the following manner.



D I A L. IV.

Of the Fall of Poetry among the Romans.

THERE are some who assert that the great age of the Roman eloquence I have been speaking of, began (1) to decline a little even in the latter part of Augustus's reign. It certainly fell very much under Tiberius; and grew every day weaker and weaker, till it was wholly changed under Caligula. Hence therefore we may date the third age, or the fall of the Roman poetry. Augustus, whatever his natural temper was, put on at least a mildness, that gave a calm to the state during his time: the succeeding emperors flung off the mask: and not only were, but openly appeared to be rather monsters than men. We need not go to their historians for proofs of their prodigious vileness: it is enough to mention the bare names of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero. Under such heads every thing that was good run to ruin. All discipline in war, all domestic virtues, the very love of liberty, and all the taste for sound eloquence and good poetry, sunk gradually; and faded away, as they had flourished, together. Instead of the sensible, chaste, and manly way of writing that had been in use in the former age, there now rose up a desire of writing smartly, and an affectation of shining in every thing they said. A certain (2) prettiness, and glitter, and luxuriance of ornaments, was what distinguished their most applauded writers in prose; and their poetry was quite lost in high flights and obscurity. Seneca, the (3) favourite prose-writer of those times; and Petronius Arbiter, so great a favourite with many of our own; afford too many proofs of this, as to the prose in Nero's time: and as to the poets, it is enough to say, that they had then Lucan and Persius, instead of Virgil and Horace.

PERSIUS and Lucan, who were the most celebrated poets under the reign of Nero, may very well serve for examples of the faults I just mentioned; one of the swelling, and the other of the obscure style, then in fashion. Lucan's manner in general runs too much into fustian and bombast. His muse has a kind of dropy; and looks like the soldier described in his own *Pharsalia*, who in passing the desert sands of Africa was bit by a serpent, and swelled to such an immoderate size "that (4) he was lost (as he expresses it) in the tumours of his own body." Some critics have been in too great haste to make Quintilian say some good things of Lucan, which he never (5) meant to do.

What

(1) *Mediis Divi Augusti temporibus, — postquam longa temporum quies, & continuum populi otium, & assidua senatus tranquillitas, & maximi principis disciplina, ipsam quoque eloquentiam (sicut omnia alia) pacaverat.* Quintilian. de Causis cor. Eloq. T. 2. p. 754. Ed. 1665. He was saying just before (p. 753.) *Quo plures & intulerit ictus & exceperit, eo acrior, tanto altior & excellior (erit orator:)* and he says a little after (p. 755.) *Non de otiosa & quietâ re loquimur, & quæ probitate & modestiâ gaudeat; sed est magna ista & notabilis eloquentia, alumna licentiæ, (quam stulti libertatem vocabant) comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum; sine obsequio, sine servitute; contumax, temeraria, arrogans; quæ in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur.* — (It grows at last into a compliment to Vespasian, p. 757, & ult.)

(2) *Amœnitates, nitor, and lætitia styli,* are the terms that Quintilian uses perpetually in speaking of this age; in his treatise on the fall of eloquence.

(3) *Postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit (Nero, in his funeral panegyric on Claudius) nemo risui temperare; quanquam oratio à Senecâ composita multum cultus præferret. Fuit illi viro ingenium amœnum, & temporis ejus auribus accommodatum.* — Tacit. Annal. L. 13, initio. — *Senecam, tum maxime placentem.* Suetonius, in Caligulâ. c. 53.

(4) — *Tendit cutem, pereunte figurâ, Miscens cuncta tumor; toto jam corpore major, Humanumque egressa modum, super omnia membra Efflatur fauces: late pollente veneno, Ipse latet penitus congelso corpore mersus.*

Lucan. *Phars.* L. 9. §. 796.

(5) Several critics have quoted the following passage as an high commendation given by Quintilian, to Lucan: — *Exigitur jam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor; non Aëtiæ aut Pacuvii veterino inquinatus; sed ex Horatii, & Virgilii, & Lucani sacratio prolatus.* — But they have scarce considered who it is that

What this poet has been always admired for, and what he will ever deserve to be admired for, are the several philosophical passages that abound in his works; and his generous sentiments, particularly on the love of liberty, and the contempt of death. In his calm hours he is very wise; but he is often in his rants, and never more so than when he is got into a battle, or a storm at sea: but it is remarkable that even on those occasions, it is not so much a violence of rage, as a madness of affectation that appears most strongly in him. I am no great admirer of Lucan, says Philander, for any thing except his fine sentiments on liberty and virtue; but is not what you say of him a little too severe? No, interposed Mylagetes, I must do Polymetis the justice to side with him on this occasion. I have been a great reader of Lucan formerly; and I believe every thing Polymetis has said of him, might be very fully proved from his own words. To give you a few instances of it out of many: in the very beginning of Lucan's storm, when Cæsar ventured to cross the sea in so small a vessel; "the (6) fixt stars themselves seem to be put in motion." Then the "waves rise over the mountains; and (7) carry away the tops of them." Their next step is to heaven; where they catch (8) the rain "in the clouds." I suppose, to increase their forces. The sea opens in several places; and leaves its bottom (9) dry land. All the foundations of the universe are shaken; and (10) nature is afraid of a second chaos. His little skiff, in the mean time, sometimes (11) cuts along the clouds with her sails; and sometimes seems in danger of being stranded, on the sands at the bottom of the sea: and must inevitably have been lost, had not the storm (by good fortune) been so strong (12) from every quarter, that she did not know on which side to bulge first.

WHEN the two armies are going to join battle in the plains of Pharfalia, we are told that all the soldiers were (13) incapable of any fear for themselves; because they were wholly taken up with their concern for the danger which threatened Pompey and the commonwealth. On this great occasion the hills about them, according to his account, seem to be more afraid, than the men: for some of the mountains looked as if they would

that says so. It is true, it is in a dialogue, which (for my own part) I doubt not was written by Quintilian: but then Quintilian's two chief speakers in that dialogue, are of very opposite characters. Aper is a very great advocate for the affected taste grown so much in fashion in some of the bad reigns before, and continued even under Vespasian's: Messalla is as strongly for the old eloquence of Cicero's days. The author of the dialogue appears very plainly, (from his other works, and this very piece itself) to have been of Messalla's opinion; and consequently, to hold just the contrary of what Aper says. Now this severity against the old poets, and this high compliment to Lucan, make part of a warm speech of Aper's: after which too are these words. *Agnoscitisne vim & ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu seculum nostrum defendit? Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos? Lib. de Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ, annexed to Quintilian's works. p. 734.*

(6) — Non solum lapsa per altum
Aëra dispersos traxere cadentia fulcos
Sidera; sed summis etiam quæ fixa tenentur
Astra polis, sunt visa quati.
Lucan's Pharf. Lib. 5. §. 564.

(7) Ah, quoties frustra pulsatos æquore, montes
Obruit illa dies! quàm celsa cacumina pessum
Tellus victa dedit. —
Ibid. §. 617.

(8) — Fluctusque in nubibus accipit imbrem.
Ib. §. 629.

(9) — Scythici vicit rabies Aquilonis; & undas
Torfit: & abstrusas peuitus vada fecit arenas.
Pharf. Lib. 5. §. 604.

(10) Tunc superum convexa tremunt; atque arduus axis
Infonuit; motique poli compage laborant:
Extimuit natura chaos. —
Ib. §. 634.

(11) Nubila tanguntur velis, & terra carinâ.
Ib. §. 642.

(12) Artis opem vicere metus; nescitque magister
Quam frangat, cui cedar aque. Discordia ponti
Succurrit miseris; fluctusque evertere puppim
Non valet in fluctus: victum latus unda repellens
Erigit; atque omni surgit ratis ardua vento.
Ib. §. 649.

This is of the same kind with a monstrous thought of Pacuvius; ridiculed by Lucan's cotemporary, Perseus. That old poet, in speaking of Antiope, seems to have imagined that she had so many griefs all round her heart, that it could not break; as it would certainly have done, if she had had fewer. See Perseus, Sat. 1. §. 78.

(13) — Sua quisque pericula nescit,
Attonitus majore metu. Quis litora ponto
Obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus æquor,
Ætheraque in terras dejecto sole cadentem,
Tot rerum finem, timeat sibi? Non vacat ullus
Pro se ferre metus; urbi, Magnoque timetur.
Pharf. Lib. 7. §. 138.

would (14) thrust their heads together into some corner; and others, as if they wanted to hide themselves under the valleys at their feet. And these disturbances in nature were universal: for that day, every single Roman (15), in whatever part of the world he was, felt a strange gloom spread all over his mind, on a sudden; and was ready to cry, tho' he did not know why or wherefore.

THE sea-fight off Marfeilles, is a thing that might divert one, full as well as Erasmus's *Naufragium Joculare*: and what is still stranger, the poet chuses to be most diverting in the wounds he gives the poor soldiers. The first person killed in it, is pierced (16) at the same instant by two spears; one in his back, and the other in his breast; so nicely, that both their points meet together in the middle of his body. They each, I suppose, had a right to kill him; and his soul was for some time doubtful which it should obey. At last, it compounds the matter; drives out each of the spears before it, at the same instant; and whips out of his body, half at one wound, and half at the other.—A little after this, there is an honest Greek, who has his right hand cut off; and fights on with his left, till he can leap into the sea (17) to recover the former; but there (as misfortunes seldom come single) he has his left arm chopt off too: after which, like the hero in one of our antient ballads, he fights on with the trunk of his body; and performs actions, greater than any Withrington's that ever was.—When the battle grows warmer, there are many who have the same misfortune with this Greek. In endeavouring to clamber up the enemies ships, several have their arms struck off; fall into the sea (18); and leave their hands behind them! Some of these swimming (19) combatants encounter their enemies in the water; some supply their friends ships with arms; some, that had no arms, entangle themselves with their enemies; cling to them, and sink together to the bottom of the sea: others stick their bodies against the beaks of their enemies ships; and scarce a man of them flung away the use of his carcase, even when he should be dead.

BUT among all the contrivances of these posthumous warriors, the thing most to be admired is the sagacity of the great Tyrrhenus. (20) Tyrrhenus was standing at the head of one of the vessels, when a ball of lead, flung by an artful slinger, struck out both his eyes. The violent dash of the blow, and the deep darkness that was spread over him all at once, made him at first conclude that he was dead: but when he had recovered his senses a little, and found he could advance one foot before the other, he desired his fellow-soldiers to plant him just as they did their Ballistæ; he hopes, he can still fight as well

(14) — Multis concurrere visus Olympo

Pindus; & abruptis mergi convallibus Hæmus.

Phars. Lib. 7. v. 174.

(15) — Tyriis qui Gadibus hospes

Adjacet, Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxem,
Sub quocunque die, quocunque est fidere mundi,
Moret; & ignorat causas: animumque dolentem
Corripit. —

Ib. Lib. 3. v. 591.

(16) Terga simul pariter missis & pectora telis

Transfigitur; medio concurrat pectore ferrum:
Et ite incertus steterit quo vulnere sanguis.
Donec utraque simul largus cruor expulit hastas;
Divisitque animam, sparsitque in vulnera lethum.

Ib. Lib. 3. v. 591.

(17) Crevit in adversis virtus. Plus nobilis ira

Truncus habet; fortique instaurat prælia lævæ;
Rapturæque suam procurrit in æquora dextram, &c.

Ibid. v. 616.

(18) A manibus cecidere suis. —

Ib. v. 668.

(19) — Nec cessat naufraga virtus.

Tela legunt dejecta mari, ratibusque ministrant;
Incertaque manus, idæ languente, per undas
Exercent. Nunc rara datur si copia ferri,
Utuntur pelago: sævus complectitur hostem
Hostis; & implicitis gaudent subsidere membris,
Mergentisque mori. — N n perdere ictum
Maxima cura fuit: multus sua vulnera puppi
Affixit moriens; & rostris absulit ictus.

Ib. v. 708.

(20) Stantem sublimi Tyrrhenum culmine proræ,

Lygdamus excusâ Balcaris tortor habentæ
Glande petens; solido fregit cava tempora plumbo:
Sedibus expulsi, postquam cruor omnia rupit
Vincula, procumbant oculi. Stat lumine raptò
Attonitus; mortisque illas putat esse tenebras.
At postquam membris sensit consistere vigorem;
Vos ait, O socii, sicut tormenta soletis,
Me quoque mittendis reſum componite telis:
Egere quod superest animæ, Tyrrhene, per omnes
Bellorum casus! Ingentem militis usum
Hoc habet ex magnâ defunctum parte cadaver,
Viventis ferire loco. —

Ib. v. 721.

well as a machine; and seems mightily pleased, to think how he shall cheat the enemy; who will fling away darts at him, that might have killed people who were alive.

SUCH strange things as these, says Polymetis, make me always wonder the more, how Lucan can be so wise as he is in some parts of his poem. Indeed his sentences are more solid than one could otherwise expect from so young a writer, had he wanted such an uncle as Seneca, and such a master as Cornutus. The swellings in the other parts of his poem may be partly accounted for, perhaps, from his being born in Spain, and in that part of it which was the farthest removed from Greece and Rome; nay of that very city, which is marked by Cicero (21) as particularly over-run with a bad taste. After all, what I most dislike him for, is a blot in his moral character. He was at first pretty (22) high in the favour of Nero. On the discovery of his being concerned in a plot against him, this philosopher (who had written so much, and so gallantly, about the pleasure of dying) behaved himself in the most despicable manner. He named (23) his own mother as guilty of the conspiracy, in hopes of saving himself. After this, he added several of his friends to his former confession; and thus continued labouring for a pardon, by making sacrifices to the tyrant of such lives, as any one much less a philosopher than he seems to have been, ought to think dearer than their own. All this baseness was of no use to him: for in the end Nero ordered him to execution too. His veins were opened; and the last (24) words he spoke, were some verses of his own.

PERSIUS is said to have been Lucan's school-fellow (25) under Cornutus; and like him was bred up more a philosopher than a poet. He has the character of a good man; but scarce deserves that of a good writer, in any other than the moral sense of the word: for his writings are very virtuous, but not very poetical. His great fault is obscurity. Several

(21) Corduba; in Hispania Bætica.—Qui (Mellus Pius) usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubæ natis poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aureis suas dederit. (Cicero, pro Archia.)

(22) Provocatus Athenis à Nerone, cohortique amicorum additus; atque etiam quæstus donatus. Traët. de claris Poetis, attributed to Suetonius.

(23) This was in (what was called) Piso's conspiracy; it was discovered by one Milichus. The first he named, were Sævinus and Natalis, who were ordered to be put to the question. Tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius conjugationis magis gnarus; simul arguendi peritior. De Pisonem primum fatetur: deinde adjicit Annæum Senecam: sive interantius inter eum Pisonemque fuit; sive ut Neronis gratiam pararet; qui insensu Senecæ omnes ad eum opprimendum artes conquirebat. Tum cognito Natalis indicio Sævinus quoque pari imbecillitate, an cuncta jam patefacta credens, nec ullum silentii emolumentum, edidit cæteros. Ex quibus, Lucanus, Quinctianusque, & Senicio, diu abnuere: post, promissâ impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Atillam matrem suam, Quinctianus Glicium Gallum, Senicio Annium Pollionem, amicorum præcipuos nominavere. Atque interim Nero, recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio Epicharum attineri; ratusque muliebri corpus impar dolori, tormentis dilacerari jubet. At illam non verbera, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium ne a femina pernerentur, pervicere, quin objecta denegaret. Sic primus quæstionis dies contemptus: postero cum ad eisdem cruciatibus retraheretur, gestamine fellæ, (nam dissolutis membris insistere nequibat)

vincto fasciæ quam pectori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum fellæ restricto indidit cervicem, & corporis pondere connixa tenuem jam spiritum expressit. Clariore exemplo libertina mulier, in tantâ necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo; cum ingenui, & viri, & equites Romani senatoresque, intacti tormentis carissima suorum quique pignorum proderent; non enim omittebant Lucanus quoque, & Senicio, & Quinctianus, passim conscios edere. Tacitus, Annal. L. 15. §. 56 & 57.

(24) Exin M. Annæi Lucani cædem imperat. Is profuente sanguine, ubi frigsere pedes manusque, & paulatim ab extremis cedere spiritum, fervido adhuc & compote mentis pectore, intelligit; recordatus carmen à se compositum, quo vulneratum militem per ejusmodi mortis imaginem obivisse tradiderat, versus ipsos retulit: eaque illi suprema vox fuit. Ibid. §. 72.

The verses, here intended by Tacitus, are thought by some to be those in the third book of the Pharsalia; on the death of one of the Roman soldiers in the sea-fight off Marseilles.

Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncus,
Affixit Lycidam; merus foret ille profundo;
Sed prohibent socii, suspensaque crura retentant.
Scinditur avulsus. "Nec, sicut vulnere, sanguis
Emicuit lentus; ruptis cadit undique venis:
Discurfasque animæ, diversa in membra meantis,
Interceptus aquis."——

Phars. Lib. 3. §. 641.

(25) Cum primum pavido cussos mihi purpura cecissit,
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit,
Me tibi suppositi. Teneros tu fascipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu.——

Persius. Sat. 5. §. 37.

ral have endeavoured to excuse, or palliate this fault in him, from the danger of the times he lived in; and the necessity a satirist then lay under of writing so, for his own security. This may hold as to some passages in him: but to say the truth, he seems to have a tendency and love to obscurity in himself: for it is not only to be found where he may speak of the emperor, or the state; but in the general course of his satires. So that, in my conscience, I must give him up for an obscure writer; as I should Lucan for a tumid and swelling one.

SUCH was the Roman poetry under Nero. The three emperors after him, were made in a hurry (26), and had short tumultuous reigns. Then the Flavian family came in. Vespasian, the first emperor of that line (27) endeavoured to recover something of the good taste that had formerly flourished in Rome; his son Titus, the delight of mankind, in his short reign encouraged poetry, by his example (28), as well as by his liberalities: and even Domitian loved (29) to be thought a patron of the muses. After him there was a succession of good emperors, from Nerva to the Antonines. And this extraordinary good fortune (for indeed, if one considers the general run of the Roman emperors, it would have been such to have had any two good ones only together) gave a new spirit to the arts that had long been in so languishing a condition; and made poetry revive, and raise up its head again, once more among them. Not that there were very good poets even now; but they were better at least, than they had been under the reign of Nero.

THIS period produced three epic poets, whose works remain to us; Silius (30), Statius, and Valerius Flaccus. Silius, as if he had been frightened at the high flight of Lucan, keeps almost always on the ground; and scarce once attempts to soar, throughout his whole work. It is plain however, tho' it is low: and if he has but little of the spirit of poetry, he is free at least from the affectation, and obscurity, and bombast, which prevailed so much among his immediate predecessors. Silius was honoured with the consulate; and lived to see his son in the same high office. He was a great lover and collector of pictures and statues (31); some of which he worshipped; especially one he had of Virgil. He used to offer sacrifices too at his tomb, near Naples. It is a pity that he could not get more of his spirit in his writings: for he had scarce enough to make his offerings acceptable to the genius of that great poet. Statius had more of spirit, with a less share of prudence: for his *Thebaid* is certainly ill conducted, and scarcely well written. By the little we have of his *Achilleid*, that would probably have been a much better poem, at least as to the writing part, had he lived to finish it. As it is, his description (32) of Achilles's behaviour at the feast which Lycomedes makes for the Grecian ambassadors, and some other parts of it, read more pleasingly to me than any part of the

Thebaid.

(26) *Ex conditione tumultuque temporum*: Suetonius in *Vesp.* §. 10. (speaking of the reigns before Vespasian.) The three reigns before his, all together do not take up two years and a half.

(27) *Per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius, quam prope afflictam nutantemque rempublicam stabilire primò, deinde & ornare.* Suetonius, in *Vespas.* §. 8.—*Ingenia & artes vel maximè fovit. Primus e fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit. Præstantes poetas, nec non & artifices, coemit.* *Ibid.* §. 18.

(28) *Peritissimus Latine Græcæque lingue: vel in orando, vel in fingendis poematibus, promptus & facilis, ad extemporalitatem usque.* *Id.* in *Tito*, §. 3.

(29) *Simulavit & ipse mirè modestiam; inprimisque poeticæ studium.* *Id.* in *Domit.* §. 2.

4

(30) It is said, that Silius did not write till he was very old; and indeed his style is as like that of an elderly man, as it is unlike the style in fashion under Nero. I have therefore not reckoned him as a poet under Nero; tho' he was consul the last year of that reign. He lived long after; and probably wrote his poem after Nero's death.

(31) *Erat φιλοκαλος, usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem. Plures isdem in locis, (in the Campania felice) villas possidebat; adamasque novis, priores negligebat. Multum ubique librorum; multum statuarum; multum imaginum: quas non habebat modò, verum etiam venerabatur.* *Virgili* ante omnes; *Cujus natalcm religiosius quàm suum celebrabat: Neapoli maximè; ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum solebat.* *Plin. Lib. 3. Ep. 7.*

(32) *Statius, Achil. L. 2. v. 67, to 131.*

Thebaid. I cannot help thinking, that the passage quoted so often from Juvenal as an (33) encomium on Statius, was meant as a satire on him. Martial seems (34) to strike at him too, under the borrowed name of Sabellus. As he did not finish his *Æchilleid*, he may deserve more reputation perhaps as a miscellaneous than as an epic writer; for tho' the odes and other copies of verses in his *Sylvæ* are not without their faults, they are not so faulty as his Thebaid. The chief faults of Statius, in his *Sylvæ* and Thebaid, are said (35) to have proceeded from very different causes: the former, from their having been written incorrectly and in a great deal of haste; and the other from its being over corrected and hard. Perhaps his greatest fault of all, or rather the greatest sign of his bad judgment, is his admiring Lucan so (36) extravagantly as he does. It is remarkable, that poetry run more lineally in Statius's family than perhaps in any other. He received it (37) from his father; who had been an eminent poet in his time; and lived to see his son obtain the laurel-crown, at the Alban games; as he had formerly done himself. Valerius Flaccus wrote a little (38) before Statius. He died young; and left his poem unfinished. We have but seven books of his *Argonautics*, and part of the eighth; in which, the *Argonauts* are left on the sea in their return homewards. Several of the (39) modern criticks, who have been some way or other concerned in publishing Flaccus's works, make no scruple of placing him next to Virgil, of all the Roman epic poets; and I own I am a good deal inclined to be seriously of their opinion: for he seems to me to have more fire than Silius; and to be more correct than Statius; and as for Lucan, I cannot help looking upon him as quite out of the question. He imitates (40) Virgil's language much better than Silius,

(33) There seems to me to be an allusion run quite throughout it; as if Juvenal had been speaking all the while of a common prostitute.

Curritur ad vocem jucundam & carmen amicum
Thebaidos; lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promittitque diem. Tantâ dulcedine capros
Afficit ille animos; tantâque libidine vulgi
Auditur. ———

Juvenal. Sat. 7. v. 86.

However that be, I should think that the single expression of, *libidine vulgi*, would quite spoil it for a panegyric.

An extreme good judge looked upon it as a satire rather than a panegyric, long ago. Non multum adeo Statium à suorum temporum scriptoribus amatum eâ ratione colligo, (says he) quod ab iis ejus nullam fere mentionem factam vides, præterquam ab Juvenale; qui & illum perfringere potius satiricè videtur, quam laudare: ita enim canit in septimâ, Curritur ad vocem jucundam, &c. Gyraldus, Dial. 4.

(34) Gevartius, in his notes on the *Sylvæ*, conjectures that Martial and Statius were not very good friends: they had common acquaintance, as Stella and others; and yet neither of them ever mentions the other's name. — Raderus carries it farther. He imagines that Statius had the advantage over Martial in some extempore verses. They both wrote on the same subject, *Hetræus's* baths. Statius's copy of verses on them run to a great length; and Martial seems to ridicule him for it, under the name of Sabellus, in an epigram that begins thus; *Laudas balnea verbis trecentis.* — He is supposed too to have aimed at him in some other of his epigrams.

(35) Thebais, ut ipsemet cecinit, "Multâ cruciata limâ," atque ideo durior, & inconcinrior alicubi, quibusdam videtur: extant & quinque *Sylvarum* libri, ex quibus & vehemens in eo poematis genere illius & penè extemporale ingenium, & subitum calorem, ut

ipse ait, percipere possitis. Gyraldus, de Lat. Poet. Dial. 4.

(36) In a copy of verses of his on Lucan, (after that poet's death) the chief point he seems to drive at is to prefer Lucan to Homer, and Virgil, and all the Roman epic poets together.

Graio nobilior Melete Bætis:

Bætin Mantua provocare noli!

Statius, Lib. 2. *Sylv.* 7. v. 35.

Nocturnas alii Phrygum ruinas,
Et tardas reducis vias Ulyssæi,
Et puppim temerariam Minervæ,
Tritâ vatibus orbitâ sequanter.

Ibid. v. 51

Hæc primo juvenis canes sub ævo
Ante annos culicis Maroniani.

Ib. v. 74.

Cedet musa rudis ferocis Enni;
Et docti furor arduus Lucreti;
Et qui per freta duxit Argonautas;
Et qui corpora prima transfigurât.

Ib. v. 78.

(37) Gyraldus, de Lat. Poet. D. 4.

(38) Flaccus addresses his poem to Vespasian; and Statius his *Sylvæ*, to Domitian.

(39) Inter scriptores Romanos qui poësin epicam lucubrationibus suis insignitam jam olim reddiderunt, — haud quisquam nobis occurrit, quem C. Valerio Flacco jure præferamus, post verè divinum & majorem comparatione omni Maronem Virgilium. Nic. Heinsius's Pref. to the *Elz. Ed.* of Flaccus. — Quod si Lucano & Papinio componere tantum scriptorem volueris, facile videbis quid illis supersit, quid huic non desit, ut constitutur ex tribus illis princeps post Maronem. Gaspar Barthius *Advers.* l. 56. c. 11.

(40) For an instance of Flaccus imitating Virgil's style better than Statius, see the descriptions of the furious Venus, from each of them. Dial. 7. posth.

Silius, or even Statius; and his plan, or rather his story, is certainly less embarrassed and confused than the Thebaid. Some of the ancients themselves speak of Flaccus with a great deal of respect; and particularly (41) Quintilian: who says nothing at all of Silius, or Statius; unless the latter is to be included in that (42) general expression of, several others whom he leaves to be celebrated by posterity.

As to the dramatic writers of this time, we have not any one comedy; and only ten tragedies, all published under the name of Lucius Annæus Seneca. They are probably the work of (43) different hands; and might be a collection of favourite plays, put together by some bad grammarian: for either the Roman tragedies of this age were very indifferent, or these are not their best. They have been attributed to authors as far distant as the reigns of Augustus and Trajan. It is true, the person who is so positive that one of them in particular must be of the Augustan age, says this of a piece that he seems resolved to cry up at all rates; and I believe one should do no injury to any one of them, in supposing them all to have been written in this third age; under the decline of the Roman poetry.

Of all the other poets under this period, there are none whose works remain to us, except Martial and Juvenal. The former flourished under (44) Domitian and Nerva: the latter under (45) Nerva, Trajan, and Adrian.

MARTIAL is a dealer only in a little kind of writing: for Epigram is certainly (what it is called by Dryden) the lowest step of poetry. He is at the very bottom of the hill; but he diverts himself there in gathering flowers and playing with insects, prettily enough. If Martial made a new-year's gift, he was sure to send a distich with it: if a friend died, he made a few verses to be put on his tomb-stone: if a statue was set up, they came to him for an inscription. These were the common offices of his muse. If he struck a fault in life, he marked it down in a few lines; and if he had a mind to please a friend, or to get the favour of the great, his style was turned to panegyric; and these were her highest employments. He was however a good writer in his way; and there are instances even of his writing with some dignity, on higher occasions.

JUVENAL began to write after all I have mentioned; and, I do not know by what good fortune, writes with a greater spirit of poetry than any of them. He has scarce any thing of the gentility of Horace: yet he is not without humour; and exceeds all the satirists in severity. To say the truth, he slashes too much like an angry executioner: but the depravity of the times, and the vices then in fashion, may often excuse some degree of rage in him. It is (46) said he did not write till he was elderly; and after he had
been

(41) After saying that Cornelius Severus would have been their next poet to Virgil, had he lived to finish his work on the Sicilian war: but that he died young; and that what he had wrote shewed a great deal of genius, and a greater bent for writing justly, than could be expected in so young a man: he adds immediately. *Multum & in Valerio Flacco nuper amissimus.* Quintilian. *Instit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 747. Ed. 1665.*

(42) *Sunt claræ hodieque, & qui eorum nominabuntur.* Quintilian. *Ibid. p. 748.*

(43) Justus Lipsius attributes Medea to the true Seneca under Claudius: Hercules Furens, and several of the others, to another Seneca under Trajan: and as the Thebaid is his great favourite, he will have that piece to have been written in the Augustan age.

Hieronymus thinks the Thebaid quite unworthy of the

praises given it by Lipsius: and attributes the ten Latin tragedies to no less than five several authors. The 1st, 2d, 5th, and 8th, to Marcus Annæus Seneca, surnamed Tragicus: the 4th, 6th, and 7th, to L. Annæus Seneca the philosopher: and the 3d, 9th, and 10th, to three different declaimers. See Brumoy's Theatre Gr. T. 2. p. 442.

(44) He has several epigrams addressed to those two emperors.

(45) This is, I think, very well proved by Dodwell in a treatise on this subject; and might be still farther confirmed, from several other passages in Juvenal himself.

(46) *Declamavit ad mediam fere ætatem: postea ad fatiras componendas animum appulit.* Præteus Life of Juvenal before the Delphin Ed.

been too much used to declaiming. However his satires have a great deal of spirit in them: and shew a strong hatred of vice, with some very fine and high sentiments of virtue. They are indeed so animated, that I do not know any poem of this age, which one can read with near so much pleasure as his satires.

JUVENAL may very well be called the last of the Roman poets. After his time poetry continued decaying more and more, quite down to the time of Constantine: when all the arts were so far lost and extinguished among the Romans, that from that time they themselves may very well be called by the name they (47) used to give to all the world, except the Greeks: for the Romans then had scarce any thing to distinguish them from the Barbarians.

THERE are therefore but three ages of the Roman poetry, that can carry any weight with them in an enquiry of this nature. The first age, from the first Punic war to the time of Augustus, is more remarkable for strength, than any great degree of beauty in writing. The second age, or the Augustan, is the time when they wrote with a due mixture of beauty and strength. And the third, from the beginning of Nero's reign to the end of Adrian's, when they endeavoured after beauty more than strength: when they lost much of their vigour; and run too much into affectation. Their poetry, in its youth, was strong and nervous; in its middle age, it was manly and polite; in its latter days, it grew tawdry and feeble: and endeavoured to hide the decays of its former beauty and strength, in false ornaments of dress, and a borrowed flush on the face; which did not so much render it pleasing, as it shewed that its natural complexion was faded and lost.

THUS, says Polymetis, I have at last got through the whole progress of poetry at Rome. You see I have found out so much to say upon it, that I am sure you will easily excuse my entering on the second part of the subject you have given me, till a farther occasion.

(47) Nam et gentibus proprii mores sunt: nec Quintilian. Inst. Or. L. 5. c. 10. p. 363. Ed. idem in Barbaro, Romano, Græco, probabile est. 1665.



D I A L. V.

Of the Introduction, Improvement, and Fall of the Arts at Rome.

AFTER supper, as they were talking over the different rises and falls of poetry, among the Romans; Myfagetes was saying, that what had been observed by Polymetis on the three characters of the Roman poetry, in its rise, its flourishing, and its decline, seemed to him to proceed from the natural temper and constitution of poetry in general. At least, says he, I believe it would be found in fact to have made the same sort of progress, and to have taken the same steps in most other nations. What has been said of the Roman, would hold equally of the Grecian poetry: but without going so far back as to the times of Alexander the great; in the modern world, which we are a little better acquainted with, has not the course of poetry, in Italy, in France, and here at home, been much the same with what has been mentioned of the Roman? In each, the beginnings of their poetry have been rude, but strong: in their best ages, they have had the truest taste of simplicity; not so rude and naked, but modestly adorned and well dressed: and when they come to fall, they have always run into affectation; by endeavouring to make an appearance above their strength. I should perhaps have easily been brought over, by your joint authorities, says Philander, had I differed from you before; but to say the truth, I have long since thought that the weakness and decline of poetry in any country, appears first in flutter and finery. I suppose we shall find the case is pretty much the same too, with its sister arts of statuary and painting, when Polymetis has been so good as to give us an account of their progress and decline at Rome. I understand you, says Polymetis; and am ready to give the account I promised, as well as I can. It will be, I believe, still more imperfect than the former: but I can promise you at least that it shall not be near so long; and consequently, I hope, not near so tedious.

THE city of Rome, as well as its inhabitants, was in the beginning rude and unadorned. Those old rough foldiers looked on the effects of the politer arts, as things fit only for an effeminate people: as too apt to soften and unnerve men; and to take from that martial temper and ferocity, which they encouraged so much and so universally in the infancy of their state. Their houses were (what the name they gave them signified) only a (1) covering for them, and a defence against bad weather. These sheds of theirs were more like the caves of wild beasts, than the habitations of men: and were rather flung together as chance led them (2), than formed into regular streets and openings. Their walls were (3) half mud; and their roofs (4), pieces of boards stuck together: nay even this was an after-improvement; for in Romulus's time, their houses were (5) only covered with

(1) *Tecta*. In the same manner perhaps the word *culmina*, for the roofs of their houses, shews their old method of covering them with straw.

(2) Οὐκ ἐν διακομῇ τῆος ἢ ταῖς οἰκῇς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατὰς, ἐπιστῆναι ἐκ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν κατὰ λαμψύτητα τοῦ τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῖς οἰκῇς, καὶ συμπεριλαμβανὴν ταῖς οἰκῇς ἐκ ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὑποσπῆρας καὶ παλῆς. Plutarch. in Camillo, p. 145. Ed. Steph.

(3) *Cementa non calce durata, sed interlita luto; frusture antiquæ genere*. Livy, L. 21. §. 11.

(4) *Scandulæ contectam fuisse Romam, ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis 470, Cornelius Nepos autor est*. P. 112, L. 16. c. 4 p. 142. Elz.

(5) One may guess a little at their other buildings, from the palace of their kings. It was a little thatched house; and very ill furnished.

Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.

Virgil. *Æn.* 8. v. 654.

Parva fuit, si prima velis elementa referre,

Roma: sed in parvâ spes tamen hujus erat.

Mœnia jam stabant populi angusta futuris;

Credita sed turbe tunc nimis ampla sua.

Quæ fuerit nostris si quæris regia nati,

Aspice de cannâ straminibusque domum:

In stipula placidi carpebat munera somni.

Ovid. *Fast.* L. 3. v. 185.

Dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum;

Et dabat exiguum fluminis alva torum.

Ib. L. 1. v. 200.

Ovid

Romans, in the first Punic war, added Sicily to their dominions. In the second, they greatly increased their strength, both by sea and land; and acquired a taste of the arts and elegancies of life, with which till then they had been totally unacquainted. For tho' before this they were masters of Sicily, (which in the old Roman geography made a part of (12) Greece) and of several cities in the eastern part of Italy, which were inhabited by colonies from Greece; and were adorned with the pictures, and statues, and other works, in which that nation delighted and excelled the rest of the world so much; they had hitherto looked upon them with so careless an eye, that they had felt little or nothing of their beauty. This insensibility they preserved so long, either from the grossness of their minds; or perhaps from their superstition, and a dread of reverencing foreign deities as much as their own; or (which is the most likely of all) out of mere politics, and the desire of keeping up their martial spirit and natural roughness, which they thought the arts and elegancies of the Grecians would be but too apt to destroy. However that was, they generally preserved themselves from even the least suspicion of taste for the polite arts pretty far into the second Punic war: as appears by the behaviour of Fabius Maximus in that war, even after the scales were turned on their side. When that general took Tarentum, he found it full of riches, and (13) extremely adorned with pictures and statues. Among others, there were some very fine (14) colossal figures of the gods, represented as fighting against the rebel giants. These were made by some of the most eminent masters in Greece; and the Jupiter, not improbably, by (15) Lyfippus. When Fabius was disposing of the spoil, he ordered the money and plate to be sent to the treasury at Rome, but the statues and pictures to be left behind. The secretary, who attended him in his survey, was somewhat struck with the largeness and noble air of the figures just mentioned; and asked whether they too must be left with the rest? "Yes," replied Fabius, leave their angry gods to the Tarentines; we will have nothing to do with them."

MARCELLUS had indeed behaved himself very differently, in Sicily; a year or two before this happened. As he was to carry on the war in that province, he bent the whole force of it against Syracuse. There was at that time no one city which belonged to the Greeks, more elegant, or better adorned, than the city of Syracuse: it abounded in the works of the best masters. Marcellus, when he took the city, cleared it entirely; and sent all their statues and pictures to Rome. When I say all, I use the language of the people of Syracuse; who soon after laid a complaint against Marcellus before the Roman senate, in which they charged him with stripping all their houses and temples, and (16) leaving nothing but bare walls throughout the city. Marcellus himself, did not at all disown it; but fairly confessed what he had done: and used to declare that he had done

so,

(12) Cum Græciæ à Camillo nulla memorabilis gesta res. Cujus populi ea, cujus gentis classis fuerit, nihil certi est. Maxime Siciliæ fuisse tyrannos crediderim: nam ulterior Græciæ eâ tempestate, intestino fessa bello, jam Macedonum opes horrebat. Livy, L. 7. §. 26. — Et multa nobilia signa, quibus inter primas Græciæ urbes Syracusæ ornatæ fuerant. Id. L. 26. §. 21. — Urbem, omnium fermè Græcarum illâ tempestate pulcherrimam. Id. L. 25. §. 24. of Syracuse. — Gloriam capte nobilissimæ pulcherrimæque urbis Græcarum dii tibi dederunt, Marcelle. Ib. §. 29. — Cicero in the same manner calls Syracuse, nobilissima Græciæ civitas. Tusc. Quæst. L. 5.

(13) Ingens argenti vis sacri signatique: auri octuaginta septem millia pondo: signa tabulæque, prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta æquant, Livy, Lib. 27. §. 17.

(14) Majore animo generis ejus prædâ abstinuit

Fabius quam Marcellus; qui interroganti scribæ quid fieri de signis vellet, (ingentis magnitudinis dii sunt, suo quisque habitu in modum pugnantium formati;) deos iratos Tarentinis relinquî, jussit. Id. ibid.

(15) If these colossal figures mentioned by Livy represented the gods fighting against the giants, that of Jupiter could not be omitted. Lucilius speaks of a remarkable vast figure of Jupiter at Tarentum, and says it was made by Lyfippus. We learn from him that the height of it was 60 foot.

—Lyfippi Jupiter ista
Transiit quadraginta cubiti alto' Tarento,
Sat. Lib. 16.

(16) Certè præter mœnia & tecta exhaustæ urbis, ac refracta ac spoliata deorum delubra (diis ipsis, ornamentisque eorum ablatis) nihil relictum Syracusis esse. Livy, Lib. 26. §. 30.

fo, in order to adorn Rome; and to introduce (17) a taste for the fine arts among his countrymen.

SUCH a difference of behaviour in their two greatest leaders, soon occasioned two different parties in Rome (18). The old people in general joined in crying up Fabius. Fabius was not rapacious, as some others were; but temperate in his conquests. In what he had done, he had acted not only with that moderation which becomes a Roman general, but with much prudence and foresight. "These fineries, they cried, are a pretty diversion for an idle effeminate people: let us leave them to the Greeks. The Romans desire no other ornaments of life, than a simplicity of manners at home, and fortitude against our enemies abroad. It is by these arts that we have raised our name so high, and spread our dominion so far: and shall we suffer them now to be exchanged for a fine taste, and what they call elegance of living? No, great Jupiter, who presided over the Capitol! let the Greeks keep their arts to themselves; and let the Romans learn only how to conquer and to govern mankind." Another set, and particularly the younger people, who were extremely delighted with the noble works of the Grecian artists that had been set up for some time in the temples, and portico's, and all the most public places of the city; and who used frequently to spend the greatest part of the day in contemplating the beauties of them; extolled Marcellus as much for the pleasure he had given them. "We shall now, said they, no longer be reckoned among the Barbarians. That rust, which we have been so long contracting, will soon be worn off. Other generals have conquered our enemies; but Marcellus has conquered our ignorance. We begin to see with new eyes, and have a new world of beauties opening before us. Let the Romans be polite, as well as victorious: and let us learn to excel the nations in taste, as well as to conquer them with our arms."

WHICH-EVER side was in the right, the party for Marcellus was the successful one: for from this point of time we may date (19) the introduction of the arts into Rome. The Romans by his means began to be fond of them: and the love of the arts is a passion, which grows very fast in any breast, wherever it is once entertained.

WE may see how fast and how greatly it prevailed at Rome, by a speech which old Cato the censor made in the senate, not above seventeen years after the taking of Syracuse. He complains in it (20), that their people began to run into Greece and Asia; and to be infected with a desire of playing with their fine things: that as to such spoils, there was less honour in taking them, than there was danger of their being taken by them: that the gods brought from Syracuse, had revenged the cause of its citizens, in spreading this taste among the Romans: that he heard but too many daily crying up the ornaments of Corinth and Athens; and ridiculing the poor old Roman gods: who had hitherto been propitious to them; and who he hoped would still continue so, if they would but let their statues remain in peace upon their pedestals.

IT

(17) Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐσθμυνοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἑλληνικὰς, ὡς καὶ κατὰ καὶ τὰ θανάσιμα τῶν ἑλλήνων ἐκ ἐπισκευῆς τῶν καὶ θανάσιμων Ῥωμαίων διδασκῶν. Plutarch. in Marcel. p. 310. Ed. Steph. Par. 1624.

(18) This is chiefly founded on what Plutarch says of this affair; in his life of Marcellus.

(19) Marcellus—ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusæ, Romam delevit. Hostium quidem illa spolia; & parta belli jure: cæterum inde primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentique hinc sacra profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi, factum est. Livy, L. 25. §. 40.

omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas; & regias etiam attractamus gazas. Eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos ceperint, quàm nos illas. Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. Jam nimis multos audio Corinthi & Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque; & antefixa fœcilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. Ego hos malo propitios deos: & ita spero futuros, si in suis manere sedibus patiemur." Livy, L. 34. §. 4.

It appears that this grave old censor was no enemy to a pun; from his signa infesta, & ceperint, &c. above. Horace may possibly allude to the latter, where he says;

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes

Intulit agresti Latio. —

Lib. 2. Ep. 1. v. 157.

(20) "Jam in Græciam Asiamque transcendimus,

It was in vain too that Cato spoke against it; for the love of the arts prevailed every day more and more: and from henceforward the Roman generals, in their several conquests, seem to have strove who should bring away the greatest number of statues and pictures, to set off their triumphs, and to adorn the city of Rome. It is surprising what accessions of this kind were made in the compass of a little more than half a century after Marcellus had set the example. The elder Scipio Africanus brought in a ⁽²¹⁾ great number of wrought vases from Spain and Afric, toward the end of the second Punic war: and the very year after that was finished, the Romans entered into a war with Greece; the great school of all the arts, and the chief repository of most of the finest works that ever were produced by them. It would be endless to mention all their acquisitions from hence; I shall only put you in mind of some of the most considerable. Flaminius made a great shew both of ⁽²²⁾ statues and vases in his triumph over Philip king of Macedon; but he was much excused by the necessity, which reduced that kingdom into a province. Æmilius's triumph ⁽²³⁾ lasted three days; the first of which was wholly taken up in bringing in the fine statues he had selected in his expedition; as the chief ornament of the second consisted in vases and sculptured vessels of all sorts, by the most eminent hands. These ⁽²⁴⁾ were all the most chosen things, culled from the collection of that successor of Alexander the great; for as to the inferior spoils of no less than seventy Grecian cities, Æmilius had left them all to his soldiery, as not worthy to appear among the ornaments of his triumph. Not many years after this, the younger Scipio Africanus (the person who is most celebrated ⁽²⁵⁾ for his polite taste of all the Romans hitherto, and who was scarce exceeded by any one of them in all the succeeding ages) destroyed Carthage; and transferred many of the chief ornaments of that city, which had so long bid fair for being the seat of empire, to Rome, which soon became undoubtedly so. This must have been a vast accession: tho' that great man, who was as just in his actions as he was elegant in his taste, did not bring all the finest of his spoils to Rome, but left a great part ⁽²⁶⁾ of them in Sicily, from whence they had formerly been taken by the Carthaginians. The very same year that Scipio freed Rome from its most dangerous rival Carthage, Mummius (who was ⁽²⁷⁾ as remarkable for his rusticity, as Scipio was for elegance and taste) added Achaia to the Roman state; and sacked, among several others, the famous city of Corinth, which had been long looked upon as one of the principal reservoirs of the finest works of art. He cleared it of all its beauties, without knowing any thing of them: even without knowing, that an old Grecian statue was better than a new Roman one. He used however the surest method of not being mistaken: for he took all indifferently as they came in his

way;

(21) Livy, L. 26. §. 47.

(22) Id. L. 34. §. 52.

(23) Plutarch. in vitâ Æm. p. 272, Ed. Francf.

(24) Livy, L. 45. §. 33 & 34.

(25) Tu videlicet solus vasis Corinthiis delectaris? Tu illius æris temperationem, tu operum lineamenta solertissime perspicis? Hæc Scipio ille non intelligebat, homo doctissimus atque humanissimus?—Vide ne illi non solum temperantiâ, sed etiam intelligentiâ te, atque istos, qui se elegantes dici volunt, vicerit. Cicero. 4 in Verrem.

(26) Id. lib.

(27) Diversi imperatoribus mores; diversa fuere studia. Quippe Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum, omniſque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque præcëlles ingenio viro, domi militiæque secum habuerit; neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervallo negotio-

rum otio dispunxit:—Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho, cum maximo artifice perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus; si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. Patere. L. 1. §. 13.

There is a yet stronger instance of the ignorance of this Mummius. In the sale of the plunder of Corinth, there was a picture of Bacchus, by Aristides, for which king Attalus gave near 5000 pound. It had been so little regarded by the Roman soldiers, that some of them had used it for a table to play at dice upon. (See Strabo, Lib. 8. p. 381.) Their general, who probably thought as contemptibly of it as they could do, was astonished at the vast price given for it; concluded there must be some sort of (magic) virtue concealed under it: and actually went so far, as to take away the picture again from Attalus, on that account; and to carry it with him to Rome. Pretium miratus, suspicatusque aliquid in ea virtutis quod ipse nesciret: revocavit tabulam, Attalo multum querente, & in Cereis delubro posuit. Pliny, Lib. 35. Cap. 4. p. 419. Elz.

way; and brought them off in such quantities, that he alone is said (28) to have filled Rome with statues and pictures. Thus, partly from the taste, and partly from the vanity of their generals, in less than seventy years time, (reckoning from Marcellus's taking of Syracuse, to the year in which Carthage was destroyed) Italy was furnished with the noblest productions of the antient artists; that before lay scattered all over Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the rest of Greece. Sylla, beside many others, added vastly to them afterwards; particularly by his taking of Athens, and by his conquests in Asia: where by his too great indulgence to his armies, he made taste and rapine a general thing, even among the (29) common soldiers; as it had been, for a long time, among their leaders.

IN this manner, the first considerable acquisitions were made by their conquering armies: and they were carried on by the persons sent out to govern their provinces, when conquered. As the behaviour of these in their governments in general was one of the greatest blots on the Roman nation, we must not expect a full account of their transactions in the old historians, who treat particularly of the Roman affairs: for such of these as remain to us, are either Romans themselves, or else Greeks who were too much attached to the Roman interest to speak out the whole truth in this affair. But what we cannot have fully from their historians, may be pretty well supplied from other hands. A poet of their own, who seems to have been a very honest man, has set the rapaciousness of their (30) governors in general in a very strong light; as Cicero has set forth that of Verres in particular, as strongly. If we may judge of their general behaviour by that of this governor of Sicily, they were more like monsters and harpies, than men. For that public robber (as Cicero calls him, more than once) hunted over every corner of his island, with a couple of finders (one a Greek painter, and the other a statuary of the same nation) to get together his collection; and was so curious and so rapacious in that search, that Cicero says (31), there was not a gem, or statue, or relievo, or picture, in all Sicily, which he did not see; nor any one he liked, which he did not take away from its owner. What he thus got, he sent into Italy. Rome was the center both of their spoils in war, and of their rapines in peace: and if many of their prætors and proconsuls acted but in half so abandoned a manner as this Verres appears to have done, it is very probable that Rome was more enriched in all these sort of things (32) secretly by their governors, than it had been openly by their generals.

THERE was another method of augmenting these treasures at Rome, not so infamous as this, and not so glorious as the former. What I mean was the custom of the Ædiles, when they exhibited their public games, of adorning the theatres and other places where they

(28) Pliny's Nat. Hist. L. 34. C. 7.

(29) L. Sulla exercitum quem in Asia duclaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriosè nimisque liberaliter, habuerat.—Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa calata, mirari; ex privatis ac publicè rapere; delubra deorum spoliare; sacra profanare omnia pollueret. Sallust. Bel. Cat. §. 11.

(30) Juvenal. See his 8th Satire, v. 87, to 139: where, among other things, he says;

Non idem gemitus olim, nec vulnus erat par
Dannorum; fœcis florentibus, & modò victis.
Plena domus tunc omnis, & ingens stabat æcervus
Nummorum: Spartana chlamys, conchyliæ Coa:
Ite cum Parthas tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur: necnon Polycteti
Multus aliq̃ue labor; rare sine Mentore mensæ.

Inde Dolabella est; atque hinc Antonius: inde
Sacrilegus Verres. Referebant navibus altis
Occulta spolia, & plures de pace triumphos.
Nunc fœcis iuga pauca boum, & grex parvus equarum,
Et pater armenii capto eripitur agello:
Ipsi deinde Lares; si quod spectabile signum,
Si quis in adiculis deus unicus.

Juv. Sat. 8. v. 111.

(31) Negro illam æneanem in terra sacra fœcè;
aut quidquam ceteri cunctisq̃ rebus, si non ut
laniant unum, necesse tantis obesse malis, nec ullum
pretium, si quæ sit talis; neque tentiles tamen,
quæ equosq̃ capere possent; &c. quod plautum et
alibi habet. Cicero, 4 in Ver. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(32) I take this to be the true meaning of these
expressions in Juvenal; quod Nævus, ænean.

—Referebant rebus, lib. 2. cap. 1.

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace triumphos.

they were performed, with great numbers of statues and pictures; which they bought up or borrowed, for that purpose, all over Greece, and sometimes even from Asia. Scaurus, in particular, in his ædileship, had (33) no less than three thousand statues and reliefs for the mere ornamenting of the stage, in a theatre built only for four or five days. This was the same Scaurus who (whilst he was in the same office too) brought to Rome (34) all the pictures of Sicily, which had been so long one of the most eminent schools in Greece for painting; in lieu of a debt owing, or pretended to be owed, from that city to the Roman people.

FROM these public methods of drawing the works of the best ancient artists into Italy, it grew at length to be a part of private luxury, affected by almost every body that could afford it, to adorn their houses, their portico's, and their gardens, with the best statues and pictures they could procure out of Greece, or Asia. None went earlier into this taste, than the family of the Luculli: and particularly Lucius Lucullus, who carried on the war against Mithridates. He was remarkable for his love of the arts and polite learning even from a (35) child: and in the latter part of his life, gave himself up so much to collections of this kind, that Plutarch reckons it among his follies. "As I am speaking of his faults (says (36) that historian in his life) I should not omit his vast baths, and piazzas for walking; or his gardens, which were much more magnificent than any in his time at Rome, and equal to any in the luxurious ages that followed: nor his excessive fondness for statues and pictures; which he got from all parts, to adorn his works and gardens; at an immense expence; and with the vast riches he had heaped together in the Mithridatic war." There were several other families which fell about that time into the same sort of excess; and among the rest, the Julian. The first emperor, who was of that family, was a great collector: and, in particular, was as fond of old (37) gems; as his successor Augustus, was (38) of Corinthian vases.

THIS may be called the first age of the flourishing of the politer arts at Rome; or rather the age in which they were introduced there: for the people in this period were chiefly taken up in getting fine things and bringing them together. There were perhaps some particular persons in it of a very good taste: but in general one may say there was rather a love, than any great knowledge of their beauties, during this age, among the Romans. They were brought to Rome in the first part of it in greater numbers than can be easily conceived; and in some time, every body began to look upon them with pleasure. The collection was continually augmenting afterwards, from the several methods I have mentioned: and I doubt not but a good taste would have been a general thing among them much earlier than it was, had it not been for the frequent convulsions in their state, and the perpetual struggles of some great man or other to get the reins of government into his hands. These continued quite from Sylla's time, to the establishment

(33) In M. Scauri ædilitate tria millia signorum, in scenâ tantum fuisse; temporario theatro. Pliny, Nat. Hist. L. 34. c. 7. Elz.

(34) Sicilye hic (Pausanias) vitam egit: diuque fuit illa patriæ picturæ. Tabulas inde e publico omnes propter res alienum civitatis addictas Scauri ædilitas Romam transtulit. Ib. L. 35. c. 11.

It was from these, and such other arts as these, that the same author says of him, in another place—Privatis opibus M. Scauri: cujus nescio an ædilitas maximè prostravit mores civiles. Ib. L. 36. p. 493.

(35) Την ἐμμελην ταύτην ἡ λεγομένη ἐλευθεριαν ἐπὶ τῇ καλῇ προσηγορίᾳ παιδείαν, ἐστὶ καὶ μαθητικὴν αὐτῇ. Plutarch. in Lucul. p. 492. Ed. Francf.

(36) Plutarch. in Lucullo, p. 518. Ed. Francf.

(37) Gemmas, torcumata, signa, tabulas operis antiqui, semper animosissimè comparasse (prodiderunt:)—immensò pretio; et cujus ipsum etiam pueret, sic ut rationibus vetaret inferri. Suetonius, in Julio Cæs. §. 47.

Pliny speaks of a fine collection of gems in particular which he placed in the temple he had built to Venus Genetrix. L. 37. c. 1.

(38) Notatus est ut pretiosæ suppellectilis Corinthiorumque præcipudus. Suetonius, in Augusto Cæs. §. 70. He adds that, in the time of his proscription, he marked down some, only to get their fine Corinthian vases: which occasioned the oldest Paquinade, perhaps, on record. For upon this action of his, somebody one night wrote under his statue; "Pater, Argentarius; ego, Corintharius." Ibid.

establishment of the state under Augustus. The peaceful times that then succeeded, and the encouragement which was given by that emperor to all the arts, afforded the Romans full leisure to contemplate the fine works that were got together at Rome in the age before, and to perfect their taste in all the elegancies of life. The artists who were then much invited to Rome, worked in a style greatly superior to what they had done (39) even in Julius Cæsar's time: so that it is under Augustus that we may begin the second, and most perfect age of sculpture and painting, as well as of poetry. Augustus changed the whole appearance of Rome itself: he found it (40) ill built; and left it a city of marble. He adorned it with buildings, extremely finer than any it could boast before his time; and set off all those buildings, and even the (41) common streets, with an addition of some of the finest statues in the world.

ON the death of Augustus, tho' the arts and the taste for them, did not suffer so great a change, as appeared immediately in the taste of eloquence and poetry, yet they must have suffered a good deal. There is a secret union, a certain kind of sympathy between all the polite arts, which makes them languish and flourish together. The same circumstances are either kind, or unfriendly, to all of them. The favour of Augustus, and the tranquillity of his reign, was as a gentle dew from heaven in a favourable season, that made them bud forth and flourish: and the four reign of Tiberius, was as a sudden frost that checked their growth, and at last killed all their beauties. The vanity, and tyranny, and disturbances of the times that followed, gave the finishing stroke to sculpture as well as eloquence, and to painting as well as poetry. The Greek artists at Rome were not so soon or so much infected by the bad taste of the court, as the Roman writers were: but it reached them too, tho' by slower and more imperceptible degrees. Indeed what else could be expected from such a run of monsters, as Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero? For these were the emperors under whose reigns the arts began to languish: and they suffered so much from their baleful influence, that the Roman writers soon after them speak of all the arts as being brought to a very low ebb. They talk of their being extremely fallen in (42) general; and as to painting, in particular, they represent it as in a most feeble (43) and dying condition. The series of so many good emperors which happened after Domitian, gave some spirit again to the arts: but soon after the Antonines, they all declined apace; and by the time of the thirty tyrants were quite fallen; so as never to rise again, under any future Roman emperor.

YOU

(39) This appears most strongly, by comparing the medals about Julius Cæsar's time, with those of the Augustan age.

(40) *Urbem neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, & inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriaturs; "Marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset."* Suetonius in Aug. §. 28. For the particulars, see *ibid.* §. 29. Livy calls him, *templorum omnium conditorem, aut restitutorem.* L. 4. c. 20.

(41) *Preiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, victimam dedicabat.* Suetonius in Aug. §. 57.

(42) *Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* Petr. Arb. Sat. p. 2. Lond. 1693.

Sæpe ex me requiris, cur cum priora sæcula tot eminentium oratorum ingenii gloriæque efflouerint, nostra potissimum retas, deserta & laude orbata, vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat. Quintil. de Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ. p. 701. Ed. Hack.

Quis ignorat et eloquentiam et cæteras artes deservisse ab istâ vetere gloriâ, non inopiâ hominum, sed desidiâ juventutis, & negligentia parentum, & inficientiâ præceptantium, & oblivione moris antiqui? Id. Ibid. p. 739.

Ita est profecto; artes desidia perdidit. Pliny, L. 35. c. 2. p. 414. Elz.

There is a strong passage on this, in a satire attributed by Scaliger to Sulpicia; who, he says, flourished under Domitian.

— *Quidnam pater ille deorum*

Cogitat? An terras & patria sæcula mutat?

Quasque dedit quondam, morientibus eripit artes?

Nosque jubet, tacitos & jam rationis egenos,

Non aliter primo quàm cum furreximus ævo;

Glandibus & puræ rursus procumbere lymphæ?

S. 17.

(43) *P. 12, arte quondam nobili. (Pliny Nat. Hist. L. 35. c. 1. p. 413. Elz.) — Nunc, nulla nobilis pictura est. Ib. c. 7. p. 416. — Rusticus dictum sit de dignitate artis rusticæ. Ib. c. 5. p. 421.*

You may see by these two accounts I have given you of the Roman poetry, and of the other arts; that the great periods of their rise, their flourishing, and their decline agree very well; and as it were tally with one another. Their style was prepared, and a vast collection of fine works laid in, under the first period, or in the times of the republic. In the second, or the Augustan age, their writers and artists were both in their highest perfection: and in the third, from Tiberius to the Antonines, they both began to languish; and then revived a little; and, at last, sunk totally together.

IN comparing the descriptions of their poets with the works of art, I should therefore chuse to omit all the Roman poets after the Antonines. Among them all there is perhaps no one whose omission need be regretted, except that of Claudian: and even as to him it may be considered that he wrote when the true knowledge of the arts was no more; and when the true taste of poetry was strangely corrupted and lost; even if we were to judge of it by his own writings only, which are extremely better than any of the poets long before and long after him. It is therefore much better to confine one's self to the three great ages; than to run so far out of one's way for a single poet, or two: whose authorities after all must be very disputable, and indeed scarce of any weight.

THERE is a great deal of difference even as to the writers of the three allowed ages. Those of the first, and especially toward the beginning of it, were but little acquainted with the arts; and consequently are but of little authority. Ennius has the most picturesque strokes of any of them: but he was a great imitator of foreign poets; and his descriptions probably are more taken from his reading, than from any great taste or knowledge in the things themselves. Besides the appearances, and dress, and attributes of the imaginary beings, were not so well settled among the Romans in his time as they came to be afterwards. One would therefore be very sparing in making use of passages from him and his contemporaries: and if one used any, they should be rather to illustrate such points as are confirmed by greater authorities, than to build any novelty on their own: for they sometimes differ considerably from the Augustan writers; and where they differ, it is easy to see on which side the scale should turn. The poets of the Augustan age are on all accounts the most to be depended upon; and Virgil more than any of them. His *Æneid* must be the sacred writ in this sort of enquiries. His taste, and judgment, and exactness, give him this pre-eminence over all the poets of the happy age he lived in. Ovid's authority is but of a mixt kind: for tho' he enjoyed the same advantages of writing in the Augustan age, and of living much in Augustus his court, the luxuriance of his fancy and the incorrectness of his manner of writing, may render what he says more doubtful and uncertain. The poets of the third age have a middle kind of authority; greater than those antient writers, and less than the Augustan: as much better acquainted with the works of art than the former, and much less exact than the latter. Silius may, perhaps, be allowed the greatest authority of any poet of this age, for his carefulness, and his particular love of the arts; as Lucan's heat, and Statius's inexactness, may make them less fit to be depended upon than some others who wrote under the decline of poetry and of the arts at Rome. But there is not so great a difference in these, as to require that one should settle the rules of precedence punctually between them; at least I shall leave that trouble to the critics who may be nicer about it, than ever I shall care to be.

D I A L.

B O O K II.

Of the Twelve Great Celestial Deities.

D I A L. VI.

Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

THE rain, which continued all the night, and part of the next morning, hindered Polymetis and his friends from going out so soon as they would otherwise have done. Almost the moment it held up, they took a turn or two on the terrace which runs along the brow of the hill. As Polymetis was very busy in pointing out some of the beauties of the country and of the river to them; Philander, (who was more desirous of seeing the new disposition of his statues, than one of the most pleasing prospects in the world) interrupted him, to beg that they might go directly to his Rotonda; which appeared at a little distance from them, on the chief eminence of the hill. He longed yet more to hear Polymetis on the subject he had promised; and had been just saying something of the great discoveries he expected from such a comparison. Since you desire it, says Polymetis, we will go thither directly; but I would not have you expect too much. The stories told in marble may sometimes help one to find out the meaning of a passage in the antient poets; and the poetical stories may sometimes explain an old marble: but this does not happen very often. The chief use I have found in this sort of study, or amusement, call it which you please, has not been so much in discovering what was wholly unknown; as in strengthening and beautifying what was known before. When the day was so much overcast just now, you saw all the same objects that you do at present; these trees, that river, the forest on the left hand, and those spreading vales to the right: but now the sun is broke out, you see all of them more clearly, and with more pleasure. It shews scarce any thing that you did not see before; but it gives a new life and lustre to every thing that you did see. It is much the same with the writings of the old poets, when one is once got well acquainted with the finer remains of the antient artists. You knew before, for instance, that such a particular description was a description of Venus; and perhaps understood the general import of every word in it: but when you have once got strong ideas of the tenderness of that goddess's form, and of the fineness of her make, from the Venus of Medici and other celebrated representations of her, you see the same description with other eyes; and find a new brightness and enlightening diffused all over it. It strikes you more strongly; and touches the mind with a great deal more pleasure than it did before. This is the chief use I think one should propose from any enquiry of this kind; and if ever it went farther, I should look upon that as clear gains, rather than as an effect which I expected from it.

I AM much of your mind, says Mysagetes; but for heaven's sake what is that equestrian figure, at the hither corner of your Portico? Did not you tell us this was the temple for your celestial deities, and that the Virtues were placed round it? What is that then, a Virtue on horseback?

WHEN I told you that this was the temple of the supreme deities, answered Polymetis; and that the Moral Beings and Virtues were placed round it; I should have told you, that I had placed such persons, as the Romans supposed to have been admitted into the

N

society

society of the great gods on account of their superior virtues, in the Portico of this temple. I do not know how you could have chosen a properer place for them, says Philander; but are not there too many of them for any one Portico? No, says Polymetis, there were but six admitted to that honour; and the first which you see of them is Polux; one who was a particular friend to the Romans, and was therefore, I suppose, enrolled by them in this small number. But you may (1) hear more of this, when we come to consider them more particularly: at present we will begin, if you please, with all due respect, from the great gods. In saying this, he walked up the steps; and led them into the Rotonda itself, without losing any time in the Portico.

Tho' his two friends expected a good deal from Polymetis's taste, they were struck more than they expected, on entering the temple. It was built much after the manner of the famous Rotonda at Rome; only this was of the Composite order, as that is of the Corinthian; and all the inside of it was finished, in a very good taste. Polymetis had got some additional figures to compleat his collection which were new to them; and which were very well disposed in their proper niches all round the dome, and ornamented with reliefs that referred to them. The middle space was all clear: and the light which fell in from the top of the dome, in that pleasing manner which has been always so much admired in the above mentioned building, shewed the figures to a very great advantage. That of Jupiter, sitting on his curule chair, faced them as they came in. On his right hand, stood Minerva; and Juno, on his left. Next to Minerva, but at some distance from her, was Neptune; then Venus, Mars, and Vulcan: as on Juno's side, were Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and Mercury: all in the order they are mentioned. These were all the single figures in the temple; but they were accompanied with reliefs, and other ornaments; some of them not inferior in beauty to the statues themselves.

PLATE I.

THE fitting figure in the midst of this circle of deities, says Polymetis, you will easily know to be Jupiter. The distinguishing character of his person is Majesty; and every thing about him carries dignity and authority with it. His look is meant to strike sometimes with terror; and sometimes with gratitude; but always with respect. It is a great pity that we have no better figures of Jupiter: among all I have seen, I have never seen one which could by any means be placed in the first class of the ancient statues that remain to us. This (2) is a copy of that at the Verospi palace in Rome; which is reckoned the best of all I have seen: but which falls short even of the idea one might form of a Jupiter in one's own mind, by the help of the ancient poets; and infinitely short of the celebrated Jupiter made by Phidias, at Athens; and, probably, of many other figures of this god in ancient Rome.

You might however easily know that this is Jupiter, by the dignity of his look; by the fullness of his hair about his face; by that venerable beard; by that (3) mark of command in his left hand, and the fulmen in his right: but I question whether you can so easily know, what Jupiter in particular this is meant to represent. As to that, replied Philander, I am so far from being able to say what Jupiter, that I do not perfectly know what you mean. I know indeed that Cicero mentions that there were several Jupiters; but I never heard how one should distinguish them from one another. The diversity I am speaking of, says Polymetis, does not relate to those confused notions of the ancient mythologists; but only to downright matter of fact. I shall explain what I mean

more

(1) Dial. 9, posth.

(2) Ovid, where he is describing a picture of the 12 great gods wrought in tapestry (which, by the way, would be an excellent design for a piece of tapestry now) speaks of Majesty as the distinguishing character of the figure of Jupiter, in that piece.

Bis sex coelestes, medio Jove, sedibus altis

*Augusta gravitate sedent. Sua quemque deorum
Inscribit facies: Jovis est regalis imago.*

(3) In the statue at the Verospi palace this appears only as a truncheon: it is possibly the remains of a long scepter, which may have been broke formerly; and cut smooth. This very Jupiter, on medals, has the long scepter in that hand; as in Plate 2. Fig. 1.

more at large; because it is a point that is likely to occur extremely often, in what I may have to say to you.

THE old Romans, as well as the rest of the heathen world, were very expert at making distinctions by names; where, according to their own notions, there was no manner of difference in the things. The thinking part of them believed that there was (4) but one great Being, that made, and preserved, and actuated all things: which is just as much as to say that they believed there was but one God, in our sense of the word. Their best authors say this expressly, in books which they published in their life-time; and some of them go so far as even to give the reasons why they talked vulgarly of so many gods. When they considered this one great Being as influencing the affairs of the world in different manners, they gave him as many different names; and hence came all their variety of nominal gods. When he thundered or lightened, they called him, Jupiter; when he calmed the seas, Neptune: when he guided their councils, it was Minerva; and when he gave them strength in battle, it was Mars. This was their first great distinction

(4) The heathens, in general, believed, 1, That there was but one supreme God: and 2. They believed, or rather talked of a multitude of ministers, deputies, or inferior gods; as acting under this supreme. The first may be called, the philosophical belief; and the second, the vulgar belief of the heathens.

This might be well enough illustrated from the Roman catholics: who always assert there is but one God; tho' they worship such a number of Divi, as ministers and dispensers of blessings, under that one God.

That the antient Romans believed there was but one God, appears from the concurrent testimony of the greatest philosophers they ever had among them.

Tho' so much of Varro's works is lost to us, yet we learn from those who were well acquainted with his works when they were more entire, (and from St. Austin in particular,) what Varro's opinion was in this case. Hi soli Varroni videntur animadvertisse quid esset Deus; qui crederent eum esse, animam motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem. St. Aust. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

Cicero was strongly of this opinion. He says, in one place, Princeps ille Deus, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, sicut animus humanus id corpus cui præpositus est. (Somn. Scip. §. 3.)—In another: Nec vero Deus ipse alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens. (Tusc. Quest. Lib. 1.)—In a third: Esse præstantem aliquam æternamque naturam, & eam suscipiendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit consiteri. De Divin. Lib. 2.)—And in a fourth: Omnes gentes una lex, & sempiterna & immortalis, continetur; unusque erit, quasi magister & imperator omnium, Deus. (Fragm. Lib. 3. de Repub.)

Seneca teaches us, that all the different names in use among the Romans, really signified but one and the same god. Quid aliud est natura, quam Deus & divina ratio toti mundo & partibus ejus inserta? Quoties voles, tibi licet aliter hunc auctorem rerum nominarum compellare; et Jovem illum Optimum & Maximum rite dicere, & Tonantem, & Statorem.—Hunc eundem & fatum si dixeris, non mentieris: nam cum fatum nihil aliud sit quam series implexa causarum, ille est prima omnium causa ex qua cæteræ pendent. Quæcunque voles illi nomina propriè aptabis, vim

aliquam effectumque cœlestium rerum continentia: tot appellationes ejus possunt esse, quot munera. (De Ben. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.) And in another place: Ne hoc quidem crederent (antiqui) Jovem, qualem in Capitolio & in cæteris ædibus colimus, mittere manu fulmina; sed eundem, quem nos, Jovem intelligunt: custodem rectoremque universi; animum ac spiritum, mundani hujus operis dominum & artificem; cui nomen omne convenit. (Nat. Quest. Lib. 2. Cap. 45.)

Pliny not only speaks of God, as one; but gives us the reason, why they talked vulgarly of more than one. Deus—totus est sensus; totus visus; totus auditus; totus animæ; totus animi; totus sui. Innumeros quidem credere, atque etiam ex virtutibus vitiosque hominum,—aut ut Democrito placuit, duos omnino poenam & beneficium, majorem ad focordiam accedit. Fragilis & laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digessit, infirmitatis suæ memor; ut portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret: itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus, & numina in iisdem innumerabilia reperimus. (Nat. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.)

These four philosophers, (Varro, Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny,) may be very well looked on as the four chief fathers, of the old Latin church: so that their joint testimony as to this important point, must I think prove what was the opinion of the antient Romans in relation to it, in the strongest manner that can well be required.

One might bring a multitude of testimonies to prove, that the same was an universal tenet, among the heathens of old: but as that is less my business at present, and would run this into a book instead of a note, I shall satisfy myself only with a general assertion of it from Maximus Tyrius; a Greek philosopher, who is said to have resided for some time at Rome, under the Antonines: so that this sentence from him may follow, properly enough, as an appendix to that quoted from Pliny. Εν τοσούτοις—πολέμοις, και στασι, και διαρρηξια, ανα ιδιαις αν εν παση γνη ομορφον νομον και λογον: οτε θεος εις πασην βασικους και πασην και διαι παλαι, δευ παιδες, αναλογησιν δευ. Ιου. και δει ο Ελλην, λεγει, και ο Σερβους λεγει και ο Γερμανος, και ο Δαλατισος και ο Σερβ. και ο Σερβ. Δι. fert. 17. p. 193. Ed. Lond.) This then was the belief of all the heathens; that there was one great God, the father and lord of all things, and several under-gods: that is, in our sense of the word, no gods at all; but deputies only, or agents under the great God.

distinction without a difference. They seem at first to have only made use of different names; such as Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva, and the like; they afterwards carried it farther, by using different representations of this Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva: and at last came to consider them, vulgarly at least, as so many different persons. In time, as several distinct acts and characters were attributed even to each of these nominal deities, and as the figures of each were multiplied and varied in different places, they came by degrees to consider each of them too in different views, and this was their second great distinction without a difference. The Jupiter, for instance, when showering down blessings, was called the Kind Jupiter; and when punishing, the Terrible Jupiter. There was one Jupiter for Europe, and another for Africa: and in Europe itself, there was one great Jupiter who was the particular friend of the Athenians, and another who was the particular protector of the Romans. Nay, there was scarce a town, or hamlet perhaps, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own: and the (5) Jupiter of Terracina, for instance, was represented as differently from the great Jupiter at the Capitol, as the same great Jupiter and Apollo. These distinctions were carried so much farther than the bare names, that I do not at all question but that, in the time of the Punic wars, it would have been looked upon as highly wicked (or, at least, as very absurd,) for any Roman to have offered up a prayer, for the success of his countrymen against the Carthaginians, to (6) the African Jupiter.

We had, not many centuries ago, much the same absurdities in our own country; and at any time may see them practised, the first moment we please to step out on the continent. A little before the Reformation, when our devotions were almost wholly engrossed by the virgin Mary, she had statues in every town, village, church, and chapel; and had different names and representations, according to the (7) place she was in, or the character she bore. There was then probably with us, as there is in Italy at present, one virgin of the mountains, and another of the valleys; one for those who travel by land to pray to, and another for such as travel by sea. Any body at that time, had they been asked the question, would have said, upon second thoughts, that there was but one virgin

(5) The Jupiter Anxur, (or Jupiter of Terracina,) is represented on medals as young and beardless; with rays round his head; and in his whole figure more like an Apollo, than a Jupiter. See Montfaucon, Vol. 1. Pl. 22, 9.

(6) There is a remarkable passage, somewhat to this purpose, in Silius Italicus. It is where he is speaking of the league made by Scipio with Syphax king of Masæsyliæ, in the time of the second Punic war: in making which, he says, that they invoked both the Roman Jupiter, and the African Jupiter; in their joint prayers before the altar.

Audivit læto Maffylus, & annuit, ore:
Complexusque virum, "Firmemus prospera, dixit,
Omina; nec votis superi concordibus abint:
Cornigerumque Jovem, Tarpeiumque, ore vocemus."

Lib. 16. §. 261.

This puts one in mind, of the forms used of old, in their alliances, or treaties of peace; in the entrance of which, they usually named the different gods of either nation. Thus, in the alliance made between the Macedonians and Carthaginians, but a few years before in the same war; which runs thus.—"In the presence of Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the tutelary Divinity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules, and of Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, of Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of the Gods who accompany our expedition; and of the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth; in the presence of (the Gods of) the Rivers, the Meadows, and the Waters; in the presence of all the Gods who rule over Carthage; in the presence of all the Gods

who rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the Gods who preside over warlike expeditions, and of those who flood over us at the taking this oath: Hannibal the general hath said, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in his army (have said.) As it seems good unto you, and to us, let this (oath) be an oath of amity and good-will between us, as friends, relations, and brethren;" &c. The whole treaty is in Polybius, Lib. 7. p. 502, to 505. Ed. Wechel. 1609.

(7) As the ancients had their Capitoline and their Olympian Jupiter, so we had our virgin of Winchester and our virgin of Walsingham: and as there were temples to the Capitoline Jupiter in other places, as well as on the Capitoline hill, and one at Athens in particular; so we had places dedicated to the virgin of Winchester, in other places as well as Winchester; and one at Oxford in particular. The society at Oxford (to which I am obliged more than I could easily express, for passing the best part of my life, in a most agreeable manner) was established before the light of the Reformation had begun to dawn on England; by one of the noblest patrons of learning, that ever was. As he was, in those times, bishop of Winchester, he founded a seminary there; and a college to be supplied with students from it, at Oxford. This college, at Oxford, was dedicated Sanctæ Mariæ Wintoniensi; and both of them are called, the two St. Mary-Winton colleges, on some solemn occasions, to this day.

virgin Mary: yet they looked upon one figure (8) of her as more venerable than another: and there were many devout people then that gave vast presents to the virgin of Winchester, for example; who would have grudged perhaps to make the most insignificant offering to the virgin of Walsingham. They thought her more present in one place than the other; or had had several obligations to her figure at Winchester, and none at all to that at Walsingham.

JUPITER was almost as much in fashion among the old worshippers of images, as the virgin among the modern. He had temples, and different characters, almost every where. At Carthage, he was called Ammon: in Egypt, Serapis: at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greatest Jupiter was the Capitoline. And to return to what occasioned this digression, it is the last mentioned, the Capitoline Jupiter, which I take to be represented in the statue you are now looking upon.

THIS Capitoline Jupiter was the great guardian of the Romans; and it was he who was to give them the empire of the whole world: an idea, which (as I have said already) was very early and very strong among them. They reckoned his influence and power superior to that of the African or Asiatic Jupiters; and called him (9), the best and greatest Jupiter. For tho' it has been generally taken otherwise, I cannot help imagining that the title of Optimus Maximus was vulgarly used as a surname of this particular Jupiter among the Romans; much in the same manner as the title of Augustus, was particularly appropriated for the surname of the second of their Cæsars.

IT appears from several medals, as well as from several passages in the old Roman authors, that the figure of this Capitoline Jupiter, or the Jupiter Optimus Maximus, (which-ever you please to call him) was represented, in his chief temple on the Capitoline hill, as sitting on a curule chair; with the thunder in one hand, and a scepter in the other. Such you see him in the medal I have in my hand; but before we go on, I must beg you to consider him a little more particularly.

In his right hand, you see, he grasps his fulmen; his thunder, as we are used to translate that word, improperly enough; for we should rather call it, his (10) lightning.

This

PLATE II.
FIG. 1.

(8) This appears from the practice of all the Roman catholic countries at present; and particularly from that of Rome itself. In that city, there is a church dedicated to the virgin of Loretto. One would think that the virgin of Loretto should be as powerful, and as much esteemed at Rome, as she is at Loretto; but there is not near the same respects paid her there, nor such presents made to her, as at Loretto. The virgin, at Loretto itself, is excessively rich; and at Rome very poor in comparison: nay, several of the inhabitants of Rome go every year to pay their devotions to the statue of the virgin at Loretto; tho' they have other statues of her, so near their own doors.

(9) Cicero says that they called their Capitoline Jupiter the best and the greatest. Quocirca te, Capitoline, quem propter beneficia populus Romanus Optimum, propter vim Maximum nominavit. Orat. pro domo sua.

On medals too we have this inscription, "The Capitoline Jupiter, the Best and the Greatest;" as in that of Vitellius, Pl. 2. N. 1.

Our great Archbishop Tillotson seems to understand these names in a larger sense, and more worthy of his own way of thinking. "Among the divine titles, says he, Goodness always had the pre-eminence;

both among the Greeks and Romans; *Εὐστὺς μεγίστης*, Deus optimus maximus, was their constant style." (Vol. 2. Serm. 90. p. 678.) And Cicero himself has given him sufficient reason for saying so; for, on another occasion, where he is speaking of Jupiter in general, he says: A poetis dicitur divum atque hominum pater; (or, the kind governour:) à majoribus autem nostris, optimus maximus: et quidem ante optimus, id est beneficentissimus, quam maximus; quia majus est, certèque gratius, prodesse omnibus quàm opes magnas habere. De Nat. Deor. L. 2.

Cicero, in these two passages quoted from him, uses these words optimus maximus in different senses: in the first, as a name applied to a particular national deity; and in the second, as a general character of the Great Being: and this difference, I think, may be easily accounted for. The first, or vulgar sense, is used in a speech of his to the people; and the second, or philosophical sense, is used in one of the most philosophical treatises he ever wrote.

(10) There is perhaps no one word in the whole Roman language, whose signification is more distinctly determined by their ancient writers themselves, than that of the word fulmen. One could give several absolute definitions of it, in their own words.

This fulmen, in the hand of Jupiter, partook something of the nature of an hieroglyphic, of old; and had different meanings, according to the different manners in which it was represented.

Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 43.

THERE were three ways of representing it most usual among the old artists. The first is a bundle of flames, as wreathed close together, and formed much in the shape of what we call the thunder-stone at present. The second is the same figure, with two transverse darts of lightning; and sometimes with wings added on each side of it, to denote its swiftness. Such was the device which all the soldiers of the thundering legion (as it is called) bore on their shields; as you see it frequently represented both on the Antonine, and Trajan pillar, at Rome; and in several other remains of antiquity: which, by the way, may serve very well to explain (11) some lines in Valerius Flaccus, that would not be near so intelligible without their assistance. The third is an handful of flames, all let loose in their utmost fury. These three different representations of the fulmen answer very well to the (12) three different sorts of lightning, which the Roman philosophers and divines sometimes speak of.

THE old artists, when they were to design any figure of Jupiter, generally seem to have adapted his fulmen to the character under which they were to represent him. If his appearance was to be mild and calm, they gave him the first sort, or the conic fulmen, held down in his hand. If punishing, he holds up the second sort; or the three-forked bolt of Jove, as the poets have very properly called it. And if going to do some exemplary

Si in nube lucetur flatus aut vapor, tonitrua edi;
si erumpat ardens, fulmina: si longiore tractu nitatur,
fulgetra. Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 43.

Quum autem se in nubem induerint, ei usque tenuissimam quanque partem ceperint dividere ac dirumpere, idque crebrius facere & vehementius, tum et fulgores & tonitrua existere: si autem nubium confictu ardor expressus se emiserit, id esse fulmen. Cicero de Divin. l. 2. §. 64.

— Ignis ille
Vortex, quod patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen.

Lucretius 6. §. 297.

When we are taught (as we generally are) to translate the word fulmen, by the word thunder: we use a word that is apt to give an idea of noise, without any idea of the light; for a Latin word which gave an idea of light, without any idea of the noise.

This mistake is very apt to make people lose the beauty of several passages in the old Roman writers; as, for instance, where Cicero speaks of the fulmina verborum, or where Virgil calls the two Scipios the duo fulmina belli.

The meaning of Virgil in that expression is opened to us, more at large, in a simile of Lucan's; which, by the way, is one of the best perhaps in the whole Pharsalia. It is where he is giving us the character of Julius Cæsar; toward the opening of that poem.

Acer, & indomitus, quò spes quòque ira vocalliet
Ferre manum; & nunquam temerando parcere ferro;
Successus urgere suos, insilare favori
Nominis, impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret; gaudensque viam fecisse ruinâ.
Qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen
Ætheris impulsu sonitu mundique fragore
Emicuit, ruptique diem; populosque paventes
Terruit, obliquâ præstingens lumina flammâ:
In sua templa furit; nullaque exire vetante
Materia, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
Dat frangem latè, sparsisque recolligit ignes.

Lib. 1. §. 157.

Where Mr. Pope makes use of the same image to

point out the particular character of the late Earl of Peterborough;

— He, whose lightning pierc'd th' Iberian lines;
how much of the beauty and justice of it would have been lost, had he used the word thunder, instead of the word he has used?

(11) This winged fulmen generally spread all over the shield; as in Plate 2. Fig. 2. which is the copy of a shield, on the Antonine pillar. This sort of figure on the Roman shields is thus described by Valerius Flaccus:

Cuncta phalanx insignis Jovis cælatæque gestat
Tegmina; dispersos tridis ardoribus ignes:
Nec primas radios, miles Romane, coruscâ
Fulminis & rutilas scutis diffusis alas.

Argon. 6. §. 56.

The make of his fulmen there, (in three rays upwards, and as many downwards) agrees very well too with the common epithets of trifidum & trifulcum, in the Roman poets.

— Trifida flamma.

Ovid. Met. 2. §. 325.

— Cui dextra trifulcis

Ignibus armata est —

Id. Ibid. §. 849.

Flaccus speaks of them too as all on fire, in the passage above; and seems to make them cast a bright reflection, as such, on the wings in his shield; which is a very just, and very picturesque idea.

(12) Fulmina dicunt, (the augurs,) à Jove mitti; & tres illi manubias dant. Prima, ut avertat, monet & placata est; & ipsius consilio Jovis mittitur. Secundam quidem Jupiter, sed ex concillii sententiâ; Duodecem enim Deus advocat: quæ prodest quidem, sed non impunè. Tertiam manubiam idem Jupiter mittit, sed adhibitis in consilium diis, quos superiores & involutos vocant; quæ vastat, & incendit, & rerum mutat statum privatum & publicum. Seneca; Nat. Quæst. l. 2. C. 41.

plary execution, they give him the third; and sometimes fill even both his hands with flames. There is a figure of Jupiter, in Senator Buonaroti's collection at Florence, where you see him holding up the three-forked bolt as just going to dart it on some guilty wretch that has provoked him; but with the conic fulmen lying under his feet, to shew that it is of no use to him on occasions of such severity. The figures of the Capitoline Jupiter had generally, I believe, the mildest fulmen, and that held down; his character being rather a character of goodness, than severity. And when they gave him flames in his right hand, even those are held down: to signify, that he is always ready to overturn any nation or people that should insult the Roman state; without destroying the complacency of his character.

PLATE II.
FIG. 3.

In his other hand, you see, (13) he holds his scepter; as the king, or father, (which antiently signified the same thing) of all beings, whether human or divine. You must not expect in his scepter to meet with such a short ornamented thing, as we have an idea of at present whenever we make use of that word. The scepter of the antients was plain, as you see it here; and tho' the figures of Jupiter ought not to be short, his scepter is generally longer than himself; whence it is, I suppose, that father Montfaucon so often calls it, his pike. To say the truth, in the simplicity of the earlier ages of the world, the scepters of kings were really no other than long (14) walking-staves; and thence had the very name of scepter, which now sounds so magnificently. Ovid, in speaking of Jupiter, describes him as (15) resting on his scepter; which, if taken in the modern sense of the word, would be almost as ridiculous, as if one should describe a general, at the head of his troops, resting on his truncheon.

It was neither his scepter, nor even his fulmen, that shewed the superiority of Jupiter so much, as that air of majesty which the antient artists endeavoured to express in his countenance. If some of the nobler statues of Jupiter, as that of the Jupiter Olympus made by Phidias, in particular, had remained to our times; we might see this more strongly than we can at present: for that was reckoned the master-piece of the greatest statuary that ever was; and those who beheld it are said to have been astonished at the greatness of his ideas in it. When he was (16) asked how it was possible for him to conceive that air of divinity he had expressed in the face of his Jupiter; he answered, "that he had copied it from the celebrated description of that god in Homer." It is observable that the personal strokes in that description relate to nothing but the head of hair, the eye-brows, and the beard: and indeed in the best heads of Jupiter, I have ever seen, I have observed that it was these very particulars which gave his face the greatest share of the dignity that appeared in it.

I HAVE known judges, says Mysagetes, who owed much of their solemn air to a full-bottomed wig; but I never knew before, that Jupiter was so very much obliged for his to his beard. Take care a little, says Polymetis; you may be easily led, by your prejudice

(13) Pl. 2. Fig. 1.

(14) Σκηπτρον, απο της σκηπτειδας.

The old scepter's being as long as a hunting-pole, may serve to explain some expressions in Virgil relating to King Latinus's scepter; which would not be so proper, if applied to a truncheon or modern scepter.

Ut sceptrum hoc (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)
Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta, nec umbras;
Cum femel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum
Mare caret; posuisset comas & brachia ferro:
Olim arbor. ———

Æn. 12. v. 210.

It was a whole young tree; cut from the root, and stript of its branches.

(15) Celsior ipse loco, sceptroque innixus eburno,
Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
Cæsariem. ———

Met. 1. v. 178.

(16) Phidias, cum Jovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exemplo divinam imitaretur effigiem; respondit, archetypum Jovis in his se tribus Homeri versibus invenisse:

Η και λυαρενσιν εν' ορησι νευσα Κρονον
Αυρισταυι δ' αρα γαιται επετρασεντο σιαυ'ες
Κρατος αυ' αθανατοιο: μεγαυ δ' ελελιξεν Ολυμπον.

Nam de superciliis & crinibus, totum se Jovis vultum collegisse. (Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 5. c. 14.) We have the same anecdote, in Valerius Maximus; more at large. Memorab. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

prejudice for our present modes, to advance something, which may contradict your own eyes and your own judgment, when you look farther into it. It is true we scarce ever see a full beard on any but the lowest sort of people among us; and that has given us a mean idea of the thing itself. Nature perhaps designed it for the ornament of old age; but custom has got the better of her. Yet when we were in Italy together, I remember to have seen you admiring several representations of the deity, which owed a great part of their venerable air the best painters generally give them in that country, to their beards. How particularly were you struck with that celebrated picture of (17) S. Antonio, at Bologna? And how often have I heard you quoting it since, as one of the most venerable figures that could be conceived, for such a character? Now that very S. Antonio, your great favourite, owes much of his venerable air to that long solemn beard, that falls so nobly all down his bosom. What is nobler too than the long beard in Michael Angelo's Moses? A full beard surely may give majesty as well as a long one; and you see, in effect, how much it gives to the heads of kings on Greek medals: and, permit me to add, to the heads of the Greek Jupiters, in several of the busts and gems of him, which we have had the pleasure of seeing together.

A FULL beard still carries that idea of majesty with it, all over the East: which it may, possibly, have had ever since the times of the patriarchal government there. The Grecians had a share of this oriental notion of it. The very name is apt to carry something low and ridiculous along with it among us: and to say the truth, the Romans in their best ages seem to have had this Northern (or Gothic) idea of it, almost as much as we have at present. A true antiquarian might think this a very good opportunity of informing you of the great esteem that was paid to beards by the Romans, in the (18) earlier ages of their state; who was the first person that ever was shaved in Rome; when the custom of having naked chins grew universal there; and how far the very idea of a beard was become fordid and (19) contemptible, in the more polite ages of Rome. He would tell you, — But I see a smile rising on Myfages's face; and for once will be so malicious, as to disappoint him of his laugh. For heaven's sake, says Myfages, do not be so strict an observer of the movements in my face; or, at least, do not let them interrupt you. However at present, I hope, they are pretty safe: for the loss of so considerable an history, as the history of the Roman beards must have been, affects me so deeply, that I shall not be in any disposition to smile again, at least for this half hour. Be that as it will, says Polymetis, I shall only add at present, that Virgil seems to have had

(17) S. Antonio abbate, preaching: by Lewis Carache; in a college dedicated to that saint. It is the high altar-piece, in the chapel belonging to that college.

(18) Even as far down, as to the sacking of Rome by the Gauls. — *Haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in sedum vestibulis sedentes viros, præter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem, majestate etiam quam vultus gravitasque oris præ se ferebat simillimos diis. Adeo velut simulacra versi cum flarent, M. Papyrius unus ex his dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti;* &c. Livy, L. 5. §. 41.

(19) The Roman poets, of the second and third ages, speak very disrespectfully of their forefathers; on account of their long beards, and rough heads of hair.

*In gradibus sedit populus de cespite fastis;
Quilibet hirsutas fronde tegente comas.*

Ovid. Art. Am. 1. v. 108.
Hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat avos.

Id. Fast. 2. v. 28.
— *Facile est barbato imponere regi.*

Juvenal. Sat. 4. v. 103.

— *Credam dignum barbâ, dignumque capillis
Majorum* —

Id. Sat. 16. v. 32.
Horace makes their beards a topic of ridicule, in speaking of the philosophers of his time.

Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam.

Lib. 2. Sat. 3. v. 35.
— *Dii te, Damasppe, demque,
Veram ob consilium donent tonsore!*

Ib. v. 1;
— *Vellent tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuisse coeres, &c.*

Lib. 1. Sat. 3. v. 134.
Indeed about that time no body but these poor philosophers, and such of the Romans as lay under some disgrace or misfortune, ever appeared with a long beard. — *Sed erat veste obsoleta, capilloque & barbâ promissa; præferens in vultu habitusque insignem memoriam ignominie acceptæ: — censores eum tonderi, & squalorem deponere, & in senatum venire fungique aliis publicis muneribus, coegerunt.* Livy, L. 27. §. 34.

Thus, as Suetonius tells us, Julius Cæsar let his beard grow, on the defeat of Tiberius; and Augustus, on that of Varus.

had as despicable an idea of beards as you can have; or at least, that he had *so* much complaisance for the prevailing idea of his countrymen, that where he (20) copies that noble description of Jupiter from Homer, he omits all the picturesque strokes on the beard, hair, and eye-brows; and supplies them from other circumstances: which are very great and striking indeed; but borrowed from things abroad, and not at all descriptive of the person of Jupiter: so that an artist could not have conceived such noble ideas from his description, as Phidias did from Homer's. It is for this very omission, that Macrobius (21) has placed this passage of Virgil, in his chapter of instances of that poet's falling short of his master. Scaliger on the contrary, like a true modern critic, cries up Virgil for his judgment in this omission; and flings away some mirth upon Homer, as being too frivolous and particular. One might, I think, easily enough compound the matter between them: by allowing (which is the very truth) that Virgil on this occasion has described Jupiter in the properest manner that could be, among the Romans; and that Homer has described him in the noblest manner that could be, among the Greeks.

AMONG the different characters of Jupiter, I think I mentioned to you those of the Mild and of the Terrible Jupiter. We have several heads of the Mild Jupiter, particularly on ancient seals; and such is this that I usually wear on my finger. His face, you see, has a mixture of dignity and ease in it. That (22) serene and sweeter kind of (23) majesty, which Virgil gives him, where he is receiving Venus with so much paternal tenderness; in the first *Æneid*. It is this character of Jupiter's face in general that Esculapius resembles so much; agreeably to which that deity of physic is called, (24) the mild god, by some of the poets; and I believe you may have observed the same manners, and the same air of the face, in some physicians that I could mention to you of our acquaintance.

PLATE II.
FIG. 4.

THE statues of the Terrible Jupiter, were represented in every particular differently from those of the former. These were generally of black marble, as those were of white. The one is sitting, with an air of tranquillity; the other is standing, and more or less disturbed. The face of one, is pacific and serene; of the other, angry or clouded. On the heads of the one, the hair is regular and composed; in the other, it is so discomposed, that it falls half way down the forehead.

PLATE II.
FIG. 5.

THE best artists however seem to have taken great care not to represent Jupiter, as too angry. A great deity is not to be so much in a passion as a little one; much less, in such a passion as a man. Jupiter is still to retain his majesty; which is apt to be scattered away with too much passion. I remember there is a figure in Montfaucon of this angry sort of Jupiter from the work of some low artist, who has gone so far as to make his face disturbed, and (25) his cheeks swelled out with rage. Horace, where he is speaking humorously of Jupiter's being in a violent passion, seems to have had some such bad figure of him in his eye; in which the statuary had represented this king of the gods and men, very ridiculously, with both his cheeks as it were (26) bloated with ill humour.

(20) *Dixerat; idque ratam Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas,
Annuit: et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.*
Æn. 9. v. 106.

(21) *Saturn. Lib. 5. C. 14.*

(22) *Olli subridens hominum fator atque deorum,
Vultu quo cœlum tempestatesque serenat,
Oscula libavit nate.*
Æn. 1. v. 256.

(23) — *Mediis sese arduus infert
Ipse deis; placido, quatiens tamen omnia, vultu.*
Statius. Theb. 1. v. 203.

(24) *Statius. Sylv. Lib. 3. Carm. 4. v. 25.*

(25) *Montf. Sup. Tom. 2. Pl. 19. Fig. 2.*

(26) *Quid causæ est, merito quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet; neque se fore posthac
Tam facilem dicat votis ut præbeat aurem.*
Horace, Lib. 1. Sat. 1. v. 21.
So, intumuit, is used by Ovid, of Juno when in a passion.

*Intumuit Juno, raptâ quod pellice natum
Educat; at sanguis ille sororis erat.*
Fall. 6. v. 488.

humour. How different is the air of that fine bust of the Jupiter Terribilis, at the Villa Mattei at Rome? which has as much of majesty as terror in it; and which, where it expresses anger, expresses (27) an anger not unworthy of Jupiter.

THE face of the Jupiter Tonans has a good deal of resemblance to that of the Jupiter Terribilis, as appears from several of the gems (28) and medals where his figure is preserved to us. He is represented on them as holding up the triple bolt, in his right hand; and standing in a chariot, which seems to be whirled on impetuously by four horses. The poets describe him in the same manner as (29) standing amidst his rapid horses; or "his horses (30) that make the thunder." For as the ancients had a strange idea of the brazen vault of heaven, they seem to have attributed the noise in a thunder-storm to the rattling of Jupiter's chariot and horses on that great (31) arch of brass, all over their heads; as they supposed that he himself flung the flames out of his hand, which dart at the same time out of the clouds, beneath this arch. Jupiter obtained this constant prerogative of dispensing the thunder-bolt, as Ovid (32) tells us, from his having conquered the rebel giants with that weapon; and I remember there is a gem in the Great Duke's collection at Florence (33), in which Jupiter is represented as driving on his chariot against one of them; and grasping his fulmen, as ready to dart it at his head. By the way, the artist has made use of the same artifice to insinuate the vast size of Jupiter in this little gem, that Timanthes was so celebrated for in his paintings in miniature. For tho' the chariots of the ancients were of a very low make (and rather a standing-place only for their feet, than any thing like what we now call a chariot) this of Jupiter is higher than the giant who is opposed to him: what then must be the height of the deity himself?

THE Jupiter Fulminans, and the Jupiter Fulgurator, seem to have been very much of the same kind: only those who were nicer might perhaps consider the Jupiter Fulminans as the dispenser of the lightnings, which are darted forth from the clouds; and the Jupiter Fulgurator as the dispenser of those lesser lightnings, that only shoot about and struggle (34) amidst the clouds. Had the Aurora Borealis, for instance, been as common formerly at Rome, as it has been of late years among us; the augurs there would have attributed those quivering lights to the Jupiter Fulgurator; as they did the streams of lightning that darted through the air, to the Jupiter Fulminans. I have already said, that the fulmen was represented by the artists in different shapes; but of whatever shape it was, it was always supposed to consist chiefly of (35) fire. The poets often call

it

And of Jupiter himself;

Jupiter intumuit: quâque est non ufa modeste
Eripuit linguam.——

Fast. 2. §. 608.

(27) — Dignas Jove concepit iras.

Ovid. Met. 1. §. 166.

(28) See Mus. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 57. Fig. 2.

(29) — Rapidis qui tonat altus equis.

Ovid. Met. 1. §. 28.

(30) — Tonantes

Egit equos, volucrumque currum.

Horace, Lib. 1. Od. 34. §. 8.

(31) This notion of theirs may help to explain the story of Salmoëus: who is said to have built a great bridge of brass, in the middle of the city of Elis; and to have acted the part of the Jupiter Tonans upon it; or as Virgil says,

Dum flammas Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi,
Quatuor hic instructus equis, & lampada quassans,
Per Graium populos mediâque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans; divûmque sibi poscebat honores.

Domens, qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen

Ære & cornipedum pulsu simulat æquorum.

Æn. 6. §. 591.

(32) Fulmina post ausos cælum afficere gigantes

Sumpta Jovi: primo tempore incensis erat.

Fast. Lib. 3. §. 440.

(33) Musæum Florentinum. Vol. I. Pl. 57. Fig. 7.

(34) See Note 10, antech.

(35) Ipse pater rectorque deum, cui dextra trifurcis

Ignibus armata est.——

Ovid. Met. 2. §. 849.

—— Trifida flamma.

Id. Ib. §. 325.

—— Jove tortus ab alto

Ignis.—— Statius, Theb. 5. §. 395.

Thus Virgil, in his composition of the fulmen, speaks of fire oftener than any thing else in it.

His informatum manibus jam parte politâ

Fulmen erat; toto genitor quæ plurima cælo

Deiecit in terras; pars imperfecta manebat.

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aqueos

Addiderant; rutuli tres ignis, & altis austris:

Fulgores

it so; and there are some expressions in them relating to it, and the Jupiter who darted it on the earth, which were probably taken from some (36) paintings of old; tho' they do not remain to be confronted with them.

THERE is another very considerable character of Jupiter, that of the Jupiter Pluvius, which I shall perhaps have a good deal to say to, on another occasion; so that if you please we will quit his figure for the present, to consider his consort a little.

JUNO, as well as Jupiter, had a great variety of characters; but the favourite one of them all, among the Romans, was that of the Juno Matrona. You see she is dressed in a long robe, which covers her from head to foot; just in the same manner as the Roman matrons dressed themselves, out of a principle of decency; which had prevailed so far among them, that it was reckoned scandalous for any married woman to have any thing uncovered (37) but her face. The figures of the Roman empresses were often formed under this character of Juno. It was a compliment very commonly paid them on the reverses of their medals; and not uncommon in their statues. Such is that very pretty statue of Sabina, at the Villa Mattei in Rome; in which that empress appears dressed and ornamented exactly like the Juno Matrona. This Juno was called indifferently Juno Matrona and Juno Romana; and those two names signified one and the same thing, as much as Gens togata signified the people of Rome. I make this observation to you, because it may serve to explain a (38) passage in Horace, which is otherwise liable enough to be misunderstood. It is where he is setting the gods in array against the rebel giants. In that description, he mentions Juno under the name of Matrona: which in the general sense of the word would be the most improper he could have pitched on among all

PLATE III.
FIG. 1.

Fulgores nunc terrificos, sonitumque metumque
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.

Æn. 8. v. 432.

This composition of Virgil's is partly natural, and partly poetical. The natural ingredients for it are clouds, wind, fire, rain, and hail; for his imber tortus seems to signify the fame, as durus imber does in Columella. (De cultu Hort. v. 329, & 330.) The word tres, so often repeated in it, may have some relation to the epithets of trifidum and trifidulum so often given to fulmen by the poets, and so very well agreeing with the figures of it, in most antiques; as the epithet of alitis, may have some reference to the wings given to it, in some of them.

(36) Thus Horace's,
Jam satis terribis nivis atque diræ
Grandinis mist pater; & rubente
Dexterâ sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit urbem.

Lib. 1. Od. 2. v. 4.

And Virgil's,
Ipse pater mediâ nimborum in nocte coruscâ
Fulmina molitur dextrâ—

Geor. L. 1. v. 329.

And Valerius Flaccus's,
Cuncta phalanx insignis Jovis, celataque gestat
Tegmina; dispersos trifidis ardoribus ignes;
Nec primus radios, miles Romane, coruscâ
Fulminis & rutilas scutis diffuderis alas.

Argon. Lib. 6. v. 56.

If these strokes were not borrowed from paintings, they are at least so picturesque, that they might be of use to painters now. They all refer to that gleam which is cast by lightning on the objects near it. In the two first passages this ruddy brightness is described on Jupiter's hand who holds it; and in the last, on the wings which the old artists annex to it.

As the expressions of coruscus, rubens, and rutilus in these three passages, if borrowed at all, must have been borrowed from paintings; there are other expressions in the poets relating to this subject, which might have been taken indifferently from statues or pictures.

Thus:

In nos alta Jovis dextera fulmen habet.

Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 3. v. 20.

Fulminantis magna Jovis manus.

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. v. 6.

Alta signifies the up-lifted hand of Jove; as altus, applied to Jupiter himself, signifies that he is standing in his chariot; Note 29, ante.

(37) Est procul vitæ tenues, insignis pudoris;
Quæque tegis medios insita longa pedes.

Ovid. de Art. Am. Lib. 1. v. 32.

Quarum substat talos tegat insita veste.

Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 2. v. 30.

Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata palla.

Ibid. v. 97.

Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere possis;

Cætera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentia.

Ibid. v. 95.

(38) Sed quid Typhreus & vultus Mimas,
Aut quid minac. Porphyrio statu,

Quid Rhæcus, evulsiq. truncis
Encladus jaculator audax,

Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent reutes? Hinc avidus stetit

Valeans; hinc Matrona juat: &
Nunciam hameris postora, a. cum,

Qui rore puro Castaliæ lavit
Crines solato, qui Lycia tenet

D. metra natalemque sylvam,
Delias & Patroos Apollo.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

Ibid. v. 95.

all the variety of titles given to this goddess; but in this light, is a compliment to the Roman Juno; the great patroness of his country. It was the Roman Juno, it seems, who appeared in arms, on this emergency. It was the Roman Juno who assisted in person to support the empire of heaven, and consequently the happiness of mankind, against the most formidable enemies that even the imagination of the poets could ever raise up against them.

In the antient gems and marbles the Juno Matrona is always represented in a modest and decent dress; as the Juno Regina, and the Juno Moneta, are always in a fine and more magnificent one. Yet when one has formed an idea of Juno, either from the simplicity of the one, or the magnificence of the others, one is still at a loss what to make of Virgil's account of her (39) arms and military chariot in the first *Æneid*; or of that angry and (40) warlike figure, he has given of her in the second. A critic of any spirit would be apt to conclude from hence immediately, that Virgil takes his nap sometimes as well as Homer; and that this contrariety was owing to his forgetfulness: but it would be better perhaps, wherever there seems at first sight to be any blunder in such excellent writers as Homer and Virgil (or indeed in less excellent poets, if they wrote in times so very far removed from us) rather to suspect that we ourselves are ignorant of some custom or fact, very well known in their times; than that the poet is mistaken, or guilty of some blunder. I should think it would be very right to lay this down as a general rule to ourselves in reading the works of all such of the antients, as have been allowed in their own times, and in the next succeeding ages, to have been men of very good sense and very careful writers. This opinion of mine is, I can assure you, founded on fact; I mean that of my having found myself very often mistaken in the end, where I thought they were at first: and to say the truth this has happened to me in the very case I was speaking of. At my first considering these warlike descriptions of Juno in Virgil, I saw they did not agree with the most established characters of that goddess among the Romans: I therefore thought, for some time, that Virgil took a good deal of liberty in cases of this nature; and that these were to be reckoned among his negligences. But on a more careful review, I found the fault was in myself; and that Virgil in both those places intended to speak of Juno, not according to the appearance she used to make among the Romans, but according to the representations of her in other countries. In the first, he certainly speaks of the (41) Carthaginian Juno; and in the second, of the Juno Argiva; or, at least, some particular Juno (42) of the Greeks.

It is true there was a Juno too received among the Romans, with which these attributes, and this sort of character, would not disagree. What I mean is the Juno Sospita; who appears on several (43) family medals, in a war-chariot, and with a spear in her hand.

Tho'

(39) *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Poltrahitâ coluisse Samo: hic illius arma,
Illic currus fuit —*

Æn. 1. *l.* 17.

(40) — *Juno Scævas levissima portas
Prima tenet; sociûmque furens e navibus agmen,
Ferro accincla vocat. —*

Æn. 2. *l.* 614.

(41) It appears from the context in Virgil, that it was at Carthage, that Juno had her arms and a chariot; and so Ovid makes her say, more expressly,
*Pœniteat quod non foreo Carthaginis arces;
Cum mea fiat illo currus & arma loco.*

Fast. Lib. 6. *l.* 46.

One would think from this, compared with what Apuleius says in his prayer of Psyche, that the Carthaginians represented their Juno sometimes, in a chariot drawn by lions. — *Magni Jovis germana & conjuga! Sive tu Sami, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimonia tua gloriatur, tenes vetusta delubra! Sive*

*celse Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vecturâ leonis cœlo
commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas! Sive
prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & re-
ginam dearum memorat! &c.* — *Æt.* Aur. Lib. 6.

(42) It should, by the rules of propriety, be some Grecian Juno, or other; because she is assisting the Greeks, to overturn the empire of the Asiatics. One of the most celebrated among the Grecian Juno's was the Juno Argiva. She was worshipped under that name even in Italy; and Ovid has a long description of a procession to her at Faliscæ. Lib. 3. *El.* 13. Helenus had ordered the Romans, by *Æneas*, to worship Juno most particularly; to get her over to their party. Virgil's *Æn.* 3. *l.* 433—439. They did so; and thought that, in time, she came to prefer them to all her most favourite nations. Ovid's *Fast.* 6. *l.* 45. 48.

(43) See Montfaucon's *Antiquities*. Tom. 1. Pl. 22, 11.

DIALOGUE the Sixth.

5-

Tho' the idea of this Juno was so well known and so familiar to the Romans, that they used to see her with all her proper accoutrements about her even in their (44) dreams; yet I should never have been at all inclined to think that these descriptions were written by Virgil with any eye to her. Her dress is so particular, that any description of it in the poets would be easily known; and yet, I believe, you cannot find out any one line either in Virgil, or in any other of the Roman poets, which is descriptive of her. Indeed it seems to have been a general rule among them, to follow the great and national ideas that were universally received among them, in describing the figure of any deity; and to touch but very seldom, on the local and particular ones: among which we may reckon the Juno Sospita; who was much more worshipped (45) at Lanuvium, than she was at Rome.

THERE was a Mild Juno, as well as a Mild Jupiter, among the Romans. Her face is gentle, and more good-humoured than usual. It has the same air with which she appears on a Greek medal, in Montfaucon (46); where you see her standing in her chariot, drawn by peacocks. This is an idea, which was received too among the Roman poets; and which I shall consider farther, together with that of the Jupiter Pluvius, when we come to the (47) deities of the air.

THE most obvious and striking character of Juno, and that which we are apt to impute the most early of any from the writings of Homer and Virgil, is quite contrary to the former; that of an imperious haughty wife. In both of these poets, we find her much oftener scolding at Jupiter, than caressing him: and in the tenth Æneid in particular, even in the council of the gods, her behaviour is all either sullen (48), or angry and indecent. There is a relieve, in the court of the university at Turin, which seems to be meant to represent her in this very scene; and I could say much more of it, and of this ill-natured character of Juno in general. But as this goddess was antiently looked on as the great patroness of marriage and a wedded life, I chuse to wave the subject; and shall only add, that it is a great matter of surprize to me, how Virgil and Homer could be so wicked, as to represent her most commonly in this character, under so false, and so disagreeable a light.

ON the right hand of Jupiter, you see Minerva; as Juno is on his left. These three deities are frequently joined together (49) by the Roman authors; as well as in antient inscriptions,

PLATE III.
FIG. 2.

(44) — Illam nostram Sospitam; quam tu nunquam nec in fomitiis vides, nisi cum pelle caprinâ, cum hastâ, cum scutulo, cum calceis repandis. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1.

(45) She was particularly worshipped at Lanuvium.

Quos castrum, Phrygiibusque gravis quondam Ardeamisti;
Quos, celsò dexera jugo Junonia sedes,
Lanuvium. —

Silius, Lib. 8. §. 362.

Lanuvio generate, inquit, quem Sospita Juno

Dat nobis. —

Id. Lib. 13. §. 365.

Date hoc ipsius pudori, date patri mortuo, date generi & familie, date etiam Lanuvio municipio honestissimo, quod in hac totâ causâ frequens mœstumque vidistis. Nolite a sacris patriis Junonis Sospitæ, cui omnes consules facere necesse est, domesticum & suum consulem potissimum avellere. Cicero. pro Muræna, sub fin.

They had in old times a temple to the Juno Sospita in Rome; but her worship had been so little regarded there, that the very ruins of it were not easily to be found out, in the Augustan age.

Principio mensis Phrygiæ contermina matri

Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis;

Nunc ubi sunt illis, quæris, sacrata kalendis

Templa deæ? Longâ procubuerit die

Cætera ne simili caderent labefacta ruinâ

Cavit sacratî provida cura ducis:

Sub quo, &c.

Ovid. Fast. Lib. 2. §. 61.

(46) Vol. I. Pl. 22, 6.

(46) Dial. XIII.

(48) — Tum regia Juno

Acta furore gravi. " Quid me alta silentia cogis

Rumpere, et obdactum verbis vulgare dolorem? &c.

See her whole speech, Æn. 10. §. 62—95.

(49) This is frequent in the Roman authors in general; but I shall only chuse out three or four passages from some of the best of them.

Cicero, in the close of his speech against Verres, invokes these three deities at the head of all the other gods, whose temples that impious governor had profaned. " Nunc te, Jupiter Optime Maxime! cujus

112

(50) inscriptions, and the (51) works of the artists. They were looked upon as having at least as great a (52) superiority among the twelve great gods, as the rest of the twelve had over the multitude of divinities received among the Romans. They worshipped them with the highest kind of worship; and regarded them as their particular defenders, and as the (53) guardian gods of their empire. You see their niches are joined together here;

as

iste donum regale, dignum tuo pulcherrimo templo, dignum Capitolio, atque ista arce omnium nationum:—Teque, Juno regina!—Teque Minerva!" &c.

In the peroration of Cicero's speech a little before his own banishment, he invokes the same three deities, in particular; and all the other Roman deities in general: as it seems, in the words of some form of prayer used among the Romans. "Nunc ego te, Jupiter Optime Maxime, cujus nutu ac ditone sola terrarum gubernatur! Teque, particeps connubii, socia regni, Regina Juno! Teque, Tritonia arripotens Gorgophora Pallas Minerva! Cæterique dii, deæque immortales!"

The same manner of distinguishing Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, from all the other gods, is very frequent in Livy; as in his account of the Servile war, in particular.—Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, & Minerva, aliquæ dii deæque obfidetur. Lib. 3. §. 17. And in Manlius Capitolinus's speech, when they are carrying him to prison. Jupiter Optime Maxime, Junoque Regina, ac Minerva, cæterique dii deæque qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, fidei vestrum militem ac præfidem finitis vexari ab inimicis!" Lib. 6. §. 16.

(50) These sometimes only mention these three deities; as in that at Milan, in Gruter's collection.

IOVI. IVNON. MINER.

And sometimes distinguish them from all the other gods; as in that at Augsburg, in the same author.

I. O. M.

IVNONI REGINÆ. MINERVÆ.
OMNIBVS DIIS IMMORTALIBVS.

(51) These three deities are frequently represented together, on gems and medals; and, particularly, in a jasper of the Great Duke's at Florence, the draught of which is given in Pl. 3. Fig. 2.

Sometimes they represented them by proxy; as on a medal of Antoninus, where you have the owl for Minerva, an eagle for Jupiter, and a peacock for Juno; and sometimes more fully; as in the drawing of a gem in Baron Stofche's collection at Florence, where you have the three deities sitting, with their three particular birds at their feet, and Vulcan standing near an altar by them.

(52) There were three deities which were looked on by the Romans as, The Great and Powerful Gods. Ante has tres aræ trinis Diis parent, Magnis, Potentibus, Valentibus. Tertullian. Lib. de Spectac. c. 4.

Who the three were, or at least whence this high notion of them was derived, may perhaps sufficiently appear from the following passage in Macrobius. Varro (says he) rerum humanarum secundo, Dardarum refert Deos Penates ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, & Æneam ex Phrygiâ in Italiam delulisse. Qui sint autem Dii Penates, in libro quidem memorato Varro

non exprimit. Sed qui diligentius quærent veritatem, Penates esse dixerunt; per quos penitus spiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi poscimus. Esse autem medium æthera Jovem, Junonem verò imum æthera cum terrâ, et Minervam summum ætheris cacumen, eo argumento utuntur; quod Tarquinius, Demarathi Corinthii filius, Samothraciis religionibus mysticè inubutus, uno templo ac sub eodem tecto numina memorata conjungit. Cassius verò Heminia dicit, Samothracas deos, eodemque Romanorum Penates, propriè dici *Θεοι Μεγακτες, Θεοι Χρησταί, Θεοι Δυναστες*. Macrobius. Saturnal. Lib. 3. cap. 4.

Hence may appear too (by the way) the reason why Jupiter is generally placed in the midst, Minerva on his right hand, and Juno last; in the joint representations of these three great divinities.

(53) This may be partly inferred from the quotation from Macrobius, in the preceding note; where he calls these three deities, the Penates of the Romans; for as the private Penates were the patrons and guardian-gods of particular families, so the public Penates were the guardian-gods of any state or people. The distinction between private and public gods is authorized by Livy. Hos omnes deos publicos privatorumque, Quirites, deserturi ellis? Lib. 5. §. 52. And the same author, after mentioning Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in his account of the Servile war, and the Capitol's being besieged, adds immediately: Castra fervorum publicos vestros Penates tenent, Lib. 3. §. 17.

The Romans called these three deities by the very name of guardians. Veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis. Cicero. in Catil. 3. §. 162.—Eo ipso die, (quingentis, or the first of the five-days feast to Minerva) senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turba dejecerat, restitueretur. Id. Lib. 12. Epist. 25.—Junoni conservatrici; is common in ancient inscriptions. See Gruter, P. 25.

One may add here, that as the Romans looked on these three deities as their Great Guardian Gods, it must have been one of the highest compliments they could pay to any of their emperors, to represent them on the reverse of their medals. Thus, for instance, when we find these three deities on the reverse of Antoninus; this, in the language of the artists, is directly saying that Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, were their guardian gods, or preservers of the empire. In the same manner you have Balbinus, Pupienus, and young Gordian engraved on one side of a jasper, in Signor Ficoroni's collection at Rome; and Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the other: which is saying hieroglyphically, (or by images) much the same as Ovid does in words, in the close of the fourth book of his Fasti.

State Palatinæ laurus! pretextaque quercu
Siet domus! Æternos tres habet una deos.

DIALOGUE the Sixth.

59

as their shrines (54) formerly were, in the great temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline hill.

MINERVA, you see, is a beauty; but a beauty of the severer kind. She has not any thing of the little graces, or of the softness and prettinesses of Venus. It is that dignity; that becoming air; that firmness and composure; with such just features, and a certain sternness that has much more of (55) masculine than female in it; which make the distinguishing character of her face. This goddess, as the ancients used to represent her, is more apt to strike one with awe and terror, than to charm one, at first sight. Her dress and attributes are adapted to the character of her face. She most usually appeared with a helmet on her head; and a plume, that nodded formidably in the air. In her right hand she shook her spear; and in the other grasped her shield, with the head of the dying Medusa upon it. You have the same figure again, with all its terrors and all its beauties, on her breast-plate; and sometimes the goddess herself is represented as having living serpents about her breasts, and about her shoulders. It is true the forms, either of wisdom or of virtue, are apt at first to seem a little too severe to the eyes of mortals: but in this case the ancient artists have rather over-done their part; and have worked up too much of outward terrors, about a personage, that is really, (and that ought to be) so amiable.

PLATE III.
FIG. 3.

THE poets however agree with the artists even in this excess too; for tho' they sometimes speak of Minerva as extremely beautiful; they generally describe her as (56) more terrible, than beautiful. They never call her pretty, but handsome or graceful; and give her the titles of the (57) dark-complexioned goddess, the (58) stern goddess, and the (59) virago: which

(54) Trina in Tarpeio fulgent consortia templo.

Aufonius, Edyl. 11. §. 42.

These three deities were before placed together, in one and the same chapel, in the Capitolium Vetus, by Tarquinius Priscus; uno templo, ac sub eodem tecto, as Macrobius says; Note 52, anteh. And Varro tells us that this Capitolium Vetus was so called, Quod ibi sacellum Jovis, Junonis, & Minervæ; & id antiquius quam ædis quæ in Capitolio facta. De Lingua Lat. Lib. 4. p. 39. Ed. Stevens.

By the way, the reason that Varro here gives, why the temple built by Tarquinius Priscus, (near where the Barbarini palace now stands in Rome) was called Capitolium, seems to overturn the vulgar derivation of that word, from the head of one Tolus; which indeed, otherwise seems idle enough. He says expressly it was called Capitolium, (or the chief temple) because their three chief gods were enshrined in it. Thus the Greek authors too, call the Capitoline Jupiter indifferently by the name of Ζεύς Καπιτωλιός, or Ζεύς Κορυφαίος: which signifies, (as coryphaeus does in Latin,) the chief, or principal.

(55) The air of her face is so masculine, that her hands are very like those of Alexander the Great; (see Pl. 3. Fig. 3.) and have been often taken by mistake for his. There is a whole plate of these masculine beads of her, in Montfaucon; (Vol. I. Pl. 84.) among which there is one, in particular, extremely like Lewis XIV.

Cupid, in Lucian's Dialogues, tells his mother, that he is always afraid to approach Minerva, she looks so terrible, and so much like a man. Διότι, ο μὲν γὰρ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς, καὶ δὲ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς. Tom. I. p. 216. Ed. Blæu.

(56) The two distinguishing characters of the personage of Minerva in the Roman poets, are beauty and terror.

— Deam formæque armique decoram.

Ovid. Met. 2. §. 773.

Bellipotens, cui torva genis horrore decoro

Caſus, & asperſo crudelit sanguine Gorgon.

Statius, Theb. 2. §. 717.

The poets usually compare soft beauties to Venus, majestic ones to Juno, and severe ones to Diana or Minerva.

Non fecus ac ſupero pariter ſi cardine lapſæ

Pallas & aſperior Phœbi toror; utraq; telis;

Utraque torva genis, flavoque in vertice nodo;

Illa ſuas Cynthio comites agat, hæc Aracyntho.

Tunc (ſi fas oculis,) non unquam longa tuendo

Expeditas, cui major honos, cui gravior, aut plus

De Jove: mutatoque velint tranſumere cultus,

Et Pallas deceat phæretas, & Delia criſtas.

Statius, Theb. 2. §. 243.

(57) Flava Minerva.

Ovid. Fast. 6. §. 652.

Si pæta eſt, Veneri ſimilis; ſi flava, Minervæ.

Id. Art. Am. Lib. 2. §. 659.

(58) Torva.

Statius, Theb. 2. §. 238.

Ferox Pallas.

Id. Achil. 2. §. 152.

(59) Flava virago.

Ovid. Met. 6. §. 130.

The same poet calls her Impavida, if the poem ad Liviam be his; and Lucian calls her, ἀναιδέως, both which epithets fall in with Silius's expression of flans vultus, in his description of Virtus; where he makes that goddess appear to Scipio Africanus.

which (tho' too severe for her intended character) agree exactly with her personal one, as it is represented in the statues and gems of the antients.

THE poets do not only speak of a certain ferocity and threatening (60) turn in the eyes of Minerva; but the very colour of them too, it seems, was (61) adapted to this character of terror. I can remember, ever since I was a boy, how very striking the eye of a particular Blackmoor was to me, whenever he flung his face into a passion. Minerva, as a native (62), or inhabitant at least, of Africa, has a great deal of the Moor in her complexion; together with a very light-coloured eye, which must shew this the stronger. I do not know that any one of the poets in the (63) Augustan age has touched on this particular colour of Minerva's eyes; tho' the Greeks took so much notice of it, as to give her one of the most celebrated titles (64) among them from thence. Virgil, in speaking of the Palladium, (the little tutelary statue of Minerva, which was kept at first so carefully at Troy, and afterwards at Rome,) ascribes a certain fury and motion to the eyes of that figure, in a very particular manner. It is when Diomed had stole the Palladium, and brought it into the Grecian camp.

Vix positum castris simulacrum, arsero coruscæ
Luminibus flammæ arrectis; fatusque per artus
Sudor iit: terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu)
Emicuit, parmamque ferens hastamque trementem (65).

PLATE III.
FIG. 4.

THE figure of the Palladium is often to be met with on gems, with the little round shield (or parma) in one hand, and her spear in the other. It is said, that the famous original statue itself could (66) turn its eyes strangely; and who knows whether the heathen priests were not as dexterous in managing their old poppets, and giving them certain motions on certain occasions; as some others have shewed themselves with the modern? Virgil (as of the Trojan party) says that Diomed seized the Palladium with his (67) hands all bloody; which according to their notions would have been an high piece

(60) Verit ad hanc torvi dea bellica luminis orbem.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 752.

(61) Τὴν οὐκ ἔχει καὶ σὺ, Ἀθῆνα, τὴν κόρην ἀστράσσει,
ἥ γ' οὐκ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ εὐκλείδης, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ Ἀλ-
φειοῦ, καὶ τὸν δίκασεν ὁδοῖς. Ἡ δὲ δίκασεν μὴ σοὶ ἐλεγχ-
ταί τε γλαυκῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁδοῦ ὁδοῦ ὁδοῦ.
Lucian. Dial. p. 89. Ed. Paris. 1615.

(62) Hinc qui stagna colunt Tritonidos alta paludis:
Quæ virgo, ut fama est, bellatrix edita lymphâ,
Invento primam Libyen perfudit olivo.

Silius, Lib. 3. v. 324.

Even the poets had what one may call their real, and their fabulous history, of their divinities. The former they believed, or pretended to believe; but the latter they looked upon as doubtful. When they tell any story of this kind, they generally usher it in with, Ut fertur, Ut perhibent, or Ut fama est; to shew that it is a thing only rumoured, and not absolutely received. This story of Minerva's birth has the mark of the fabulous history annexed to it; and indeed according to the more received account, she was not born, but only made her first appearance there.

Hanc & Pallas amat; patrio quæ vertice nata
Terrarum primam Libyen (nam proxima celo est,
Ut probat ipse calor) tetigit: flagnique quietâ
Vultus vidit aquâ, posuitque in margine plantas;
Et se dilectâ Tritonida dixit ab undâ.

Lucan. Lib. 9. v. 354.

It may be hence, that Juvenal calls Minerva the African goddess:

— Niveam reginæ cædimus agnam;
Par vellus dabitur pugnantî Gorgone Mauræ.
Sat. 12. v. 4.

For so it seems it should be read; and not Gorgone Mauræ, the usual reading; Minerva being often called Tritonia, which is the same with Maura; and Medusa not having any such general appellation from her country, that I know of.

(63) Lucretius takes notice of it in the age before:
Nigra, melichroos est; immonda & fetida, κροσσος.
Cæcia, Παλλάδιον. ———

Lib. 4. v. 1155.

(64) Γλαυκῶπις Ἀθῆνη.

(65) Æn. 2. v. 175.

(66) There were stories of this kind of the Palladium at Troy, and of several other little figures of Minerva of the same kind. Ἰταμον — καὶ τὸ δῶ μὴ δυνεῖν ὡς τε μὴ μόνον καθίσταται φαινόμενον, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰλίου ἀποστροφῇ καὶ τὸν Κασσιανὸν ἑλισσόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθίσταται δεικνύειν πολλὴ δὲ ἰταμότερον τοῦ ἰταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰλίου κλισίαις, ὅσα φασὶν οἱ οὐρανῶν καὶ γῆς ἐν Ρωμῇ, καὶ ἐν Ἀσίνῳ, καὶ ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ, καὶ ἐν Σιρίτιδι, Ἰλίας Ἀθῆνα καλεῖται, ὡς εὐκλείδης καμῖθισα; καὶ τὸ Τρωάδων δὲ τὸ πᾶν περιφύεται πολλὰ, καὶ αὐτοῖς φαίνεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος. Strabo. Lib. 6. p. 182.

(67) Æn. 2. v. 167.

piece of impiety: but the artists, who were usually Greeks, represent him . . . his hand in his robe; and so taking the image with reverence. I suppose the Greek writers too, would scarcely have allowed of his miracle; or of the anger of the goddess, on this occasion.

THE head of Medusa, which occurs so frequently both on the breast-plates and on the shields of Minerva, is sometimes one of the most beautiful, and at others one of the most shocking objects in the world. In some figures of it, the face is represented as dead, but with the most perfect features that can be imagined; in others, her face is full of passion, and her eyes convulsed; and in many others, (if all that sort of heads are really Medusa's, which are commonly taken for such) the look is all frightful, and formed on purpose to give terror. In the noble Medusa, in the Strozzi collection at Rome, her look is unpassionate and dead; but with a beauty, that death itself is not capable of extinguishing: and in this other (which I always keep in this drawer within the shrine of Minerva, as being one of the attributes of that goddess) you see that angry and painful turn of the eye, which is common in her figures. Whenever I have the pleasure of shewing my collection here, to any ladies; I never fail of putting them in mind of Ovid's advice, to the Roman beauties in his time. He tells them, in his *Art of Love* (68), "That they should take care not to be angry, because it discomposes and spoils a good face;" and refers them to some such figure as this of Medusa, for a proof of what he says. And indeed what an irresistible face would this be, were it all enlivened with love, or softened into smiles; instead of all that spite and anger which you see in it? The beauties (69), and horrors (70), of Medusa's face, are both mentioned by the Roman poets. They speak frequently also of her serpents: and particularly of two, that are very much distinguished from the rest, in several of her figures; as having their tails (71) twined together under her chin, and their heads reared over her forehead: as you saw they were, in the gem I have just been shewing you.

PLATE IV
FIG. 1.

PLATE IV
FIG.

SOME of the Roman poets, and Statius in particular, speak of other serpents about Minerva; distinct from those which belong to her Gorgon. Their expressions are such, that they seem to point at loose serpents, winding at liberty about her breast; and appearing in very different manners, on different occasions. Sometimes they describe them as quite still, and gentle; and at others, as roused and enraged. Thus Statius:

*Ipſa metus Libycos, ſervatricemque Meduſam
Pectoris, incuſſâ movit Tritonia parvâ:
Protinus erecti toto ſimul agmine Thebas
Reſpexere angues.*—(72)

And in another place:

*Pallada mulcet honos; rediit ardore remiſſo
Vultus, & erecti federunt pectoris angues.* (73)

I USED

(68) Pertinet ad faciem rabidos compescere mores;
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras:
Ora tument irâ; nigrescunt sanguine venæ;
Lamina Gorgoneo sævis igne micant.

Lib. 3. v. 504.

(69) ——— Clarissima formâ,
Mulatorumque fuit spes indies procorum.
Ovid. Met. 4. v. 793.

(70) Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
Cæſa caput Gorgon? Quanto ſpirâſſe veneno
Ora rear, quantumque oculos eſſundere mortiſ?
Lucan. Lib. 9. v. 680.
Gorgona, deſectio vertentem lumina collo.
Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 438.

This caſt of Meduſa's eyes (as in Pl. 4. Fig. 2.) may perhaps ſerve to explain a paſſage in Ovid; where that poet ſeems to infer: "that tho' your miſtreſs is apt to turn away her eyes from you, as violently as Meduſa does; yet if you do but flatter her ſufficiently, ſhe will turn them kindly on you again."

Ut fuerit torvâ violentior ipſa Meduſa,
Fict amatori lenis & æqua ſuo.
Art. Am. 2. v. 310.

(71) Nexaque nodofas angue Meduſa comas.
Ovid. ex Ponto. Lib. 3. Ep. 1. v. 124.
Connexoque angues ———

Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 437.

(72) Statius, Theb. Lib. 12. v. 609.

(73) Ib. Lib. 8. v. 519.

I USED formerly to think, that this was only a figurative way of speaking of the serpents wrought about the Gorgon's head, on the breast-plate of Minerva; and as such a figure would have been perhaps too bold, I was inclined to reckon it among the liberties which Statius is apt enough to take. It was by the help of some ancient gems and flatteries that I first discovered my mistake. After seeing them, the very lines which before seemed false to me, changed their look; and became very just and descriptive of the appearance this goddess used to make in the works of the old artists. For in these you meet Minerva with loose serpents, sometimes winding themselves along the breast of Minerva; sometimes as enraged, and hissing, and standing out from it; and sometimes, with their whole length folded up (74) circle within circle, as resting or asleep: in short, in every action, and every attitude, in which they have been described by any of the poets.

IT was a very common thing among the Romans, to transfer the distinguishing attributes of their divinities to the statues of their emperors. If any one said, that Augustus was his god; it was little more in those times, and in their manner of speaking, than if he had said, that emperor was (75) his patron: but to make a statue of Augustus with the fulmen of Jupiter in his hand, was saying he was the lord and governor of all the world. You can scarce imagine how fond the greatest men of antiquity were of this kind of flattery. Augustus himself loved to be represented with the attributes of Apollo; as his great rival Marc Antony affected those of Hercules. This species of flattery was carried very far, in all its branches, by the old artists; but in no point farther, than in the Gorgon on Minerva's breast. I doubt not but one might make a series of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Gallienus (which would be from the perfecting, to the absolute fall of all the arts at Rome) with this attribute of Minerva on their breast-plates. I could name the places where the statues, or busts, of the greater part of them are; and if any should be wanting to make up such a series, it would only be two or three of their emperors, of whom we have scarce any figures at all left to us. They seem all to have been as fond, of being complimented with this outside badge of wisdom; as our James the First was, of being called by the name of Solomon. The strongest I remember in the whole number, for the dying cast of the eyes, is on the bust of Nero in the Great Duke's gallery: and I scarce ever saw it, without its putting me in mind of that fine description of Minerva's breast-plate (76) in Virgil. There is another on a Domitian, in the same collection: to which emperor Martial addresses one of his epigrams; with the very same turn of flattery in words, which is used by the artist in marble.

Accipe belligeræ crudum thoraca Minervæ,
Ipſa Medusæ quem timet ira deæ:
Dum vacat hæc, Cæſar, poterit Lorica videri;
Pectore cum ſacro federit, Ægis erit (77).

A BREAST-PLATE (78) with this particular ornament on it, when worn by a deity, was called Ægis. It is the most usual ornament on the breast-plates of Minerva. Her shield

(74) I remember an effigie of this, on a statue of Minerva; in the King of Sardania's palace, at Turin.

Connexoque angues: ipſamque in pectore divæ
Gorgona, deſecto vertentem lumina collo.
Æn. 3. ſ. 435.

(75) Thus where Virgil ſays of Auguſtus;
—Dus nobiſcum omnia fecit:

(77) Martial. Lib. 7. Ep. 1.

Namque erit ille mihi ſemper deus —
Hæc, ſatis alter, præbet hæc ratio ſer. it.
Mæ malæ errare boves, ut cernis: & ipſam
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permiſiſſi agreſſi.
Æl. 1. ſ. 10.

(78) Ægis propriè eſt munimentum pectoris, habens in medio Gorgonis caput. Quod munimentum, ſi in pectore numinis fuerit, Ægis vocatur; ſi in pectore hominis, ſicut in antiquis imperatorum ſtatuis videntur, Lorica dicitur. Says Servius on Virgil Æn. 8. ſ. 435. and what he ſays is entirely confirmed

(6) Ægidaque horriſeram, turbatæ Palladis arma,
Certatim ſquamis ſerpentum auroque polabant;

shield too had sometimes the same device, and the same (79) name; and was of so much dignity, that it seems to have been appropriated to herself and Jupiter alone of all the gods. This *Ægis*, or sacred shield, was very antiently supposed to be held by Jupiter when he thundered: and Minerva used it sometimes, on the same

I could easily think, says Philander, that Jupiter might make free with the *Ægis* of Minerva; but I should never have imagined, that Minerva durst manage his thunder. If that surprizes you, says Polymetis, it is not at all strange; because you were never initiated in the great Samothracian mysteries; or even in those of Athens or Rome. These, you must know, I have long fancied to have been a sort of Pagan Free-masonry. At least this is certain, that there were many societies of old, in which their most important secrets were preserved with great devotion. The most famous lodge of this kind was in the island of Samothrace; from which the Greeks and Romans derived their lodges. Had we lived in those times, proved extraordinary good heathens, and been admitted into one of these societies, I doubt not but we should have known perfectly well, why Minerva is sometimes represented by the artists, and poets (80), as dealing out the thunderbolts of Jove; and why this goddess and Juno, and those two only of all the heathen deities, are allowed to have an equal right to this distinguishing privilege with Jupiter himself. By what has transpired of these old secrets it seems probable enough, that the Romans considered these three (81), as one and the same divinity under three different

PLATE IV
FIG. 5.

by the epigram from Martial above. The same poet has another epigram on their emperor's bearing the *Ægis* of Minerva.

Dic mihi, virgo ferox, cum sit tibi Cassis & Hasta,
Quare non habeas *Ægida*? Caesar habet.
Lib. 14. Ep. 179.

And, perhaps, Ovid:

A quacunq; trahis ratione vocabula, Pallas;
Pro ducibus nostris *Ægida* semper habe.
Fast. 3. 3. 848.

(79) The word *Ægis* seems to be used for Minerva's shield, rather than her breast-plate, in the following passages.

Quid Rhæcus, evulsisque truncis
Encladus jaculator auid;
Contra sonantem Palladis *Ægida*
Posset rueres? —
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 4. 3. 62.

Ægide terrificâ, quam nec dea lassat habendo,
Nec pater; horrentem colubris, vultuque tremendam
Gorgoneo. —
Flaccus, Argon. 6. 3. 176.

(80) The Roman poets (of all the three ages) give this distinguishing attribute of Jupiter, to Juno and Minerva.

As in the following passages; (of Minerva.)

Ipâ Jovis rapidum jaculata e nubibus ignem
Disjecitque rates, evertitque æquora ventis;
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammâ
Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.
Virgil. Æn. 1. 3. 45.

Prima conspiciant signum dedit *Ægide* virgo,
Fulmineam jaculata facem: vixit ardua cautes
Cesserat, illa volans tenui per concita saxa
Luce fugit. Rediere viris animique manusque,
Ut videre viam. Sequor, O quicunque Deorum!
Æonides, vel fallor, ait; præcepitque fragores
Per medios ruit, & fumo se condidit atro.
Flaccus, Argonaut. 4. 3. 676.

— Fulmine irati Jovis
Armata Pallas, quicquid aut hastâ minax,
Aut *Ægide*, aut furore Gorgoneo potest,
Aut igne patrio, tentat. —
Seneca, Agamem. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

And in these; (of Juno.)

— Preservido fulgore —
Auror injectus Junonis dextera ingenti incidit.
Fragm. of Adius.

Starem aciem, traheremque inimica in prælia Teucros,
Virgil. Æn. 12. 3. 812.

Hic ego nigramentem commixtâ grandine nimbum
Deluser infandam, & ionitru cælum omne ciebo.
Ibid. 4. 3. 122.

Siderei regina poli, tumulumque rebellem
Disjice; & in Thebas aliud, potes, excute falmen!
Statius. Theb. 10. 3. 69.

— Imbrem & tenebras sævumque tidentem
Jam jam ego, & inviti torissem conjugis ignem.
Valerius Flaccus. Argon. 1. 3. 116.

What is asserted above, and proved here, may help one to explain that passage in Juvenal.

— Jures licet & Samothracum
Et nostrorum aras; contemnere fulmina pauper
Credetis atque deos, diis ignoscetis Ibis.
Juvenal. Sat. 14.

“Tho’ you swear by the great gods, so revered in the Samothracian mysteries, and received as the guardian gods of our state; yet, if you are poor, no one will mind what you say. They will think that you despise even those gods, and their thunder; nay, that those gods, (by whom they supposed, by the way, that every man lived and breathed,) in their turn, have no regard at all for you; nor for any thing that you may do, or say.”

Whether it was that the artists were looked on as a meaner sort of people of old among the Romans, and were therefore seldom initiated in the mysteries, I know not; but it is certain, that this point is not so frequently to be met with in their works, as it is in those of the poets. I never remember to have seen any antique of Juno with the fulmen; unless one might reckon the figures of Juno Sospita, who bears it on her shield: and scarce any of Minerva, except that on the medal of Domitian. Pl. 4. Fig. 5.

(81) That this was the opinion of some of their philosophers, may be collected from that remarkable passage in Lactantius. Vana igitur persuasio est eorum,

names; among which names, that of Jupiter might signify the supreme goodness; that of Minerva, the supreme wisdom; and that of Juno, the supreme power: somewhat after the manner, that our (82) Cudworth, and some other very learned writers, have imagined. I could go much farther on this subject; but it is high time, I believe, that we should think a little of our dinner: and so, if you please, we will take our leave of Minerva; and of all the ideas which the old Romans may have entertained of her and her two associates.

cui nomen Jovis summo Deo tribuunt. Solent enim quidam errores suos hac excusatione defendere; qui convelli de uno Deo, cum id negare non possunt, ipsum se colere affirmant; verum hoc sibi placere, ut Jupiter nominetur. Quo quid absurdius? Jupiter enim sine contubernio conjugis filiaeque coli non solet; unde quid sit apparet: nec fas est id nomen eò transferri, ubi nec Minerva est ulla nec Juno. Institut. Lib. 1. §. 11. p. 49. Ed. 1684.

Arnobius too seems to have something like this. Hos (Penates) Conferences & Complices Etrusci aiunt & nominant, quod unà oriantur & occidunt unà. Adv. Gentes. Lib. 3.

Macrobius says that these three deities were joined uno templo, ac sub eodem tecto, Note 51, anteh. and Laëtantius here, that they were worshipped under the same tent, or shrine; "whence (says he,) it is plain,

what they were." That is, that they were as great as Jupiter, and one with him: for the Romans could have but one and the same god, in the same shrine; as appears from the following passage, in Valerius Maximus. Cum Marcellus—templum Honori & Virtuti—consecrare vellet, a collegio pontificum impeditus est; negante, unam cellam duobus diis rectè dicari: futurum enim, si quid prodigii in eà accidisset, ne dignoscetur utri rem divinam facere oporteret; nec duobus, (nisi certis diis,) unà sacrificari solere. Memorab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(82) These three Capitoline gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva,—may be understood to have been nothing else but several names and notions of one supreme deity, according to its several attributes and manifestations. Intell. System, Book 1. Ch. 4. p. 450.

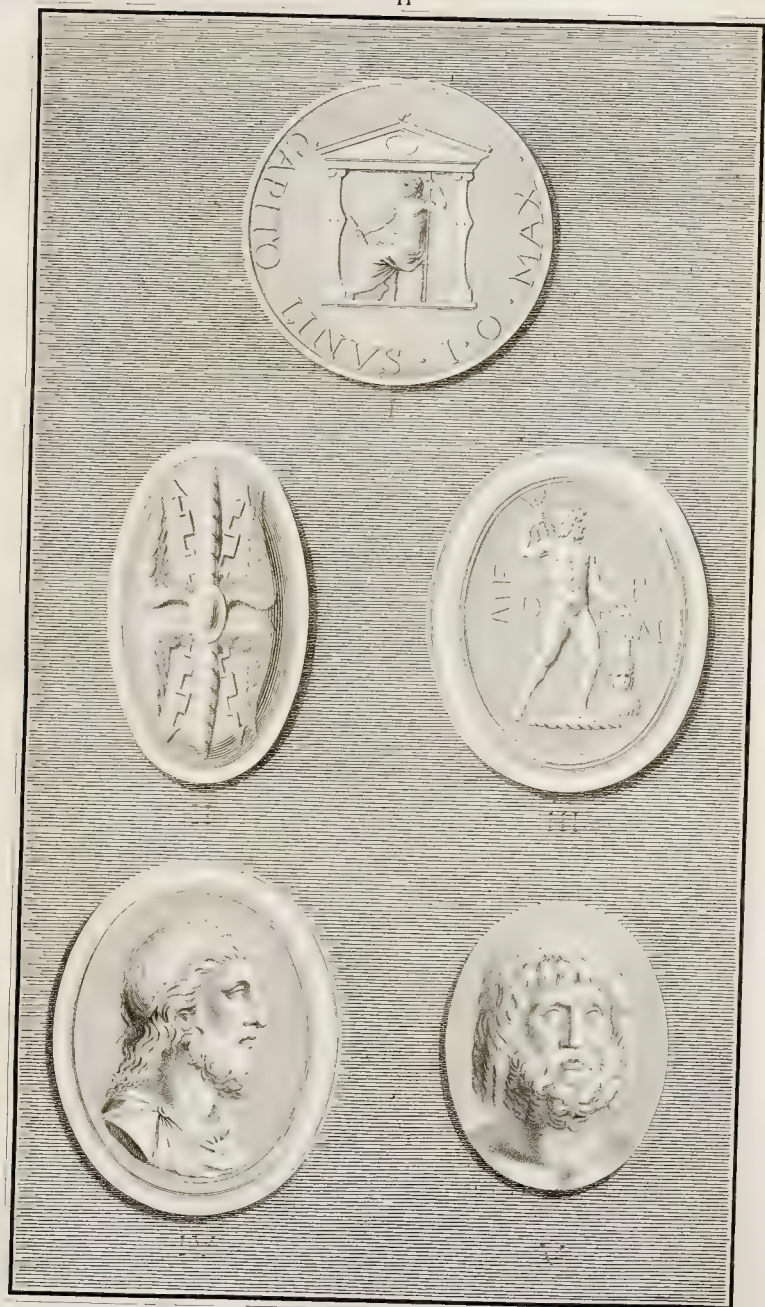


Class. 17

Benard, del.



L. P. Boulard sculp.



L. P. Bostard Sculp.



J. P. Bardet sculp.



L. P. Boissard del.

D I A L. VII.

Neptune; Venus; Mars; Vulcan, and Vesta.

AFTER dinner, Polymetis returned with his two friends to his Rotonda; and went on in shewing them his collection, without making any new prefaces.

THAT deity, says he, next to Minerva, you see is Neptune; and this figure of him is the same figure in large, which you may have often seen in miniature, on a very common medal (1) of Adrian. As the little figures on medals and gems were without doubt frequently copies of some of the more celebrated statues among the antients, they might be of great use for a supply where the originals are lost: and surely, on occasion, it may be full as fair to revive a statue, from a medal; as it was at first to take the reverse of the medal from a statue. I have therefore done it in this case; and in some others, where it was difficult to find out a good statue to copy for my collection. Neptune, in this figure of him, holds his trident in his right hand; which is his scepter, as lord of all the (2) Mediterranean seas; the dolphin in his left hand, and the prow of a ship on which he rests one of his feet, refer to the same; for as master of the inland seas, he was master of all the navigation of those times. His aspect in this, and in all the good figures I have seen of him, is (3) majestic and serene. The lower sort of artists represent him sometimes with an angry and disturbed air; and one may observe the same difference in this particular between the great and inferior poets, as there is between the bad and the good artists. Thus Ovid (4) describes Neptune with a swollen look; whereas Virgil expressly tells us that he has a (5) mild face, even where he is representing him in a passion.

NEPTUNE, as having a seat in the supreme council of the gods, is often spoken of as in the highest heaven; and I have therefore given his statue a place here among the Twelve Great Gods. But we shall meet with him, in his proper character, in the temple of the Water-deities; where we may consider him more particularly. Let us therefore at present go on to a softer figure, this Venus; which is a copy of the famous Venus of Medici.

PLATE V.

V E N U S

(1) See Plate 30. Fig. 1. after Dial. 14.

(2) As Oceanus and Amphitrite presided over the great body of waters that surrounded the earth; so their son-in-law, Neptune, had the dominion of the waters inclosed between the coasts of Europe and Africa. Hence Statius, (probably from some of the old Grecian poets) makes Neptune keep his residence in the port of Tænarus; the most considerable gulph on the coast of Greece, toward the main course of the Mediterranean sea. Theb. 2. 45. And Juvenal calls him expressly, "Lord of the Ægean sea;" a principal part of the Mediterranean.

Per folis radios, Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat;
Per Martis frameam & Cirræi spicula vatis;
Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellæ;
Perque tuum, pater Ægei Neptune, tridentem.

Sat. 13. v. 81.

What was of old called the Ægean sea, is what we now call the Archipelago; and may very well be used here, by way of eminence, for the whole Mediterra-

nean. It was yet more eminent, among the Greek and Latin poets; from its neighbourhood to Athens.

(3) The artists, to give Neptune's figures the more majesty, formed him large; as they did Jupiter;

—— Ubique rotæ horrendæ equique
Stas pater; atque ingens utrinque fluencia Triton
Frena tenet: tantas nostras condere per urbes.

Valerius Flaccus Arg. 1. v. 630.

And the poets give him the majestic nod of assent; as they do to Jupiter.

—— Movit caput æquoreus Rex;
Concussitque fatis omnes æstusibus undas.

Ovid. Met. 8. v. 624.

(4) Ter Neptunus aquis cum torvo brachia vultu
Exserere ausus erat; ter non tuum æterni æstus.

Met. 2. v. 271.

(5) —— Gravior commotus, & alto
Prospectans, summæ placidum caput extulit undæ.

Æn. 1. v. 121.

VENUS in general has one of the prettiest, as Minerva has sometimes one of the handsomest faces, that can be conceived. Her look, as she is represented by the ancient artists and poets, has all the taking airs, wantonneſſes, and graces, that they could give it. Her ſhape is the moſt exact and elegant imaginable; all ſoft, and full of tenderneſs. The fineneſs of her ſkin and the beauty of her complexion were ſo exquisite, that it was the maſter-piece, even of Apelles, to expreſs it as it ought to be. Her eyes were either wanton, or quick, or languishing, or inſolent, according to the occaſion; and her face and all her air agreed with them. She is very frequently deſcribed too, as having a treacherous inſulting ſmile on her face. But however ſhe appears, or whatever ſhe is doing, every thing about her, and every little motion of her, is all graceful, and bewitching, and charming.

THE Venus of Medici has often put me in mind of a paſſage in Statius;

Effulſere (6) artus, membrorumque omnis aperta eſt
Lætitiâ; inſigneſque humeri, nec peſtora nudis
Deteriora genis; latuitque in corpore vultus;

For either the general tenderneſs and fine proportions of her whole make, ſeen thus all at once, take a great deal from the beauty of her face; or the head is really, (as has been ſuſpected by ſome) not of the ſame artiſt, who made the body. As to the latter, it will ever be the ſtandard of all female beauty and ſoftneſs. When one looks on it, one is apt to make the ſame exclamation, with the ſervant in Plautus; (were there not that mixture of drollery in it:)

(7) Proh, dii immortales, Veneris effigia hæc quidem eſt!
Ut in ocellis hilaritudo eſt! Eja, corpus cujuſmodi,
Subvoluturum——(illud quidem ſubaquilum volui dicere)——
Vel papillæ cujuſmodi!——

ONE might very well, with him too, inſiſt particularly on the beauty of the breaſts; which in the ſtatue itſelf are the fineſt that can be conceived. They are ſmall, diſtinct, and delicate to the higheſt degree; with an idea of ſoftneſs, much beyond what any one can conceive, that has not ſeen the original: for all copies do her an injury; and prints more particularly. And yet with all that ſoftneſs, they have a firmneſs too; for as old Lucilius ſays, (on what occaſion does not appear, as we have only a piece here and there of his poems;)

Hic corpus ſolidum invenies: hic ſtare (8) papillas
Peſtore marmoreo. —

FROM her breaſts, her ſhape begins to diminish gradually down to her waſt; which I remember to have heard an Engliſh lady, at Florence, criticizing at firſt ſight, as not fine and taper enough. This probably proceeded from our beauties in England carrying this nicety generally too far; as ſome of the Grecian (9) beauties did formerly too, at Athens.

(6) This is ſpoken of Parthenopæus, in Statius's Games: Theb. 6. v. 573. They admired his face, on his firſt appearance; but when he ſtripped for the race, the fine turn of his limbs in general, and the apparent ſtrength and exact proportions of his whole body, made them forget the particular beauties of his face: —Latuitque in corpore vultus.

(7) Rudens. Aët. 2. Sc. 4.

(8) Fragm. of Lucilius's 28th ſatire. Stantia peſtora, are mentioned by Statius too, as a great beauty. Sylv. Lib. 1. 2, 270. This circumſtance of beauty appears, very remarkably, in the Venus of Medici.

(9) The perſonages in Terence's plays are all Greeks; and conſequently the cuſtoms they talk of are Grecian cuſtoms. He mentions this affectation of the ladies in thoſe times, of preſſing their waſts into the ſmalleſt compaſs they could; (which, by the way, does much more harm to the conſtitution and complexion, than it ever did good to the ſhape.)

Ille ſimilis virgo eſt virginum ſoſtrarum; quas matres
Hædænt

Demiffis humeris eſſe; vincto peſtore; ut gracile ſcient:
Si qua eſt habitior paulo, pugilem eſſe aiunt; deducunt
cibum:

Tameñ bona eſt natura, reddunt curatè junceas.

Chærea in Eun. Aët. 2. Sc. 3.

Athens. And I am the more persuaded that this was the case, because the same lady, (who one would think should be a good judge of beauty, because it is what she must see, at least, every time she looks in her glass,) after having seen the Venus of Medici several times, had the grace to own herself in the wrong; and even to exclaim against the excess of this mode among us. The Venus of Medici, with all her fineness of shape, has what the Romans call (10) *corpus solidum*, and the French the *embonpoint*; (I do not know that we have any right word for it in English:) and her waist, in particular, is not represented as stinted by art; but as exactly proportioned by nature, to all the other parts of her body.

Venus, in all attitudes, is graceful; but in no one more, than in that of the Venus of Medici; in which figure of her, if she is not really modest, she at least counterfeits modesty extremely well. Were one to describe exactly what that attitude is, one might do it in two verses of Ovid's.

*Ipse Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur lævâ (11) semireductâ manu.*

THERE is a tenderness and elegance in all the rest of her form, as well as in the parts I have mentioned. Her legs are neat and slender; the (12) *finall* of them is finely rounded; and her very feet are little, white, and pretty. So that one might very well say of this statue, what one of the persons in Plautus's Epidicus says of a complete beauty:

Ab unguiculo, ad capillum summum, est festivissima! (13)

To return to the eyes and look of Venus; the poets are fuller as to the former than any statue can be. They had the painters to copy from, as well as the statuary; and could draw several ideas from the life, which are not to be expressed in marble. The sculptor can only give you the proportions of things, and one single attitude of a person in any one statue or relievo. The painter can do the same, and add the natural colours as they appear on the surfaces of things; and by the management of lights and shades, may shew them into their proper distances. The poet can describe all that either of the others express by shape, or colours; and can farther put the figure into a succession of different motions in the same description. So that of the three sister-arts of imitation, poetry (in this at least) has the advantage over both the others; as it has more power, and can take a larger compass than either of them. This must have given the poets an advantage, in describing the quick and uncertain motions of Venus's eyes; and occasions our meeting with some expressions in them, which cannot be explained either from statues,

(10) *Hic corpus solidum invenies* —

Lucil. Sat. 28.

Char. Color verbe; corpus solidum, & fucci plenum.
Parm. Anni? Char. Sedecim.

Parm. Flospite! Hanc tu mihi, vi, clam, precario,
Fac tradas! —

Terent. Eun. Act. 2. Sc. 3.

(Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 4. v. 21.) and the *pes candidus*,
(Id. Lib. 4. Od. 1. v. 27.) and *exiguus*. (Ovid. Am.
Lib. 3. El. 3. v. 7.)

As the foot was uncovered antiently, the Roman
poets speak of the beauty of their mistress's feet.

Et Thetidi quales vix reor esse pedes.

Ovid. Her. Ep. 20. v. 60.

(11) Art. Am. 2. v. 614. The famous Venus of
Cnidos, made by Praxiteles, was partly in this modest
pose. *Ἡ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ῥατοῖς ἐπερδύμενη, εἰς αὐτὴν
παρμένη ἐστίν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐν μέσῳ καλῶνται
Παρίας δὲ λίθῳ διαδεδωκυῖα, καλλίστην, ὑπερβαίνειν
ἢ σεαυτοῖς ἡλικίᾳ μικρὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχει. Παν δὲ τὸ
καλλὸς αὐτῆς ἀκατάσταν, ὁρμητικὸν ὡς αὐτὴ ἀμύχανον,
ἡγεῖται τῶν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν
ὁμοειδῶν ἐπικρυπτεῖν.* Lucian. Tom. 1. p. 882. Ed. Blæu.

(12) All those lesser beauties, which the poets have
marked out in the female make, are eminently to be
found in the Venus of Medici. As the *tretres suræ*,

Nay, the antients were so much nicer in observing
this part of the body, than we; that one of the Ro-
man historians, in speaking of an emperor, thinks it
worth his while to acquaint mankind, in all future ages,
that he had not handsome toes. Pulcher, & decens
maximè in juventû; & quidem toto corpore, exceptis
pedibus; quorum digitos restrictiores habebat. Suc-
tonius, of Domitian; §. 18.

(13) Plaut. Epidicus. Act. 5. Sc. 1. — Thus Ve-
nus says very justly of herself, in Lucian. *Ἐπιστῆναι
ἐμὴ σαφῶς, ὅτι ομοίως καλῆ.* Tom. 1. p. 223. Ed.
Blæu.

tues, or paintings. Such is that epithet of (14) *Pæta*, in particular, which the Roman writers give to *Venus*; and which refers, perhaps, to a certain turn of her eye, and her catching it away again, the moment she is observed; as your favourite does, *Philander*, when she is kinder to you in her heart, than she would appear to be by her eyes.

THE critics in statuary are perhaps as apt to find out imaginary beauties, in a favourite figure; as the critics in poetry are, in a favourite author. There are some that have practised this in regard to the figure before you. You see, her face is turned away a little from you. This single article has given several people occasion to observe, that there are three different passions expressed in the air of the head of this *Venus*. At your first approaching her, as she stands in the fine apartment assigned to this figure in the Great Duke's gallery, you see aversion or denial in her look; move on but a step or two farther, and she has compliance in it: and one step more to the right, they tell you, turns it into a little insidious and insulting smile; such as any lady has, when she plainly tells you by her face, that she has made a sure conquest of you. The moral of all this may be very true and natural; but I think it is not justified by the statue itself: for tho' I have paid, perhaps, a hundred visits to the *Venus of Medici* in person; and have often considered her, in this very view; I could never find out the malicious sort of smile, which your antiquarians talk so much of.

BUT whether this sort of smile be really on the face of the *Venus of Medici*, or not; *Venus* certainly was represented smiling, in many of her figures of old. Such probably were the figures of the *Venus Erycina*, whom *Horace* calls (15) *Erycina ridens*; and such the *Venus Appias*, whom *Ovid* (16) frequently describes with a malicious sort of smile on her face, and as delighting in little mischiefs.

As far as I can find, says *Myfagetes*, you intend to favour us with as many different *Venus's*, as we had different *Jupiters* in your account of that god; but why have not you been so good, all this while, as to tell us what particular *Venus* this before us represents? I was somewhat inclined to have dropt that point, says *Polymetis*; but since you must have it, it is the *Venus Marina*, that *Horace* (17) speaks of. As this is the temple set apart by me, for the great celestial deities; it would have been more proper, to have had a figure of the *Venus Cœlestis* in it: but, to confess the truth to you, I am so much in love with the *Venus of Medici*, that I rather chose to commit this impropriety, than to prefer any other figure to hers. The thing perhaps is not quite so reasonable as it should be; but when did lovers act with reason?

IN

(14) Non hæc res de Venere pæta Arabam facit.

Varro, in Octogesi.

Si pæta est, Veneri similis; si flava, Minervæ.

Ovid. Art. Am. Lib. 2. §. 657.

The general character of *Venus's* eyes is particularly well described by *Silius*, in his choice of *Scipio* between *Virtue* and *Pleasure*; where he says, of the latter:

— Lascivæque crebras

Accipiti motu jaciebant lumina flammæ.

De Bello Punico. Lib. 15. §. 27.

There is something like this, I think, meant in a passage of *Petronius*. Oculorum nictu, meus innouit amor Doridi; & mihi, "blandâ oculorum petulantia," Doris annuit: adeo ut hæc tacita loquela, linguam antecedens, quam animorum propensionem eodem momento senseramus, furtim exprefferit. Petr. Arb. Satyricon. p. 12.

Et quos Deos? Si non strabones, at pætuos esse arbitramur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. §. 29. The difference of *strabo* & *pætus* is thus given us, by an old grammarian. *Strabo* dicitur, qui est distortis ocu-

lis; pætus, qui leviter declinatis, cujus hue & illuc tremuli volvuntur. Porph.

(15) Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. §. 33.

(16) There was a statue of the *Venus Appias*, near the Forum where the lawyers used to plead. *Ovid* often alludes to it; and its situation.

Ilo sæpe loco, capitur consultus amore;

Quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi.

Ilo sæpe loco, desunt sua verba diserto;

Resque novæ veniant, causæque agenda sua est:

Hunc *Venus* e templis, quæ sunt confinia, ridet.

Art. Am. Lib. 1. §. 88.

Redde meum, clamant spoliatæ sæpe puellæ,

Redde meum! toto voce boante foro:

Has *Venus* e templis multo radiantibus auro

Lata videt lites. —

Ib. Lib. 3. §. 452.

Turpe vir & mulier, juncti modò, protenus hostes;

Non illas lites *Appias* ipsa probat.

Rem. Am. §. 660.

(17) Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 11. §. 15.

IN the base of this statue of Venus, I keep several drawings that relate to her attendants, as well as to herself. Her chief attendants are persons very well adapted to such a goddess; the Cupids, Nymphs, and Graces. As to the Cupids; they were supposed of old to be (18) very numerous: but there were two, which were the chiefs of all that number; and which may be the very same which you see playing about the dolphin; at the foot of this statue. Hence it is, that Venus is called, "the mother of the (19) two Cupids." One of these chief Cupids was looked on as the cause of love; and the other as the cause of its ceasing. Accordingly, the antiquarians now at Florence usually call the two little Cupids at the foot of the Venus of Medici, by the names of Eros and Anteros; and there is something, not only in the air of their faces, but in their very make and attitudes, which agrees well enough with those names: the upper one, being lighter, and of a more pleasing look; and the lower one, more heavy and fullen. Ovid calls the latter (20), *Lethæus Amor*; and Cicero (21), *Anteros*. Were we to follow a figure, that father Montfaucon gives us (22) for *Anteros*, we must make him an old man: his appearance in it is much more like that of a Hercules, than of a Cupid; and nothing I think but the likeness of the name of the artist, which happened, (in this case unluckily,) to be engraved upon the gem, could have induced that father to have placed it where he has. Ovid certainly speaks of this very Cupid (23), as a boy; and I do not know any one of the poets, that ever speaks of Cupid, as an old man. I formerly used to think, from his name, that *Anteros* was looked on by the ancients as the cause of aversion; but that, I believe, is a mistake too: for Ovid, the great master in all affairs relating to love, represents him only as making the passion of love cease, but not as creating aversion; where he speaks (24) most fully of this deity: and in another of his poems, shews that love and aversion were then supposed to proceed, not from different Cupids, but from (25) different arrows of the same Cupid.

THERE are scarce any figures more common in the works of the ancient artists than those of Cupids, in general; and they always represent them, as young, pleasing, and handsome. I remember a pretty statue of one, at the Venerè, (a seat of the King of Sardinia, near Turin) in which he appears like a youth of about seventeen, or eighteen years old; and Raphael, (who may almost pass for an authority, when we are speaking of the Roman antiquities) represents him as of about the same age, in his marriage of Cupid and Psyche. But the most common way of representing Cupid, in the works of the ancients themselves, is quite as a child; of not above seven or eight years old; and,

— Volucrumque exercitus omnis amorum.

Val. Flaccus, Arg. 6. v. 457.

Natorum de plebe putat; sed non erat illi

Arcus, & ex humeris nullæ fulgentibus umbre.

Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 4. v. 30. (of Eriinus.)

It is in this sense, that Venus is called *Dulcium Mater Cupidinum*, by Horace, (Lib. 4. Od. 1, 5.) and *Tenerorum Mater Amorum*, by Ovid. *Amor.* Lib. 3. El. 15. v. 1.

Est illic Lethæus amor: qui pectora sanat,

Inque suas gelidam lampadas addit aquam;

Illic & juvenes votis obliviam poscunt,

Et si quæ est dâro capta puella viro.

Ovid. Rem. Am. v. 554.

(21) De Nat. Deor. p. 71, & 72. Ed. Ald.

(22) Montf. Vol. I. Pl. 118. Fig. 5.

— Geminorum mater Amorum.

Ovid. Fast. 4. v. 14.

Divæ, non mihi generata ponto,

Quam vocat matrem geminus Cupido!

Impotens flammis simul & sagittis

Iste lascivus puer ac repidens

Tela quam certo jaculatur arcu?

(23) Plus amat e natis mater plerunque duobus

Pro cuius reditu quod gerit arma timet.

Est prope Collinam templum venerabile portam,

Imposuit templo nomina celsus Eryx;

and, sometimes, even younger than that. His look is, almost always, like that (26) of a child: generally, pretty (27); and sometimes, a little idle, or fly; according to the occasion. His hair, which is very soft and fine in the best statues of him, is sometimes (28) dressed up too, in a very pretty manner; as particularly in that celebrated figure of him with Psyche, in the Great Duke's gallery; a good copy of which begins now to be not uncommon in England. He is almost always (29) naked, and of a good shape; rather inclining to plumpness, but not too much: it being usually only enough to express the healthful and thriving air, that becomes his age. His wings, are ornamental as well as useful; and were probably sometimes represented in the paintings of the ancients, as of various (30) pleasing colours. His bow, his quiver, and his darts, are spoken of so vulgarly among our poets to this day, that they scarce need be mentioned here. Beside which, the ancient poets sometimes give him, (as well as Hymen,) a (31) lighted torch: and some of them seem to speak of his arrows themselves as all burning (32); or at least, as tinged with fire.

THE ancient artists and poets represent their Cupids in general two sorts of ways, that are very different from each other: either as idle, and playful; or as very powerful, and as governing all things. I have several instances of both among my drawings here.

IT is partly from the wanton or playful character of these little (33) fluttering beings, that they are almost always given us under the figures of children: as Ovid, (who understood the passion they represent, as well as any man,) teaches us:

Et puer es, nec te quicquam nisi ludere oportet;
Lude; decent annos mollia regna tuos (34):

Or, as a lady of our own country says, (in one of the poems she has been so unkind as to keep in her closet, much beyond the term prescribed by Horace:)

Thus let us gently kiss, and fondly gaze!
"Love is a child; and like a child, it plays."

Hence

(26) — Notos pueri puer induit vultus.
(Venus, to Cupid;) Virgil. *Æn.* 1. *l.* 682.

(27) Laudaret faciem Livor quoque; qualia namque
Corpora nudorum tabellâ pinguntur Amorom,
Talis erat. —
Ovid. *Met.* 10. *l.* 517. (of Adonis.)

(28) Tu, pennâ pulchros geminâ variante capillos,
Ibis in auratis aureus ipse rotis.
Ovid. *Am. Lib.* 1. *El.* 2. *l.* 42.
Nec torquem collo, nec habens crinale capillis;
Nec bene compositas comas, ut ante, comas.
Ovid. *ex Pont. Lib.* 3. *Ep.* 3. *l.* 16.

(29) Et puer est, & nudus amor. Sine fordibus annos,
Et nullas vestes ut sit apertus habet.
Ovid. *Am. Lib.* 1. *El.* 10. *l.* 16.
Ovid's reasons here are not general; but adapted to the occasion. It is in a copy of verses to one of his mistresses, who had behaved artfully to him; and had been trying to wheedle him out of a present.

(30) Nec nos purpureas pueri refecimus alas;
Nec facer arte meâ laxior arcus erit.
Ovid. *Rem. Am.* *l.* 702.
Hæc ego. Movit amor gemmatas aureus alas;
Et mihi, propositum perfæce, disit, opus.
Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 40.

(31) Non ego Dolichias furialis more sagittas.
Nec raptas ausim tingere in amne faces.

Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 700.
Per Venerem, simiumque mihi facientia tela:
Altera tela, arcus; altera tela, faces.
Id. *Heroid. Ep.* 2. *l.* 40. (Phyllis, Dem.)
Et mihi cedet amor; quamvis mea vulneret arcu
Peciora, jactatas excutiatque faces.
Id. *de Art. Am.* 1. *l.* 22.

(32) Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices nymphae; ferus & Cupido,
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
Cote cruenta.
Horat. *Lib.* 2. *Od.* 8. *l.* 16.
Volucrum esse amorem sagit immitem Deum
Mortalis error, armat & telis manus;
Arcusque sacros instruit sævâ face:
Genitumque credit Venere, Vulcano fatum.
Ostavia. *Aët.* 2. *Sc.* 2.

(33) The fullest description I have ever seen of the wantonness, and littleness of a Cupid, is in Longus's amours of Daphnis and Chloe, *Lib.* 2. The old shepherd there mistakes him, at first, for a bird; as some of the old poets make his mother compare him to a bee.

(34) Ovid. *Rem. Am.* *l.* 24.

Hence in gems, and other pieces of antiquity, wherever you meet with Cupids, you almost always meet with them concerned in some little diversion, or some little foolery or another. As in this drawing, for example, where you see some of them driving a hoop or playing with quoits, and others wrestling or fighting in jest; in a little sort of circus of their own: and this other, where they are got about their mother, (or perhaps some nymph,) by the water-side; and are diverting themselves in their different manners. Here are two of them very seriously employed about the catching of a butterfly; and there another, as intent to burn one with the torch he holds in his hand. Tho' this indeed might be brought as an instance of their power, as well as of their idle tricks: for the butterfly is generally used by the Greek artists as (35) an emblem for the human soul; and a Cupid fondling or burning a butterfly, is just the same with them as a Cupid caressing or tormenting the goddess Psyche, or the soul. It is remarkable enough that in the Greek language, the same (36) word is used indifferently, for this little fluttering insect and the soul; (or the *Animula vagula, blandula*, as Adrian (37) called it:) and it is as remarkable that, tho' the old artists have represented Cupids playing with butterflies so many different ways, there is scarce any one of them, for which I could not produce some parallel in their representations of Cupid and Psyche.

PLATE VI.
FIG. 1.

PLATE VI.
FIG. 2.

PLATE VI.
FIG. 3, & 4.

PLATE VI.
FIG. 5, & 6.

OUT of the many instances I could mention, I remember to have seen an antique in which Cupid was represented in a car, drawn by two Psyches (38); and another, in which a Cupid was drawn, in the same manner, by two butterflies. And this latter might have yet a farther meaning: for as the car denotes triumph, and the drawing any one in a car is a mark of the utmost submission; this might be principally intended by the artist to express the absolute power of love, over all the beings of the air. In like manner, they express his dominion over all the other elements; thus in this drawing you see him riding on a lion; in this, on a (39) dolphin: and in this third, breaking the fiery bolt of Jove. His power over all things on earth is represented several other ways (40), beside his riding on a lion; but I chose to have a drawing of this preferably to any other, in regard to its beauty and expressiveness of the thought which it carries with it. You see, this little Cupid is playing on a lyre; and the savage creature he rides on, looks as if he had quite forgot his nature, in listening to him. The moral of this gem is just the same with that of the known story of Cimon and Iphigenia, in Boccace: and the artist here tells us, at the first glance of the eye, what one must read so many pages to learn from the author.—Do not think, Myſagetes, that I am getting into a new region of hieroglyphics, as obscure as that of the old Egyptian priests. These are of a far different kind. They are drawn, immediately from nature; and point, directly back to her again.

PL. VII.
FIG. 1, 2, 3.

CUPID

(35) There might have been a great deal of good sense, (and perhaps something above good sense,) in the fixing on this emblem. At least, nothing, I think, could point out the survival and liberty of the soul after its separation from the body, in a stronger and more argumentative manner, than an animal, which is first a gross, heavy, creeping insect; and which, after dropping its slough, becomes (by an amazing change) a light, airy, flying, free, and happy, creature.

(36) *Ψυχή*, Anima, Vita.—Item, *Papilio*, apud Plut. Symp. 2. Prob. 3. et Anst. Hist. An. l. 5. r. 9. Scapula.

(37) In the known verses, recorded by Spartan; in his life of that emperor.

(38) These are both, in Baron Stofche's noble collection of drawings; at Florence.

(39) Thus Neptune's dominion over the sea, is often denoted by his having a dolphin in his hand; and so was Cupid's sometimes, in the same manner: according to that old inscription under one of his statues, which I have met with somewhere; and if I mistake not, it was in an old Frankfort edition of Theocritus.

Τυμνος Ερωος δια τοιο γυλα, η μιλυχος εστι,
Ου γαρ εχει τοζον η πτερυντα βελη.
Ουδε μαλιν παλαμιας κατεχει δελφινος η ανδρος.
Τη μιν γαρ γυλαι, τη δε θαλασσαν εχει.

(40) Sometimes he is riding on a Centaur, who has his hands tied behind him; sometimes on a Chimæra, &c.; to shew that love can conquer all the fiercest monsters, that ever were supposed to have been upon the earth.

POLYMETIS.

Cupido was so constant (41) an attendant of the figures of Venus, of old; that he may be almost looked upon as one of her attributes: as the Bambino is often considered only as an attribute of the virgin by the artists, (and perhaps by many of the vulgar (42), in Italy now. The other chief attendants of Venus are (43) the Nymphs and Graces. The Graces were, most generally, represented naked; as you see them in this drawing: like three beautiful sisters, and connected together. The Roman poets take notice of all these (44) particulars; and so do even their (45) prose-writers too. Horace, in one place, speaks of their dancing (46) with the Nymphs; and, in another, of the Graces and Nymphs dancing (47), with Venus at the head of them. Ovid gives a mighty pretty description of the Nymphs, with the Hours, (or Hours,) in the garden of Flora (48); of

present, because I shall be obliged to consider for to sprinkle flowers over a new-married couple. These I am sure would each have served to have made a very pretty picture, had either Raphael or Guido, been so kind as to have copied them from the poets: but I do not well know what to make of another passage seems to allude to (51) a new way of representing the Graces in his time; under the figure of a woman, with three pair of hands. Such a Grace, (if ever there was such an one,) would have been fitter to make a wife for Briareus, than an attendant for Venus.

wing of three Nymphs, dancing hand in hand; as a companion for that of the three naked Graces. The poets speak of these Nymphs, for the most part, only in general terms: but there is a half-poet, (or in other words, a romance-writer,) who describes them much in the same manner, as you see them here. The person I mean, is Longus; who thus speaks of them (52), in his amours of Daphnis and Chloë. As Daphnis was in a deep sleep, there appeared to him the three Nymphs, in the shape

Constituta Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat despecta sui.

(41) Speaking of the ship, in which he carried off Helen.) Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. p. 114.
Pich Venus, & tenera volucer cum matre Cupido
Id. Met. 9. p. 421.

Veneremque, & illi

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 32. p. 10.

(42) I fear this may be understood of the great vulgar, as well as the small. The child in the virgin's arms is as much a mark or characteristic only of her, as the serpent under her feet, or the crown of stars over her head. The seeing our Saviour most generally used as a mark only, or at best as a child wholly dependant on his mother, must be apt to give her worshippers higher notions of the mother than the son; and may partly have helped to lead them into the use of such strange petitions, as that of, Jure matris nullo impera, and the like; even in their most authorized books of devotion.

(43) Fervidas tecum puer, & solutis

Gratiæ Zonis, properantque Nymphae.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 30.

Solutis Gratiæ zonis.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. p. 6.

Id. lb. 30. p. 6.

Gratia nudis juncta fororibus.

Id. Lib. 3. Od. 9. p. 17.

Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ.

(45) Num dicam; quare tres Gratiæ, & quare forores sint, & quare manibus implexis; quare rident, juvenes, & virginis; solutæque, ac pellucidæ veste? Seneca. de Benef. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. He then gives the moral reasons for each of these particulars under one of which, he calls them; Ille confertis manibus in se redeuntium chorus. Ibid.

(46) Gratia cum Nymphis, geminæque fororibus, audent nudæ choros.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 7. p. 7.

(47) Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venas, imminente Lunâ; Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes

Alternò terram quatiant pede.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. p.

(48) Ovid. l'ast. 5. p. 209, to 220.

(49) Dial. 15, posth.

(50) Nec blandus Amor, nec Gratia cessat. Amplexum viride optate conjugis artus, Floribus innumeris & olenti spargere nymbo.

(51) Hanc multo Paphie saturabat amomo;

Hunc nova tergemina petebat Grata dextra.

Id. de com. Esarini. Lib. 3. Syliv. 4. p. 83.

(52) Lib. 2.

shape of women; beautiful, and of a fine stature. They had only a slight robe about them; their feet were bare; and their hair played loosely in the wind. In a word, they were in every particular just like the statues he had so often worshipped in the grotto of the Nymphs." If you should rather be inclined to think, that the drawing in my hand may relate to the Graces themselves, as well as the former; I would not dispute with you at all, on that head. For it is certain that the Graces were represented sometimes with just such loose flying robes; and, perhaps, dancing too: as one would imagine from some expressions in Seneca, relating to the Graces; which agree with the representation of these three ladies here as exactly (53), as if they had been wrote on purpose for it.

BUT it is high time to quit these attendants of Venus; that we may return to the goddess herself.——As I observed to you, that Venus had a little insidious smile in some of her figures; so is she represented in a wheedling posture, in others. Such is the design on the reverse of a medal of Marcus Aurelius; in which Venus is begging some favour of Mars. It is inscribed, *Veneri Victrici*; and so may teach us, by the way, that this goddess carries her point, whenever she condescends to wheedle even the roughest of her admirers. There is a statue of Venus with Mars, in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence, exactly in the same attitude; and so, probably, were the figures of these two deities, which stood antiently (54) before the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. The goddess holds one hand round his neck, and the other on his breast; and seems enticing him to grant her request: as the god, amidst all his sternness, has an air of complying with her. She is represented in the same manner, with other people, as well as Mars; both by the (55) poets, and in the remains of the (56) antient artists.

PL. VII.
FIG. 1.

THERE is another way of representing Venus, not much to her honour, tho' very common among the antients. This one might call, the Venus Desidiola; and possibly some of the figures of this kind, which pass now with every body for Venus, were originally meant for the goddess Desidia. At least that goddess might be more easily mistaken for a Venus, than for the son of Venus; as she was (57) apt to be, among the antients themselves. However that be, the Venus I am speaking of, is represented as the Genius of indolence: lying, in a languid posture, on a bed; and generally attended

by

(53) *Ille, confertis manibus, in se redeuntium chorus.* Seneca, de Ben. See Note 45. anteh.

(54) *Stat Venus Ultori juncta viro ante fores.*
Ovid, Trist. Lib. 2. l. 296.

The medal, above mentioned, calls the goddess *Victrix*; which would agree very well with Venus on that occasion: she being represented there, as desiring Mars to revenge the death of Julius Cæsar; which was granted her so fully, in the success of the second battle of Philippi. It is possible that both the medal, and the statue of Mars and Venus in the Florentine gallery, were copies of the Mars and Venus before the temple of Mars Ultor.

Venus embracing and wheedling Mars, just in the same manner as in the statue and medal just mentioned, was an idea very generally followed. It is on a gem, in the Great Duke's collection; and on a relief, in the court of the Justiniani palace at Rome. As it appears so often, there certainly was some celebrated figure which the different artists copied from: as we see they used to do, by the various antient copies of the Venus of Medici, the Hercules Farnese, and the Apollo Belvidere.

Statius gives a like view of Venus and Mars; on another occasion.

*Viderat hanc cœli jamdudum in parte remotâ
Gravidum complexa Venus; dumque anxia Thebas
Commemorat, pressum tacito sub corde dolorem
Tempetiva movet.*——
*Desluit jussu commotus in arma querelis
Bellipotens.*——
Theb. 9. l. 832.

(55) Thus, Virgil describes her, when she is wheedling her husband.

—— *Niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
Cunctantem molli amplexu fovet: ille repente
Accipit solitam flammam.*——
Sensit læta dolis & formæ conscia conjux.
Æn. 8. l. 394.

(56) There is a relief in the court of the university at Turin, in which Venus is represented caressing Jupiter; in the same manner as she does the Mars in the Florentine gallery.

(57) *Ergo desidiâ quicunque vocabit amorem,
Definat.*——
Ovid, Am. Lib. 1. El. 9. l. 32.
—— *Namque hæc, quoties chelyn exiit ille,
Desidia est: hic Aoniis Amor avocatur antris.*
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 6. l. 31.

(Speaking of his friend's skill, in distinguishing figures.)

U

by Cupids, as ready to receive her orders, and bring her every thing that she wants; that she may not be put to the intolerable fatigue of standing up upon her feet. It is this Venus which makes her appearance in one of the finest-colour'd pictures that is left us of the antients; that in the Barbarini palace at Rome: the air of whose head, may be compared with Guido's; as the colouring of the flesh, puts one in mind of Titian. Part of this picture you know is lost, and part restored by Carlo Marat. Marat has painted some Cupids about her, (as there might, perhaps, have been the traces of some in the original piece;) which however look but clumsily when compared with their mother: and which, if Marat be really so great a painter as I think he is generally esteemed to be at present, may serve to do a great deal of honour to the painting of the antients. Venus is described (58) by Statius, much in the same manner as she is represented in the Barbarini picture.

Pl. VIII.
Fig. 3.

I HAVE seen a very pretty representation of Venus, yet more indolent than this. It is on an ancient sepulchral lamp, of which this is a drawing. You see, not only Venus herself, but the Cupids about her are all fast asleep. As it was found in a sepulchre; we may justly observe by the way, that it probably related to some fine lady who was interred there, with several of her children: and so were all in that state, which in its beginning looks so like sleep, that it has been generally compared to it; not only by the poets, but even by the prose-writers, of all ages.

INDOLENCE is the mother of love, in a moral sense; as Venus is the mother of Cupid, in the allegorical. It was therefore a very just thought to represent Venus under this indolent character.

Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus;
Contemptæque jacent, & sine luce, faces:
Quàm platanus rivo gaudet, quàm populus undâ,
Et quàm limosâ canna palustris humo;
Tam Venus otia amat.—(59)

IT is for this reason that Venus is so often opposed to Minerva, and Virtus; the two deities which presided over an active and stirring life: as might be shown, very fully, both from the poets and artists of old. But as I chuse always to put things of a kind together; I may say something (60) more of this, when we are taking our round of the statues on the outside of this temple.

WE meet with a character of Venus, on some particular occasions, quite opposite to this; and which seems to regard her rather as the goddess of Jealousy, than as the goddess of Love. I do not remember ever to have seen any figure of her under this character; and I believe there is not any description of it to be found in any of the Roman poets, before those of the third age: in which Valerius Flaccus, and Statius, have drawn two very (61) terrible pictures of her. It is remarkable enough, that these horrid descriptions

(58) Alma Venus thalamo pulâ modò nocte jacebat;
Amplexu duro Getici resoluta mariti:
Fulera torosque deæ tenerum premit agmen Amorum.

Signa petunt, quas ferre faces, quæ pectora figi
Imperet.—
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. §. 56.

(59) Ovid. Rem. Am. §. 143.

(60) See Dial. 10.

(61) — Neque enim alma videri
Jam timet; aut tereâ cinem subnectitur auro,

Sidereos diffusa sinus. Eadem effera, & ingens,
Et maculis suffecta genas; pinumque sonantem
Virginibus Stygiis, nigramque fumillima pallam.
Val. Flaccus. Argon. 2. §. 106.
Illa Paphon veterem centumque altaria linqvens,
(Nec vultu nec crine prior,) solvisse jugalem
Ceston, & Idalias procul ablegasse volucres
Festur. Erant certâ, mediâ qui noctis in umbrâ
Divam, alios ignes majoraque tela gerentem,
Tartareis inter thalamis volitasse sorores
Vulgarent: utque implicitis arcana donorum
Anguibus, & fœvâ formidine cuncta replevit.
Limina. —

Statius. Theb. 5. §. 69.

descriptions of Venus are given by both these poets, on one and the same occasion; they being introduced by each of them, in their account of the women of Lemnos killing their husbands, and taking the government into their own hands. The story is this. The Lemnians had made an expedition into Thrace; conquered their enemies there; brought off a great booty; and among the rest, a great number of Thracian women. Venus, who was enraged against the men of Lemnos for neglecting her temples, (on her scandalous infidelity to her husband, their great tutelary god;) raises a strong report in Lemnos, that the soldiery in general were so much enamoured of their Thracian captives, that they had a design on their return to discard their former wives and children; or at least, to make them serve the new-comers. The Lemnian women were so full of this persuasion, and so possessed with jealousy and rage; that on the night of their return, (when every body was buried in sleep after the rejoicings and debauches of the day,) they fell on the men, and murdered them in their beds. Their king, Thoas, was the only man that was left alive. He was concealed, and sent away to Pontus in a disguise; by his daughter Hypsipile; and Hypsipile, as the first of the blood-royal, was made queen of the island by the women. Jason, in his expedition to Colchos, stopped at Lemnos, with the Argonauts; who found out the means of reconciling the ladies there so far to men again, that their queen herself had twins by their leader. It is on occasion of this cruel massacre, committed by the women of Lemnos on their husbands, that we see Venus described, both in Flaccus and Statius, more like an infernal Fury than the goddess of the softer passions. Her very shape, as well as her look, is totally changed by them. She appears large, and strong; with a disturbed and furious air; in black funeral robes; and armed (62) with a torch, with a sword, and with serpents: the distinguishing attributes of the Furies. Indeed she is so like them, and so unlike herself; that were one to find her in this character on a relieve, one should most probably mistake her for an Alecto, or a Tisiphone. Who would think of the goddess, that polishes savages, and softens all the world, under so strange and so horrid a disguise?

THE Romans had certainly a bad Cupid, as well as a good one; and so might very well have a bad Venus too, as well as a good one. I do not remember, that any of their poets of the two first ages mention a bad Venus; but one of the third age, speaks expressly of (63) the Venus Improbata.

IF the Venus Improbata be not to be understood of this furious Venus, there is another character of the same goddess with which it might suit very well: what I mean is, the Vitious Venus. Her infidelities to her poor husband are notorious; and have been

strongly

(62) — Nudo stabat ense videri
Clara mihi, somnosque super. Quid prodiit ævum?
(Inquit) age, avertis thalamos purgate maritis!
Dixit: & hoc ferrum fratris, hoc (credite!) ferrum
Imposuit.

Statius. Theb. 5. v. 140.
Hic sanxere fidem. Tu martia testis Enyo,
Atque inferna Ceres; Stygiaque Acheronte recluso
Ante preces venere Deæ: sed fallit ubique
Mixta Venus; Venus arma tenet, Venus admonetiras.

Ibid. v. 158.
Stat funesta Venus; ferroque accincta furentes
Adjuvat. Unde manus? unde hæc Mavortia Diræ
Pectora? —

Ib. v. 283.
Ipsa Venus quasians undantem turbine pinum
Adglomerat tenebras; pugnaque accincta, fre-
mentem

Profluit in Lemnon: nimisque & luce fragorâ
Prosequitur polus, & tonitru pater auge honoro.
Inde novam pavidas vocem furibunda per auras
Congeminat: quâ primus Athos, & Pontus, & ingens
Thracæ palus; pariterque toris exhorruit omnia

Mater; & adfrixisset riguerunt ubere nati.
Accelerat Pavor; & Gelicis Discordia demens
Est stabulis; stræque genus pallentibus Iræ;
Et Dolus, & Rabies, & Leti major imago
Visa truces exserta manus; ut prima vocata
Intonuit, signumque dedit mavortia conjux.

Flaccus. Argon. 2. v. 208.

There is no need, I think, of observing how much Flaccus exceeds Statius here; it must appear so evidently, to every body that only runs over these descriptions from both. What I admire him for, more particularly, is the propriety he shews in calling Venus, Mavortia conjux, on this occasion; and in making her set out with the very same attendants that the poets usually give to Mars, when he is going on any great expedition.

(63) — Mox in varias mutata novaris
Effigies. Hoc ære Ceres; hoc lucida Gnossi;
Illo Maia tholo; Venus hoc non Improbata, fœo.
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. v. 255.

strongly marked out, ever since the earliest ages of the world. The poets, in particular, have never spared her; they paint her faults of this kind but too glaringly; and speak often of the public shame she was brought to, by her amours with Mars. There is a mighty pretty gem, on this piece of penal justice executed on adultery in the heathen heaven, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. It represents this vicious goddess, and her paramour the captain among the heathen gods, caught in the net made by Vulcan; just as Ovid (64) describes this affair: where he adds, that all the other gods were called in to be witnesses of their crime, and to oppress them with shame. There is a relieve on the same subject at Rome (65), in which Venus has her hands only chained: it omits the net; but represents Sol in his chariot, as the person who first discovered them: agreeably to what Ovid says of this affair; and indeed agreeably to the story, as it is generally told by the old Mythologists. And perhaps there never was a story that has been told (66) oftner; for there is some reason to imagine, that it was one of the most common subjects for an (67) old kind of romances; which seem to have been in fashion much earlier, than any Monsieur Huet has made mention of, in his pretty treatise on that subject.

It is on the account of this old story, that I chose to place Mars rather than Vulcan, next to Venus; in the circle of statues before you: for, in spite of all the public shame they

(64) *Primus adulterium Veneris cum Marte putatur
Hic * vidisse deus: videt hic deus omnia primus.
Indoluit factis; Junonigenæque marito * Sol.
Furta tori, furtique locum monstravit: at illi
Et mens, & quod opus fabrilis dextra tenebat,
Excidit. Extemplo graciles ex ære catenas
Retiaque & laqueos quæ fallere lumina possunt,
Elimat. Non illud opus tenuissima vincant
Stamina; non summo quæ pendet aranea tigno.
Utque leves tactus, momentaque parva sequantur,
Efficit; & læto circumdata collocat aptè.
Ut venere torum conjux & adulter in unum;
Lemnius extemplo valvas patefecit eburnas,
Admisitque deos. Illi jacuere, ligati
† apert.*

Ovid. Met. 4. v. 188.

This passage in Ovid is but too much explained, by Lucian's dialogue between Mercury and Apollo. Tom. I p. 214. Ed. Blac.

*Fabula narratur toto notissima cælo;
Mulciberis capti Marsque Venasque dolis.
Indicio Solis, (quis Solem fallere possit?
Cognita Vulcano conjugis æsta fuæ.
Mulciber obscuro lectum circaque supragæ
Disponit laqueos: lumina fallit opus.
Fregit iter Lemnon; veniant ad fœdus amantes;
Impliciti laqueis nudus uterque jacent.
Convocat ille deos; præbent spectacula capti;
Vix lacrimas Venerem continuasse putant:
Non vultus texisse suos, &c.*

Art. Am. 2. v. 590.

(65) In the Admiranda. Pl. 3.

(66) Virgil mentions this, as the most noted among all the stories told by the water-nymphs in Cyrene's grotto.

*Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Vulcani, Martisque dolos & dulcia furta;
Aque Chæo densos divum numerabat amores.*

Georg. 4. v. 347.

The water-nymphs telling this kind of stories together, was so known a thing, that it was a subject even for statutory too.

*Illic adspicias scopulis herere sorores;
Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:*

*Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iô:
Denique ut ad Trojæ testa volarit avis.*

Propertius. Lib. 2. El. 23. v. 20.
Leuconoe, and her sisters, divert themselves in the same manner, whilst they are at work; and Leuconoe, in particular, tells this very story of Mars and Venus. Ovid often calls it, "The most trite story among the gods." Met. 4. v. 189.—Art. Am. 2. v. 563.—Amor. Lib. 1. El. 9. v. 40.

(67) Both Virgil and Propertius call the subjects of these stories, *Dulcia*: and the latter uses the word, *canere*, for the manner of telling them; as the former says, *Carmine quo captae*. The subjects in general agree with those most used in our novels and romances: and they were told, either in verse, or in an affected poetical kind of prose; for *carmen* is used indifferently for the one or the other. Propertius might have an eye to this affected style, in those expressions of his relating to Jupiter's amours:

Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iô.

Apuleius makes use of this affected, lulling style, in his romance: as one may see, by his very proposition itself, which ought to be plain and easy, even in a poem. He begins thus. *At ego tibi, sermone isto Milesio, varias fabulas conferam; aureosque tuas benevolas lapido suseuro permulcam: mox, si papyrum Ægyptiam argutiâ Niloticæ calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere, figuras fortunæque hominum in alias imagines conversas, & in se rursus mutuo nexu reflectas, ut mireris exordior.* Which, (to please any of our ladies, that may happen to be particularly fond of romances,) I have endeavoured to turn into English, as justly as I could, in the following manner. "Now will I weave together several fancies for you, in that known Milesian style; and sooth your benevolent ears, with a pleasing reft-inviting sound. Then, if you disdain not to cast one regard on my Egyptian manufacture, marked with the cunning of a pen from Nile; thus do I begin to lay out before your wondering eyes, the shapes and fates of men, changed into various figures, not their own; and strangely turning to their own again." Exordium, to Apuleius's *Afinus Aureus*.

DIALOGUE *the Seventh.*

they had been brought to, she seems always to have persisted in loving this gallant of her's better than her husband.

You see Mars here has his usual attributes, his helmet, and his spear; and indeed they were so attached to him, that he does not quit them, even when he is going on his amours. This military god had several, you know; and was no more constant to Venus than she was to Vulcan. His amour with Rhea was one of the most celebrated among the Romans. In a known relievo, (in possession of the Mellini family at Rome,) relating to the birth of Romulus and the founding of that city, you see Mars descended on the earth, and moving toward Rhea who lies asleep on it. On the reverse of this medal in my hand, he is represented in an earlier point of time; in the air, as descending down to her. It was by the help of this medal that Mr. Addison has so finely and so fully explained a passage in Juvenal, which had been strangely misunderstood before his time. As I always keep the works of Mr. Addison in this temple, and as no words can be so proper as his own; if you will give me leave, I will read the whole passage to you from him; not as a thing new to you; but as one of the strongest instances I know of, to shew how useful the works of the old artists might be made, towards explaining the old poets.

PL. VIII.
FIG. 3.

PL. VIII.
FIG. 4.

The passage from Juvenal, is this.

Tunc rudis & Graias mirari nescius artes,
Urbibus evertis, prædarum in parte reperta
Magnorum artificum frangebatur pocula miles,
Ut phaleris gauderet equus: cælateque cassis
Romulæ simulacra feræ mansuescere iussæ
Imperii fato, & geminos sub rupe Quirinos;
Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis & hastâ,
Pendentisque dei, perituro ostenderet hosti, (68)

“JUVENAL here, (says (69) Mr. Addison,) describes the simplicity of the old Roman soldiers; and the figures that were generally engraven on their helmets. The first of them was the wolf, giving suck to Romulus and Remus. The second, which is comprehended in the two last verses, is not so intelligible. Some of the commentators tell us, that the god here mentioned is Mars; that he comes to see his two sons sucking the wolf; and that the old sculptors generally drew their figures naked, that they might have the advantage of representing the different swelling of the muscles, and the turns of the body: but they are extremely at a loss, what is meant by the word, *pendentis*. Some fancy it expresses only the great embossment of the figure: others believe it hung off the helmet.—Lubin supposes that the god Mars was engraven on the shield; and that he is said to be hanging, because the shield which bore him hung on the left shoulder. One of the old interpreters is of opinion, that by hanging is only meant a posture of bending forward to strike the enemy: another will have it, that whatever is placed on the head may be said to hang, as we call hanging-gardens such as are planted on the top of the house. Several learned men, who like none of these explications, believe there has been a fault in the transcriber; and that *pendentis*, ought to be *perdentis*: but they quote no manuscript in favour of their conjecture. The true meaning of the words is certainly, as follows. The Roman soldiers, who were not a little proud of their founder and the military genius of their republic, used to bear on their helmets the first history of Romulus; who was begot by the god of war, and suckled by a wolf. The figure of the god was made as if descending on the priestess Ilia; or as others call her, Rhea Sylvia.—As he was represented descending, his figure appeared suspended in the air over the vestal virgin;

(68) Juvenal, Satire II. §. 107.

(69) Addison's Travels, p. 182.

virgin; in which sense the word, *pendentis*, is extremely proper and poetical. Beside the antique Basio Relievo that made me first think of this interpretation, I have since met with the same figures on the reverses of a couple of ancient coins, which were stamped in the reign of Antoninus Pius."

Thus far Mr. Addison: who, by a casual hint from a Relievo, and afterwards by the plain evidence of a medal, has at last fixed so doubtful an expression to so clear and poetical an idea, as it may now give every body who reads this passage.

Pl. IX.

THERE is another Relievo at Rome, (to go from a very evident point, to one that is altogether as obscure,) which has puzzled all the antiquarians a great deal. It is very full of personages; among whom Mars evidently makes the most considerable figure. He is attended by a number of other gods; and among the rest by a Cupid, who is endeavouring to wheedle his spear out of his hand. Juno, the goddess of marriage, is seated on an eminence; as presiding over the assembly. Mars directs his steps to the figure of a beautiful nymph lying on the ground; who is represented as Eve might be, when just created. Who this person should be, is what has made the great difficulty. Several of the Roman poets of the first age speak of a wife of Mars, called (70) *Neriené*; of whom we find no traces at all in their later poets. There is one of the (71) old critics however, who has given us some lights relating to her: without whose assistance it is no wonder if she had been quite unknown to us: since, as he tells us, many of the Romans themselves knew nothing of her, in his time. We learn from him, that she was originally a goddess of the Sabines; and that people seem to have shewn a very pretty kind of imagination, in making this new deity. They had a Mars, who signified brutal courage: and as they thought that even war itself ought to be in some degree polished and civilized, they gave their Mars this *Nerienne*, (who, according to some, signifies mildness,) for his comfort; to soften and humanize the roughness of his temper. Should one apply the story on the Relievo to this account of *Nerienne*, there is nothing in them I believe that would not agree very well together. But there are many keys will open a lock they were not made for, and I have promised not to build any thing solely on the authority of the oldest Roman poets. It is therefore that I shall still call it obscure: and indeed we are very much in the dark as to the whole history of *Nerienne*. Who knows whether the Romans had not some account, and perhaps some Relievo's too, of Mars returning in triumph to his *Nerienne*, after the achievement of some great conquest? If there was any such thing, it might add a great deal of force to a (72) passage in Plautus's *Truculentus*,

(70) ——— *Nerienne Mavoris.*

Ennius. An. Lib. 1.

Martis Nerienne.

Varro. Sat. Menip.

Nolo ego Neeram te vocent, sed Nerienem;

Cum quidem Marti es in connubium data.

Licinius Imbrex. In Neerâ, Com.

(71) Aulus Gellius has a whole chapter on this goddess; from which one learns.

1. That she was a great deal unknown among the Romans themselves, in his time. He quotes a passage from Plautus, in which that poet mentions *Nerienne*; and then adds: *Super eâ re audiui non incelebrem hominem dicere, nimis comicè Plautum imperito & incondito militi falsam novamque opinionem tribuisse, ut Nerienem conjugem esse Martis putaret.* Gellius adds, that the critic was mistaken; and that Plautus had used those expressions, from his knowledge, and not out of ridicule.

2. That she was called *Neria*, and *Nerio*, as well as *Nerienne*. *Nerio* was probably the old name for her, in the Sabine language: for Gellius says, she was

of Sabine extraction; and that one of the ancestors of the Claudii, (a Sabine family,) had the surname of *Nero*, from this goddess.

3. Among several etymologies of her name, he mentions one from an author; possibly, of this very family. In commentario Servii Claudii scriptum invenit, *Nerio dictum quasi Neirio, hoc est, sine ira & cum placiditate; ut eo nomine mitem tranquillumque fieri Martem precemur.* And so is she invoked by *Herilia*, in her speech to *Tatius*, the general of the Sabines; to entreat him to make a peace with the Romans. In the end of that speech, she addresses herself to this goddess; and begs of her, "that they may obtain peace: and that the Sabine wives may live as happily with their Roman husbands, as she does with her husband, *Mars*." Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att. Lib. 13. C. 21.*

(72) *Stratophanes* is an arrogant boasting captain, that talks and looks very big in one of Plautus's plays. On his return from making a campaign, he goes immediately to see his mistress, *Phionesium*; who pre-

tulentus, which reads rather flatly at present: perhaps more for want of knowledge in us; than for any want of spirit in the author.

It may however surprize you, to see how far the story, in the Relievo before us, might tally with the account of Neriene, which I have given you from Aulus Gellius. Neriene, you see here, (for give me leave, if you please, to call her so,) is lying on the ground; as just formed, but not yet animated: and Mars approaches her with an attentive and softened air on his face. He has a lion at his feet, to shew his character of fierceness; and she a young kid by her, (the idea of which in Italy, is much the same as that of a lamb among us,) to shew her mildness. There is a grave elderly man, near her; and regarding her stedfastly; (in an odd sort of vessel, which as I remember in the original seemed to have more of the air of a boat, than it has in my copy.) This I take to be Prometheus, coming to animate her; from his likeness to the Prometheus in another Relievo representing this story: in which, he is actually applying the heavenly fire (73) to the figure, that answers Neriene here.—On one side are two water-deities, with a great deal of dignity in their looks; (so that possibly, they may be Neptune and Oceanus:) on the other side, is Tellus, reclined; and with her head turned as regarding Neriene. These, with Juno, on the right hand above Tellus; and Vulcan placed yet a little higher than Juno; may be meant, partly, to signify the four elements: the finest parts of which, we may suppose, were selected to compose the body of this new goddess; (for the deities of the heathens were supposed to have corporeal vehicles, or bodies only of a finer make;) and it is usual with the ancient artists to introduce the deities presiding over the four elements, wherever they represent any thing relating to the creation (74), or rather to the new formation, of any person. Juno, (as I said before,) may have a farther meaning here; and is seated with dignity, and in so eminent a place, as presiding over the ceremony; which is to end in a marriage, between Mars and the new-made goddess. Near Juno, is Minerva; and Bacchus: and just behind Mars, are Apollo, Diana, and Mercury, in the order they are named. At the end, is a fine figure of Victory, a very proper attendant of Mars; and just over her head, appears part of the zodiac. It is remarkable, that only two of the signs are wrought upon it; those of Scorpius, and Libra: the former, perhaps, to signify the fiery temper of Mars; and the latter, the moderating and ballancing of it, by this conjunction of him with Neriene. Beside these, there are several little Cupids about the piece; (one of which, as I said before, is endeavouring to wheedle Mars's spear out of his hand; a circumstance very proper to the occasion;) and two or three heads of deities who are not distinguished enough to say who they are: but they are there, at least, to grace this great ceremony; and seem all very attentive to it. Every thing else in this piece I have accounted for to you; I think, in no forced manner: I am sure at least, in that, which struck me naturally, and at the first sight;

Pl. IX;

after

tends to be much out of order. He is received first by the waiting-maid; and is introduced by her, to her mistress. The maid walks before him; and he struts after her. This little piece of ceremony immediately puts him in mind of the pompous returns of Mars from foreign conquests; which, no doubt, he must have often seen in Relievo's and pictures. This makes him change his style all of a sudden, to this elevated idea: and methinks one sees him, in Plautus, strutting along, with the air and gait of Mars Gradivus.

Before it was:

—Peperitne obsecro Phroneſium?

Anc. Peperit puerum, nimium lepidum:—Strat. Ecquid mihi humili' est?

But afterwards, he heightens and stiffens his style.

Anc. Consequere; atque illam saluta, & gratulare illi.—Str. Sequor.

Phron. Ubi illa obsecro est, quæ me hic reliquit, atque cæſit?

Anc. Affum. Addeco tibi exoptatum Stratophanem.—Phron. Ubi is est, obsecro?

Strat. Mars, peregrè adveniens, salutat Nerienem, uxorem suam.

Cum tu reſtè proveniſti, cumque es auſta liberis,

Gratulor: cum mihi, tibiſque, magnum dediſti decus.

A little after, he talks of the victories he is returned from; and the spoil and the captives that follow this imaginary triumph of his.

—Adduxi ancillas tibiſque ecceſ! ex Suria, duas:

Iſis te dono. Addece huc tu iſtas! Sed iſtæ reginæ, domi

Suæ, fuerè ambæ; verùm patriam ego excidi manu.

See Plautus. Truculentus. AR. 2. Sc. 6.

(73) See Adm. Pl. 22.

(74) See Adm. Pl. 22, & 66. In which latter, by the way, there are two figures represented just like Adam and Eve.

after I had once found out a key for this inexplicable story, as Bellori in his (75) notes on Bartoli seems to call it.

AND since I have mentioned Bartoli here; I must just add, that one may very well be surprized at his choice in this subject. There are two Relievo's relating to it, in the same palace at Rome, the Palazzo Mattei: one, on the stair-casé; and the other placed pretty high against the house, in the court. The former, is very bad work; very ill preserved; and patched up, in several parts, with stucco-work by some modern artist: the other is very fine work; and particularly well preserved; yet when Bartoli collected his Relievo's for the Admiranda, he chose to insert the former rather than the latter, in that noble work. And why do you think he did so? Why, truly, because there was easy fitting, to copy the bad one; and he must have had a scaffold erected, to take the good one: as my designer was forced to have; and for which, the Duke of Mattei was so good as to grant his permission. A favour, which tho' great in itself, was much the greater; because his Grace was then actually engaged, himself, in the design of publishing all the fine remains of antiquity; not only in this palace, but at his Villa too in Rome: which, when put together, will make one of the noblest treasures of antiquities in the whole world.

I COULD never yet meet with any Relievo of Mars going out to war. The poets describe this with a great deal of parade, and give him a number of attendants on that occasion; who are very well adapted to the god of slaughter and destruction, or (as it is more handsomely styled) of the art of war. These (76) descriptions are so very picturesque, that I doubt not it was a subject common enough among the artists, as well as the poets, of old.

Pl. X.
Fig. 1.

THAT god, next to Mars, you see is Vulcan: whom all the old poets, (perhaps ever since Homer's days,) agree in describing (77) as a meer mortal blacksmith; only with the addition, of his being (78) a lame one. The few figures I have seen of this god in marble agree entirely with their low descriptions of him; excepting only a Relievo in Cardinal Polignac's collection at Paris; where he is represented as sitting with some dignity, and attended

(75) *Quamvis marmoris hujus lateat argumentum, aliqui tamen ad imperatorem Gallienum referunt proficiscentem in Orientem; cujus est typus Sol in quadrigis; & cum facies integra non sit, quandam adhuc retinet Gallieni similitudinem.*—In alio simili marmore, quod in earundem sedium atriis summitate spectatur, conveniunt alii dii; Apollo, Bacchus, Mercurius. Nos utrumque feliciori Oedipo relinquimus. Bellori's note to Adm. Pl. 22.

(76) *Qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri Sanguineus Mavors clypeo increpat, atque furentes Bella movens immitit equos: illi aequore aperto Ante Notos Zephyrumque volant. Gemit ultima pulsa Thraca pedum: circumque atræ Formidinis ora, Iraque, Invidiaque, dei comitatus, aguntur.*

Virgil. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 337.

Et jam nodivagus inter deus armiger umbras Desuper Arcadiæ fines Nemœaque rura Armorum tonitru ferit; & trepidantia corda Implet amore sui. Comunt Furor Iraque cristas: Fræna minidrat equis Pavor armiger. At vigil omni Fama sono, varios rerum succincta tumultus, Ante volat currum; flatuque impulsâ gementum Alipedum, trepidas densò cum murmure plumas Excutit; urget enim stimulis auriga cruentis Faciâ infecta loqui; curruque infestus ab alto Terga comasque deæ Scythicâ pater increpat hæc.

7

Statius. *Theb.* 3. *l.* 431.

(77)

— At illi
Et mens, & quod opus fabrilis dextra tenebat,
Excidit. —

Ovid. *Met.* 4. *l.* 175.

Inde ubi prima quies, medio jam noctis abasce Curriculo, expulerat somnum: cum femina primum, Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minervâ, Impositum cinerem & sopitos suscitât ignes Noctem addens operi; famulasque ad lumina longo Exercet penso; cæcum ut fervare cubile Conjugis, & possit parvos educere natos: Haud fecus Ignipotens, nec tempore segnior illo, Mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilis furgiit.

Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 415.

(78) Catullus calls Vulcan, "the hobbling god;" tardipedem deum. In *Annal.* Volufi.

It was reckoned an excellence, in one of the finest statues of this god, that his lameness was expressed; but not grossly expressed in it. Tenet vilescent Athenas Vulcanus, Alcamenis manibus fabricatus: præter cætera enim perfectissimæ artis in eo præcurrentia indicia, etiam illud mirantur; quod stat dissimulatæ claudicationis sub veste leviter vestigium representans; ut non tanquam exprobratum vitium, ita tamen certam propriamque dei notam, decorè significans. Valerius Max. *Memorab. Lib.* 8. *Cap.* 11. This is rather over done, Pl. 10. Fig. 1. where the artist, by representing Vulcan sitting, quite conceals his lameness indeed; but at the same time, loses one of the most distinguishing attributes of this god.

attended by Fauns, instead of the Cyclops. The story seems to be of modern invention; and the work itself carries a suspicious air with it: so that we may very fairly drop it, as of no authority; and consider him only in the meaner character, that is given him by the general consent of antiquity. The poets describe him as blackened and hardened, from the forge: with a face, red and fiery whilst at his work; and tired and heated after it. Some of their descriptions of his looks, on these occasions, seem (79) to have been copied from some antient paintings.

I SHOULD be very glad to meet with any Relievo of Vulcan after his fall from heaven; represented in the same manner as he is described (80) by Valerius Flaccus. He has just recovered himself a little, by resting against a rock; and is hobbling on, with some of the good people of Lemnos; who found him in his distress, and are very officious to support him and help him along. This poor god is almost always (81) the subject, either of pity, or ridicule. He is the great cuckold of heaven: and his very lameness serves to fling all the gods into a violent fit of laughing, when they have a mind to divert themselves after some accident that has chagrined them. Ovid makes his own wife (82) mimic his lameness, to entertain her gallant. In short, the Great Celestial Deities seem to have admitted Vulcan among them only, (as great men formerly used to keep a fool at their tables) to make them laugh, and to be the butt of the whole company.

I HAVE not yet got any statue of Vesta; who, if ever she should honour my collection with her presence, ought to stand here next to Vulcan. To tell you the truth, I have some doubts whether the figures, that are generally looked upon as Vesta's, do really represent that goddess or not. There is nothing I think about such as I have seen, which would not be as proper for one of the Vestal Virgins, as for the goddess who presided over them; and who knows whether the figures that are called Vesta's, even in the inscriptions of the artists who made them (83), may not signify only one of the virgins, who

(79) ——— Nec major ab antris
Lemniacis fragor est; ubi flammæus Ægida cælat
Mulciber. ———

Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. §. 133.
——— Al' huc festum, Siculæque incude rubentem.
Id. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. §. 8.
Lemnos, ubi igniferâ festus respirat ab Ætâ
Mulciber. ———

Id. Theb. 5. §. 51.

(80) ——— Prærupti Vulcanum vertice cæli
Devolvit. Ruit ille polo noctemque diemque,
Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum litore tandem
Insonuit. Vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
Adelinem scopulo inveniunt: miserentque, fœventque,
Alternos ægro cunctantem poplite gressus.

Flac. Argon. 2. §. 93.

(81) Where Minutius Felix is ridiculing the appearance of some of the heathen gods, Vulcan is the very first that he falls upon. ——— Quid formæ ipsæ & habitus, nonne arguant ludibria & dedecora deorum vestrorum? Vulcanus claudus deus & debilis: Apollo, tot ætatibus lævis; Esculapius, bene barbatus, et si semper adolescentis Apollinis filius: Neptunus, glaucis oculis; Minerva, cæcis; bubulis, Juno: pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungalatis, Saturnus compeditis: &c. Min. Fel. §. 21. p. 107. Ed. Davif.

(82) Nec Venus oranti (neque enim dea mollior ulla est.)
Rutilica Gradivo, dissilicifve fuit.
Ah, quoties lasciva pedes risisse mariti
Dicitur! et duras igne, vel arte, manus.

Marte palam, simulat Vulcanum: imitata decebat;
Multaque cum formâ gratia mixta fuit.
Ovid. de Arte Am. 2. §. 570.

(83) I do not remember to have seen any statue of the better ages, which is called Vesta in the inscription: but this is a common thing in medals. When we find any figure thus fixed to a particular deity, by the inscription; we should naturally acquiesce in it, without looking any farther: but one of the Roman authors having said so expressly, that they had no figures at all of this goddess, may very well raise some doubt in the present case. It is true that on the reverses of several medals there are figures called VESTA: but as one meets with the same sort of figures, on other reverses, with the inscription VESTALIS; possibly the former are Vestals too: and so the goddess, who could not be represented in person, may be thus represented under the figure of one of her chief ministers, or substitutes. (Compare Fig. 2, and 3. Pl. X.)

On one of these medals inscribed with the name of Vesta, you have a person dressed in the habit of the Vestal Virgins, and represented as offering sacrifice in the temple of Vesta: which agrees very well with the priestesses, and cannot agree at all with the goddess herself. See Pl. X. Fig. 4.

There is a lamp in Monsieur Girardon's collection at Paris, inscribed VESTA; tho' there is no figure on it, at all. (See Pl. X. Fig. 5.) How much more natural would it be, to give her name to one of the Vestal Virgins, (or, at least, to the chief of the Vestals) as her visible representative upon earth?

who kept her eternal fire? What first led me so far out of the common road of thinking, was a passage in Ovid, which expressly says, they had no personal representations of this goddess. To which I may add a thing, which would otherwise have appeared very unaccountable to me. I have formerly I think told you, that I took the pains to read over all the Roman poets, from the fragments of Livius Andronicus to the satires of Juvenal; and to mark down the most striking passages in them, which any way related to the figures and appearances of any of the imaginary beings, received as gods among the Romans. When I came to put these collections in order, and to range them under their proper heads; I found I had but one single passage, out of all of them, relating to Vesta. This single passage was from Ovid; and from that very poem of Ovid's, in which he says afterwards:

Esse diu stultus Vestæ simulacra putavi:
Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.
Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo:
Effigiem (84) nullam Vesta nec ignis habent.

I WOULD not hence absolutely assert that the ladies which are called Vesta, in several pieces of antiquity, are only so many representations of this goddess by proxy; by one of her great ministers, the Vestal Virgins; but it is enough to make one doubt, whether there may not be some such thing at the bottom. And as I am still in some doubt about it, I have not yet placed any figure of her in this line of the other Great Deities, her companions.

It was Numa, who introduced the worship of Vesta and the Eternal Fire, into Rome. A prince, who was too philosophical, to admit of any (85) statues at all; either as the objects of devotion, or as helps to it. He thought that method must debase the gods, more than it could assist men. I shall not pretend to determine whether he owed this justness and refinement of thinking to his own good sense, or to the lessons of Pythagoras; to whose acquaintance, one of the best writers of this age, (and whose friendship we have each of us the happiness to have some share in,) has lately (86) restored him. Pythagoras was learned in the doctrine of the Brachmans, and the precepts of Zoroaster; who admitted of no visible object of devotion, except fire; which they considered as the properest emblem of the Great Invisible Being, in the whole material world. The traces of this eastern doctrine seem to have been preserved, by Numa; in the ceremonies and worship he ordained to Vesta. But that I may not run out of my depth, in points that I know very little of, let us (if you please) take a turn or two about the garden; after which we may come back hither; and finish our view of the figures in the inside of this temple.

(84) Ovid. Fast. 6. §. 298.

The passage where Ovid speaks of a figure of Vesta, is before; in the third book of his Fasti, §. 46.

Sylvia sit mater: Vestæ simulacra feruntur
Virgineæ oculis opposuisse manus.

It may be observed here; 1. That Ovid uses the word, *feruntur*. There were some stories, in the Roman mythology, which were looked on as certain, and others, as doubtful. The doubtful stories are introduced by the Roman poets in general, (and more particularly by Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid,) with an, *Ut fama est; ut perhibent; ut ferunt, or feruntur*; as in the present case.

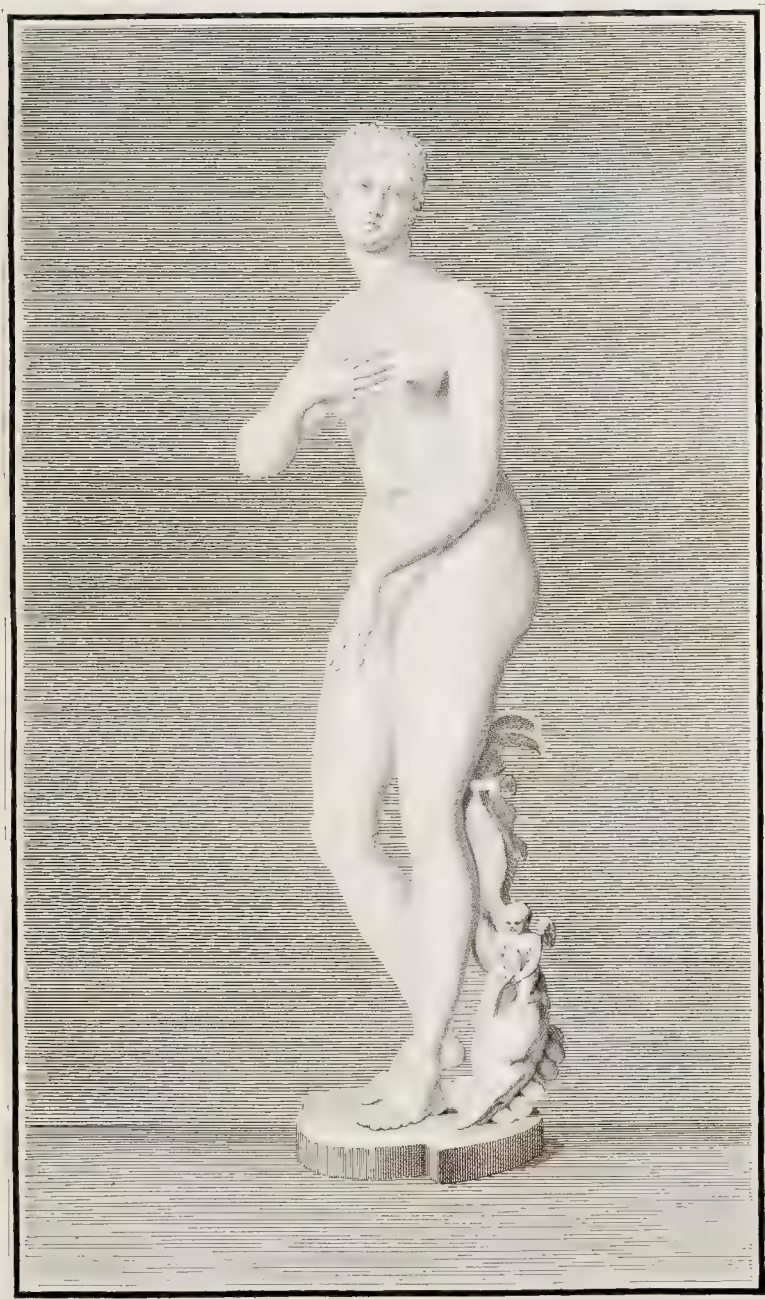
2. This passage does not speak of any figures of Vesta, vulgarly exposed; (as those on medals, for example, must have been;) but of a figure of the

goddess, supposed to have been concealed in her most sacred temple at Rome.

3. Even that was supposed without grounds: for there was no figure of her concealed there; as Ovid says, he learnt afterwards: that is, probably, when he was initiated into the mysteries. That Ovid was initiated, appears from many passages in his works; where, when he is telling any of the stories that have regard to the mysteries, it is usual with him to say; "This I am not allowed to tell you; Thus far I may tell you;" &c.

(85) See Dial. 5. Note 7.

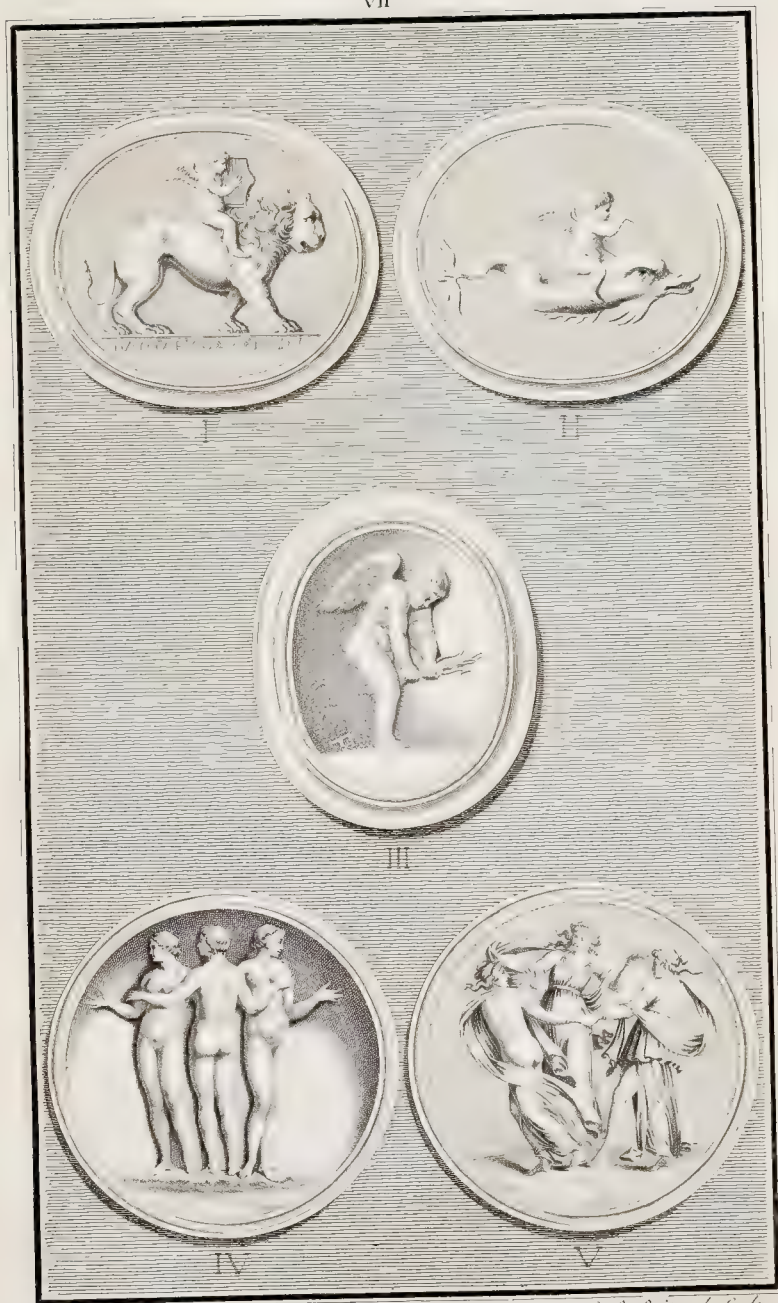
(86) See Mr. Hooke's Roman History; Vol. I. p. 125, and 126.



J. R. Anderson sculp.



P. P. Bourard Sculp



L. P. Boitard Sculp.

76
124
125
fol
fol
423
The
on
fro



I



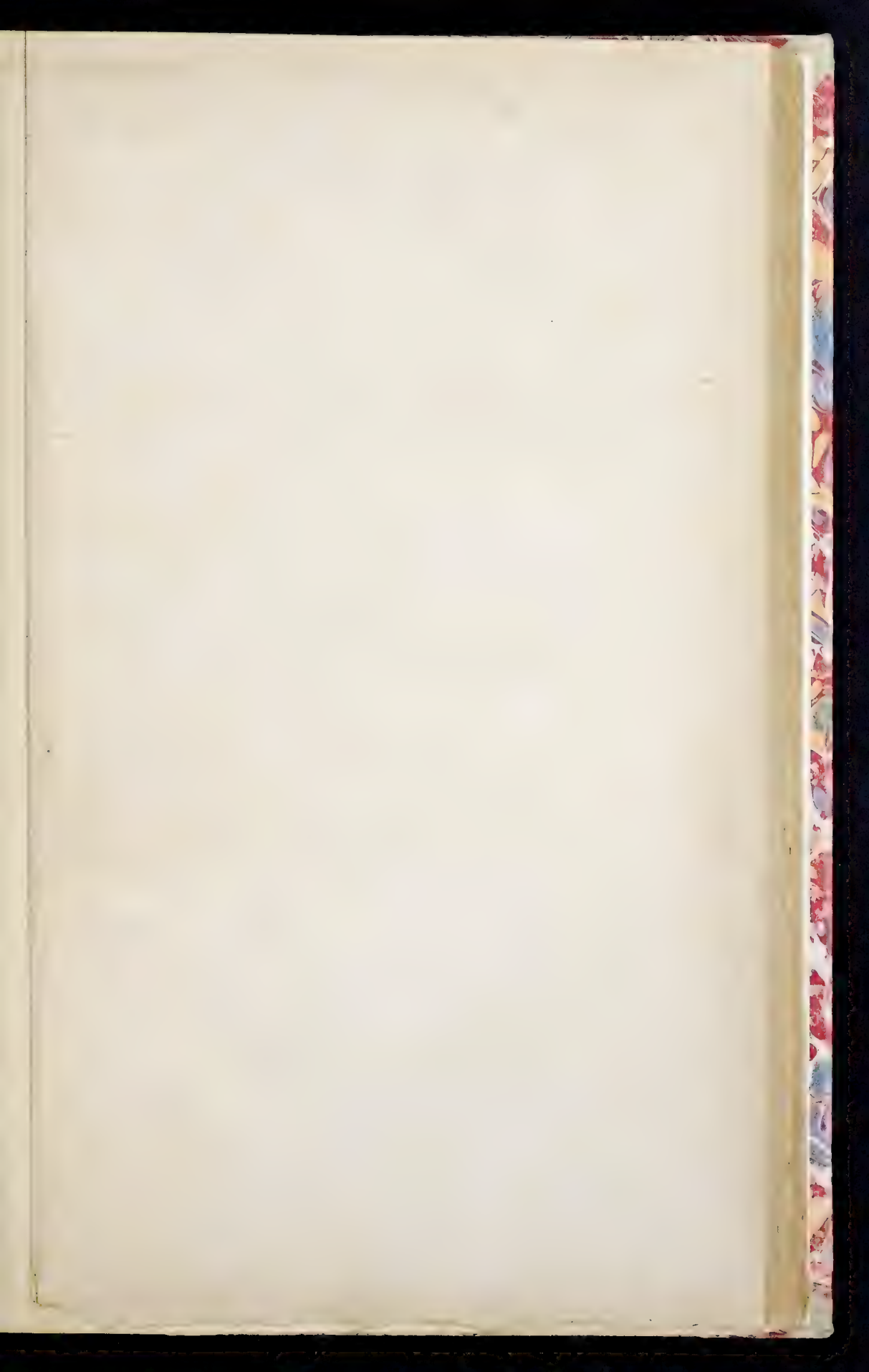
II



III

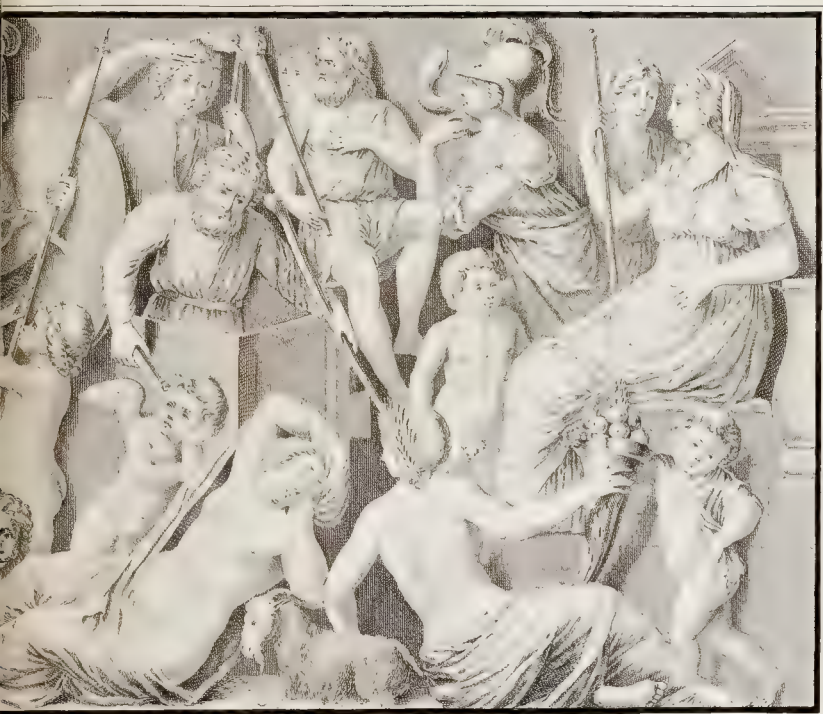


IV





Ca. Bultroni del.



J. P. Boitard • Sculp.



76
we
10.
fol.
Fr
423
Th
on
fro

D I A L. VIII.

Apollo; Diana; Ceres; and Mercury.

ON their return to the Rotonda, Polymetis led his friends directly to the statue of Apollo; who stands so gracefully, in the act of shooting off his bow. They easily knew it to be a copy of the Apollo Belvedere. Among all the statues of the antients, (says Polymetis,) which the moderns have as yet discovered, there are about twenty that might be placed in the first class; each as the chief beauty, in its kind. For example, there is nothing in marble equal to the Venus of Medici, for softness and tenderness; as there is nothing so strong and nervous, as the Hercules Farnese. The face of the dying gladiator, is the most expressive of a human passion; and the air of the Apollo Belvedere, gives us an idea of something above human; more strongly, than any figure among the great numbers that remain to us. These are all therefore constantly reckoned in this superior class: and as the excellence of the Apollo Belvedere consists in the expression of something divine, whereas the rest excel only in things that are common to men; this statue may, perhaps justly enough, claim the preference, even in this distinguished class of the best remains of all antiquity.

ANY one, who has been much used to see collections of ancient statues, may remember that the first and chief thing by which he used to distinguish an Apollo, (at a distance, or in a croud of figures,) was the beauty of his face. He is handsomer than Mercury; and not so effeminate as Bacchus; his two chief rivals for beauty, among all the deities of his own sex. And it is remarkable, by the way, that the Roman poets, when they are speaking of the softer beauties or fine air of any prince, or hero, generally compare them (1) to one or other of these three gods; and oftner to Apollo, than to either of the other. This most usual compliment of theirs is a very high one; for indeed nothing can be conceived finer than the face of Apollo. His features are all extremely beautiful, according to our common ideas of beauty; beside which, his face has sometimes an air of divinity diffused over it, (and particularly in the Apollo Belvedere,) of which

(1) Instances of persons compared for beauty, to Apollo.

Aut quis Apollineo pulchrior ore fuit?
Martial. Lib. 6. Ep. 29.
Sic Phœbum sumtis jurabat flare sagittis,
Ovid. Met. 8. §. 31.
Nec tales humeros phœtretramque gerebat Apollo.
V. Flaccus. Argonaut. 2. §. 492.
Tranquillæ—faces oculis, & plurima vultu
Mater inest: qualis Lyciæ venator Apollo
Cum redit, & sœvis permutat plestra sagittis,
Statius. Achill. 1. §. 166.
—— Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infert se socium Æneas, atque agmina jungit.
Qualis ubi hybernæ Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
Deterit, ac Delum maternam inivisit Apollo,
Inlauratque choreas mixtique altaria circum
Creteque Dryopeque fremunt piæque Agathiræ.
Ipse jugis Cynthi graditur; mollique fluentem
Fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro:
Tela sonant humeris. Haud illo signior ibat
Æneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

Virgil. Æn. 4. §. 150.

Bacchus is set almost on a level with Apollo for beauty; in this sort of poetical comparisons.

Et digno Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.

Ovid. Met. 3. §. 421.

Formosæ periere comæ; quas vellet Apollo,
Quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo.

Id. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 14. §. 32.

Non vinces * rigidas Hippoliti comas; [* Speaking
Phœbo colla licet splendida compares. of Bacchus.]
Illum cæsaries, nescia colligi,
Perfundens humeros, ornat & integrit: &c.

Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. §. 755, & 800.

Cedent Æsonio daci
Si forma velit aspici,
Aptat qui juga tigribus;
Necnon qui tripodas movet.

Medea. Act. 1. Chor. §. 86.

Sume fidem & phœtretram, fies manifestus Apollo;
Accedant capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 15. §. 24. (Sappho, to Phæon.)

Mercury, tho' much inferior to either of these, is used too by the poets as an instance of youth and beauty.

Sive mutatâ juvenem figurâ
Ales in terris imitatis alimæ
Filius Maia.——

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. §. 43. (of Augustus.)

—— Membraque, & vultus Deo

Similes volanti.——

Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 3. §. 173. (of Britannicus.)

which we should have had no idea at all, without the help of the artist. He is always young and beardless; and his long beautiful hair, when unconfined, falls in natural easy waves, all down his shoulders; and sometimes over his breast. His stature is free and erect. His limbs are exactly proportioned; with as much of softness in all of them, as is consistent with strength: and with a grace resulting from the whole, which is much more easily felt than described; and which indeed it would be very impertinent to pretend to describe, to any one who has seen the Apollo Belvedere.

If we have so high ideas of the beauty of Apollo from the statues we see of him; what ideas must the old Roman poets have had, who saw him so much oftner, both in marble and in colours; and who set their own imaginations to work, to form the finest notions of him that they could? It is hence that they speak so very highly of his beauty. Virgil calls him (2), the Beautiful; and (3) Tibullus, the Well-shaped God. The latter of these poets has a full description of his person, which I must read to you; the rather, because I suspect it contains several strokes taken from some very celebrated pictures; which might be generally known and admired at Rome in his time, tho' they are lost to us.

Hic juvenis castâ redimitus tempora lauro
Est visus nostrâ ponere sede pedem:
Non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum
Ætas, humanum nec videt illud opus.
Intonsi crines longâ cervice fluebant;
Stillabat Tyrion myrtæ rore coma.
Candor erat, qualem præfert Latonia Luna;
Et color in niveo corpore purpureus:
Ut (4) juveni primum virgo deducta marito
Inficitur teneras ore rubente genas;
Ut quum contexunt amaranthis alba puellæ
Lilia, & Autumno candida mala rubent.

Tibullus, Lib. 3. El. 4. v. 34.

Nothing was looked upon as more essential to the beauty of any young person among the Romans, than (5) a long fine head of hair. This is one of the distinguishing things, in the heads of Apollo in old gems; and is extremely well expressed in this description. One meets with it often too in the statues of this god; and particularly, in a very fine one (6), in the Great Duke's gallery: which the modern artists have endeavoured to change into a Prometheus; and which they used, some time ago, to call by that name. The Romans had a custom of cutting their hair short, at a certain age; and of keeping it

so

(2) Pulcher Apollo.

Virgil. Æn. 3. v. 119.

well except, after the course of almost seventeen hundred years,) that we can see nothing now of the beautiful blush, that was probably on the face of the bride.

(3) Formosus Apollo.

Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 3. v. 11.

(4) This is one of the strokes which seems to me to have been borrowed from some painting in Rome; in which the mixture of the colours here mentioned to be blended together, was remarkably well executed. Pliny, in speaking of the best pieces by Echion there, instances in one on this very subject. Nova nupta, verecundiâ notabilis. (Nat. Hist. Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 433. Ed. Elz.) The famous picture at the Aldobrandine palace in Rome is on the same subject: and the air of the new bride in it is remarkably modest. As that is so good, tho' done when the art of painting was extremely fallen at Rome; it was very probably copied from some celebrated picture there: and possibly, from this piece of Echion's. The colours are all so faded in it, (as one may very

(5) — Quid das ut Cossus aliquando salutes?

Ille meit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati.

Juvenal. Sat. 3. v. 186.

Insuperata tuæ cum veniet bruna superbie;

Et, quæ nunc humeris involitant, deciderint comæ.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 10. v. 1.

Spirâ te nitidum comâ,

Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero,

Tempestiva petit Chloe.

Id. Lib. 3. Od. 19. v. 27.

Os humerosque Deo similis: namque ipsa decoram
Cæsariem nato genetrix, &c.

Virgil. Æn. 1. v. 590.

(6) There are two different views of this figure, in the Musæum Florentinum. Vol. III. Pl. 8. & 9.

so ever after. This ceremony, (for they made a great ceremony of it,) was performed in their youth: when they were about seventeen, or eighteen: and this is one reason of their poets taking so much notice of (7) the long hair of Apollo, and of their giving him so frequently the (8) titles of Crinitus, and Intonsus. When they said he had always long hair, it was the same as if they had said he was always young. In seeing the collections of antient statues, one is apt now and then to take a Bacchus for Apollo, on this very account: for Bacchus in the beauty of his face, and the length of his hair, comes nearest to Apollo of all the other deities; and they are often spoke of together by the poets, as distinguished from all the other gods, and as the only rivals for excellence (9), in this point of beauty.

THERE is one thing however which seems peculiar to Apollo; and of which we might have had as strong an idea from the painters of old, as we have of his fine hair from the statues, had the works of the former been so durable as those of the latter. All one can say of it now is, that there was probably, in the old pictures of Apollo, a certain brightness beaming from his eyes; and, perhaps, diffused all over his face; in the same manner, as the body of the principal figure is all luminous and resplendent, in the famous nativity by Correggio; and the transfiguration, by Raphael. What made me first suspect this, was the antient poets speaking so often of the brightness of Apollo's face, and (10) the beaming splendour of his eyes. And there is a passage in one of the Roman historians, that confirmed me very much in this conjecture; and which at the same time, may serve to mark out one of the most inconceivable pieces of vanity, that perhaps was ever heard of; even in a Roman emperor. I am sorry the emperor I must instance in, should happen to be Augustus. It appears from the medals and other representations of this emperor, that his face is what the Romans called an (11) Apollinean face. Nature perhaps had given him some resemblance of Apollo; and the artists no doubt understood flattery well enough to help it out, and to represent him more like than he really was. Whatever the artists have done in this case, the poets you may be sure did not let so fine a topic of flattery misf them. Accordingly Ovid calls Augustus (12), the handsomest of all created beings; and Virgil does not only compare his Æneas, (under whom he is sup-

posed

(7) *Unque meum intonsus caput est juvenile capillis.*
Ovid. Met. 1. 3. 564. (Spoke by Apollo.)
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 6. 3. 26.
Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
Crines solutos.

Id. Lib. 3. Od. 4. 3. 62.
—— Longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phœbus.

Ovid. Met. 1. 3. 451.

This was so known a point among the Romans, that it was even grown into a sort of proverbial way of speaking with them.

Dum pecori lupus & nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hybernæ mare;
Intonsaque agitare Phœbeis aura capillos;
Fore hunc amorem matuum.

Horat. Epod. 15. 3. 10.

(8) Virgil. Æn. 9. 3. 638. — Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 21. 3. 2. — Ovid. Met. 12. 3. 585.

(9) Et dignos Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.
Ovid. Met. 3. 3. 421.
Perpetuo sic flore mices; sic denique non sint
Tam longæ Bromio quàm tibi, Phœbe, comæ.

Martial. Lib. 1. Ep. 125.

Solis æterna est Phœbo Bacchoque juvena;
Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.
Tibullus. Lib. 1. El. 4. 3. 33.

(10) *Tranquillæque faces oculis —*

Statius. Achil. 2. 3. 164.

Radiantibus oculis —
Catullus. de At. 3. 40.

—— Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,

Forma colorque tibi, radiatæque lumina profunt?

Ovid. Met. 4. 3. 193.

Ovid speaks, in the same poem, of the splendour of Apollo's face; (ibid. 3. 231.) and calls his head illuminated, even after he has laid aside his crown of rays.

Dixerat: at genitor circum caput omne micantes
Deposuit radios, prop. usque accedere jussit. —
Penituit jurasse patrem; qui terque quaterque
Concutiens illaure caput; &c.

Met. Lib. 2. 3. 40, to 50.

(11) Aut quis Apollineo pulchrior ore fuit?

Martial. Lib. 6. Ep. 29.

Nero affected to have this sort of face too, as well as Augustus; as appears from the flattery paid him by the common people, when they cried out to him: "The Beautiful Cæsar! The Apollo! As like him, as Augustus was! nay, as like him, as Apollo is to himself!" Ο καλὸς Καίσαρ' ὡς Ἀπόλλων' ὡς Ἀυγύστες' εἶς, ὡς Πιτταίης. Xiphilin. ex Dione.

(12) Ergo erit ille dies quâ tu, pulcherrime rerum,
Quatuor in niveis aureis ibis equis?

Ovid. de Art. Am. 1. 3. 214.

posed generally to mean Augustus,) (13) to Apollo, for beauty; but in another place seems to call Augustus himself, directly, by the name (14) of this god. The historians tell us that Augustus (15) was really very beautiful; and that there were stories spread about of his being the (16) son of Apollo, in a literal sense. It is (17) said by one of the old commentators, that there were statues of him at Rome under the character and with the attributes of Apollo; and in a certain (18) infamous feast made by Augustus, (in which he and five of his courtiers represented the Great Celestial Gods, as some of the ladies of his court represented the six Great Goddesses, he himself chose to appear with the attributes of Apollo. All these circumstances put together shew, but too plainly, that he gave into the flattery that was paid him; and that he thought himself, or at least loved to be thought by others, like Apollo in general. But the greatest absurdity of all was his pushing it so far, that because Apollo was usually represented with a particular flow of light beaming from his eyes, he must needs have it supposed that his eyes beamed forth a brightness too; and that so strongly, as to dazzle those who looked upon them too nearly, or too steadily. His eyes, it seems, were really very good ones; they were particularly clear and bright: and "he affected, says (19) my historian, to have it "thought that there was something like a divine irradiation from them: and was mightily "pleased, when he looked full upon any body; if they held down their eyes, as people "are apt to do when the sun glares too strong upon them."

This preposterous piece of pride in Augustus, may help toward explaining a passage in Virgil, which I have formerly thought fitter for the affectation of an Italian epic poem, than for the propriety which generally reigns thro' the *Æneid*. It is in a representation of the battle of Actium; where the poet is speaking of Augustus's appearance, on that great occasion.

Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prælia Cæsar, —
Stans celsâ in puppi: geminas cui tempora flammas
Lætæ vomunt; patriumque aperitur vertice fidus. (20)

Propertius

- (13) — Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Inferet se focium *Æneas* atque agmina jungit.
Qualis ubi hybernâ Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
Deferit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo, &c.
See Virgil, *Æn.* 4. v. 140, to 150.

- (14) — Tuus jam regnat Apollo.
Virgil, *Ecl.* 4. v. 10.

- (15) Formâ fuit eximiâ; &c, per omnes ætatis
gradus, venustissimâ. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 79.

- (16) In *Asclepiadis Mendetis* *Αἰσχρογυναικῶν* libris lego;
Atiam, cum ad solemne Apollinis sacrum mediâ nocte
venisset, posita in templo læticia, dum cæteræ ma-
trones dormirent obdormisse: draconem repente ir-
repsisse ad eam, pauloque post egressum: illamque
expergefactam, quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse
se: — Augustum natum mense decimo; & ob hoc
Apollinis filium existimatum. Suetonius, in Aug.
§. 94.

Tho' this strange story be almost generally forgot
now, the memory and belief of it continued down
for several ages; as appears from a passage in *Sidonius*
Apollinaris, who wrote about the middle of the fifth
century:

Magnus Alexander nec non Augustus habentur
Concepti serpente deo: Phœbumque Jovemque
Divisere sibi. Namque horum quæsit unus
Cynithâ sub Syrte patrem: maculis geneticis
Alter Phœbigenam sese gaudebat haberi;
Pæonii jactans Epidauria signa draconis.

Sid. Apol. Carmen. 2. v. 126.

- (17) Servius on Virgil's, Tuus jam regnat Apollo.
Ecl. 4. v. 10.

- (18) Cœna quoque ejus secretior in fabulis fuit;
quæ vulgò *Δαδεδαισες* vocabatur. In quâ deorum
dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas, & ipsum pro
Apolline ornatum, non Antonii modò epistolæ singu-
lorum nomina amarissimè annumerantis exprobrant;
sed & sine auctore notissimî versus.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum;
Sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas:
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit;
Dum nova divoram cœnat adulteria;
Omnia se à terris tunc rûmina declinarunt,
Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipse tholos.

Auxit cœnæ rumorem summa tunc in civitate pe-
nuria & fames; acclamatumque est postridie, "Fru-
mentum omne deos comedisse." Et, "Cæsarem esse
planè Apollinem, sed Tortorem." Quo cognomine
is deus quâdam in parte urbis colebatur. Suetonius,
in Aug. §. 70.

- (19) Oculos habuit puros ac nitidos: quibus etiam
existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris;
gaudebatque si quis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad
fulgorem solis, vultum submitteret. Suetonius, in
Aug. §. 79.

- (20) *Æn.* 8. v. 678.

Propertius has (21) some very difficult lines in speaking of the very same subject, which as well as Virgil's seem to me to have some reference to this affectation in Augustus; of having his eyes thought to beam light, like those of his supposed father, Apollo: and there are a few other expressions in (22) Virgil, which may possibly have a side view to the same extravagant imagination of this emperor.

To return to my collection: The Apollo, before you, is not perhaps the properest I could have found out for this place; but as it is the noblest Apollo, (and, probably, the noblest statue in the world,) I have done in this case, as in that of the Venus of Medici; and have chosen to commit a small impropriety, rather than lose so great a beauty. As to his particular character, you see it is the Apollo Venator. But tho' he presides over the chase, and seems actually engaged in it, he is dressed rather fine for his character. His hair is in some sort dressed; and collected together a little above his forehead. His Chlamys, which is only fastened with a gem over his breast, falls loosely down his back, and is tossed over his arm. On his feet you see one sort of the fine buskins, which they used antiently for the chase. All the rest of his body is naked. In short he is, in every thing, just as Maximus Tyrius has described him (23): "The god, in the bloom of youth; almost all naked, tho' he has a Chlamys over his shoulders: holding his bow; and seeming not only going to move on, but to move on rapidly." He may be thus far adorned, as the Apollo who is so often described in the poets, quitting (24) Lycia his great hunting-seat, to go to Delos where he always appeared in more state; and much as Virgil in particular describes him, where he compares Æneas, (when going a hunting,) to this god.

—Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infert se socium Æneas, atque agmina jungit:
Qualis ubi hybernæ Lyciam Xanthique fluentæ
Deferit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo,
Instauratque choros; mixtique altaria circum
Creteſque, Dryopeſque fremunt, piſtique Agathyrsi.
Ipſe jugis Cynthi graditur; mollique fluentem
Fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro:
Tela ſonant humeris. Haud illo ſegnius ibat
Æneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore. (25)

I would not assert that Virgil had this very figure of the Apollo Belvedere in his eye, in writing this comparison; but thus much is plain: that they both relate to the Apollo Venator, set off more than he is usually in that character; that, both in the poet, and in the marble, this god is represented as the standard of beauty; that this divine beauty of his,

(21) Cum Phœbus linguens ſtantem ſe vindice Delon,
(Nam tulit iratos mobilis una notos)
Aſtitit Auguſti peſſim ſuper; & nova flamma
Laxit in obliquam ter ſinuata facem.

Propertius, Lib. 4. El. 6. ſ. 30.

This laſt line is difficult enough to be underſtood: but I imagine it may refer to the rays of light beaming from Apollo's eyes, and thoſe from Auguſtus's, croſſing one another: ſomething like what the naturaliſts call, (by a term that is hard enough too,) radiatorum decuſſatio.

(22) Virgil, in ſpeaking of Æneas, (his great type of Auguſtus,) ſays in one place;

—Tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

and in another:

Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis. Namque ipſa decoram
Cæſariem nato genetrix, lumenque juvenatæ
Purpuream, & latos oculis affarat honores.

Æn. 4. ſ. 150. and 1. ſ. 591.

He may too, have had both this and the Julian ſtar in his thoughts, in ſpeaking of the ſon of Æneas; when he deſcribes the omen of royalty that appeared on his head.

Ece levis ſummo de vertice viſus lili
Fundere lumen apex! Taſtuque innoxia molli
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora paſci.
Æn. 2. ſ. 684.

(23) Μειρακιον, γυμνον εκ χλαμυδις, τοξοτην, δια-
CεCκνηCα τοις ποCιC ωC ποC τοC θεοC]α. Max. Tyrius,
Diſſert. 72.

(24) Tranquillaſque faces oculis; & plurima vultu
Mater ineſt. Qualis Lyciæ venator Apollo
Cum redit, & ſævis permutat plectra ſagittis.
Statiſ. Achil. 1. ſ. 166.

(25) Virgil. Æn. 4. ſ. 150.

his, and his motion, are the two principal points aimed at by Virgil in this similitude, and the two chief things that strike one in viewing the Apollo Belvedere; and, on the whole, that if the one was not copied from the other, they are at least so much alike, that they may very well serve to give a mutual light to each other.

ONE of the most known characters of Apollo, among us at present, is that of his presiding over poetry, and the Muses; of whom I have a drawing here: and as there has been always a good deal of difficulty in distinguishing them from one another; I shall endeavour to remove that as far as I can, before I go on with this character of the god himself.

THE order of the nine Muses seems to have been quite arbitrary; and to have been left wholly to the choice of the artist, who was to represent them. Was any order to be followed, that of their names annexed to the nine books of Herodotus's history (26), would certainly carry the greatest authority with it; as that was done by the general decree of all Greece, assembled at the Olympic games. But I believe there was no settled method of ranging them ever intended, or observed: their order in Ausonius's inscription (27), for a Relievo of the nine Muses in his time, being different from that used for Herodotus's history; as the Relievo's we now meet with, differ both from them, and from each other, in their method of ranging the Muses.

PL. XII. THIS makes it the more difficult to point out exactly who each of the persons is, in the drawing of the Muses now before us: tho' by the help of Aufonius, (who, on this occasion I must beg you to allow me as a good authority,) and of what is said here and there by the poets of the better ages, relating to these goddesses, we may be sure of above half of them; and may guess, perhaps, pretty well, at each of the rest.

THE first figure then is, Clio; by the volume, or roll in her hand. The second, Thalia; by the old pastoral crook, and comic mask. The third, I should guess, to be Terpsichore. The fourth, probably, is Euterpe; by the Tibia, or (28) pipes. The fifth, from her pensive or amorous posture, I take to be Erato. The sixth, is Calliope; from the tablets, or pocket-book, in her left hand. The seventh, (from her marking out what she sings, so particularly (29), with her hand,) should be Polyhymnia. The eighth is evidently Urania, from her globe and radius; and the ninth, (with a mask, and without the pedum pastorale,) is, as evidently, Melpomene.

PL. XII.
FIG. I.

CLIO prefided over the noblest kind of poetry: her office it was to celebrate the actions of departed heroes. She therefore has a roll, (or book,) in her hand, as here; or else the longer, bolder pipe; as in the Relievo of the Muses, in the Justiniani palace at Rome. Horace, in speaking of this pipe, seems to give it (30) the shrillness of the trumpet; and indeed it is shaped much in the same manner with the trumpets, which the moderns

(26) Their order before the nine books of Herodotus is thus : Clio, Euterpe, Thalia ; Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato ; Polyhymnia, Urania, and Calliope.

(27) Clio, gēta canens, transactis tempora reddit.
Melpomene, tragico proclamant mœnta boatu.
Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia.
Daulcolopos calamos Euterpe statibus urget.
Terpsichore, affectis citius movet, imperat, augeat.
Plectra citharæ Erato, saltat pede, carmine, vultu.
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat.
Uranie, celi motus tractat & ælia.
Signat cantu manu, loquitur Polyhymnia gestu.
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique Musas:
In medio refidens compellitur omnia Phœbus.
Aufonius. Etyl., zo.

(28) She has one pipe in her left hand ; and should have its companion, in her right. The right hand is broke off in the original, at the wrist. They have lately refitted it, at the Capitol ; and have, very justly, added the pipe in that hand, as well as in the other.

(29) Signat cuncta manu, loquitur Polyhymnia gestu.
Ausonius's Inscription: Note 27. *ante*.

(30) Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ, vel acri
Tibiâ, fumes celebrare Clio?
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 12. 1. 2.

modern artists give to their figures of Fame. As Pindar, and several other of the old Lyric poets, dealt so much in celebrating the actions of departed heroes, this Muse may perhaps have been sometimes represented with a lyre too; tho' I do not remember ever to have seen any instance of it, in the remains of the old artists. Statius (31) makes her descend to lower offices; as if she must preside over every thing that was wrote in heroic verse: and his mistake, (for it seems to be one,) may be easily accounted for, from their looking formerly, on every thing wrote in hexameters, as an epic poem; as I have mentioned to you, I think, on a (32) former occasion.

THALIA, was the Muse of comedy, and of (33) pastorals; of which they had a great mixture on the Roman stage, in the earliest ages of their poetry, and long (34) after. She is distinguished from the other Muses in general, by her mask; and from the tragic Muse, by her shepherd's crook; not to speak of her look, which is meaner than that of Melpomene; or her dress, which is shorter, (and consequently less noble,) than that of any other of the Muses in this drawing.

TERPSICHOE has nothing here to distinguish her. Aufonius gives her the Cithara; and it is said (35), that she was the inventress of that instrument. On the medals (36) of the Pomponian family, there are three of the nine Muses with stringed instruments in their hands; and just the same number in the famous Relievo (37) of the Apotheosis of Homer: but the mischief is, that we do not know these instruments from one another; and are used to call the Cithara, Barbitos and Testudo, all indifferently by the name of Lyres, or rather Fiddles, in down-right English. These three Muses, which are so often represented with stringed-instruments, (and which are therefore so difficult to be known,) are the third, fifth, and seventh, in the drawing before you; the other six being easily known, from their different sort of attributes. The first of these three, I call Terpsichore, because the other two seem to have something in their look and posture which may serve to determine them to be Erato and Polyhymnia. But this is a good deal conjectural: and perhaps we can never distinguish these three certainly unless we were better acquainted with the names and shape of the different stringed instruments, given to each of them, in the other works of the antients relating to these deities.

It was very common with the musicians of old, to play on two pipes at once; agreeably to the remarks (38) before Terence's plays; and as we often actually find them represented in the remains of the artists. It was over this species of music that Euterpe presided (39); as one learns from the very first ode of Horace. I have also seen her (40) represented with the Fistula, or Calami, in her hand; it is under this lower character, that Aufonius (41) speaks of her.

ERATO,

(31) — Damque procax myrtis hederisque, folatâ
Fronte, verecundo Clio mea ludit Etrusco.
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. 5. 10. in Balneum Etrusci.

(36) See Agostini's Med. p. 157.

(37) Admiranda, Pl. ult.

(32) See p. 26. Note 51. anteh.

(38) Where it is said, before the Andria, that it was acted Tibiis paribus, dextris & sinistris; — the Eunuchus, Tibiis duabus dextris; — the Phormio, Tibiis imparibus; &c.

(33) — Nec erubuit sylvas habitare Thalia.
Virgil. Ecl. 6. 5. 2.

(39) — Si neque tibiae
Euterpe cohibet.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 1. 5. 35.

(34) Sylvis deducti caveant: me iudice Fauni,
Ne velut innati triviis, ac pene forenses,
Aut nimium teneris juvenentur versibus unquam;
Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta.
Hor. de Art. Poet. 5. 247.

(35) By some of the commentators on Juvenal,
Sat. 7. 5. 35.

(40) Agostini. p. 157. Med. 4.

(41) Note 27, anteh.

PL. XII.
FIG. 5.

ERATO, who presided over love-sonnets and all the amorous kinds of poetry, you see here, is genteely dressed; and has a pretty look, tho' thoughtful: for she is represented either so, or else all full of gayety and motion; as Aufonius describes her, and as I have seen her on (42) gems: both which characters, tho' so opposite to one another, suit very well with lovers; and consequently with any patroness of them. Ovid, one of the chief votaries of this Muse, invokes her with much propriety (43) in his Art of love; and in the fourth book of his Fasti, for the month of April: which was reckoned the lovers month among the Romans, as May is among us. I own I cannot see the same propriety in Virgil's invoking Erato (44), in the seventh book of his Æneid, to give an account of the antient state of Italy; and just before his entering on a scene of battles and destruction: unless it be from that war's having been occasioned by, (what Horace calls the old cause of war,) a woman; in which view, all the destruction consequent upon it, was an effect of love.

PL. XII.
FIG. 6.

CALLIOPE, is spoken of above once by Ovid, as the (45) chief of all the Muses: and it is therefore, perhaps, that Horace calls her Regina; and attributes the skill of playing on what instrument (46) she pleases, to this Muse; as comprehending the whole of the art, almost as much as Apollo himself. The book she holds in her left hand, is much more like a modern book, than an antient one. The books of old were like the rolls, in our offices for old records; and the form we use for books now, was then only used for tablets, or pocket-books. These tablets, in the left hand of Calliope, mark out the distinguishing character of this Muse; which was to note down the worthy actions of the living; as Clio's was, to celebrate those of departed heroes. Tho' these are only tablets, Aufonius calls them, Libri: the common names for them (47), used by Pliny in his epistles, and by several of the other Roman writers, are much more proper; and more descriptive of them.

POLYHYMNIA

(42) See Agostini's gems; N° 6.

(43) Nunc mihi, si quando, puer & Cytherea favete!
Nunc, Erato; nam tu nomen amoris habes.

Ovid. Art. Am. Lib. 2. §. 16.

Erato was so much the patroness of lovers, that the same author in his Fasti speaks of her and Venus as one and the same. He speaks of her as Venus; in the following verses:

Alma fave vati, geminorum mater Amorum!

Fast. 4. §. 1.

Mota Cytheriaci leviter mea tempora myrto

Contigit; & ceptum perfice, dixit, opus.

Ib. 16.

And as the Muse; in these;

Talibus Aoniæ facundâ voce Camenæ

Reddita quæstui causa furoris erat.

Ib. 246.

Substitit hic Erato. ———

Ib. 349.

He farther says, in one place, that the month of April was dedicated to Venus; and in another, that it was the month of Erato.

Venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima, mensem;

Et vatem & mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos.

Ib. 14.

Sic ego: sic Erato. Mensis Cythereius illi

Cessit, quod teneri nomen amoris habet.

Ib. 196.

(44) Nunc age qui reges, Erato, quæ tempora rerum,
Qvis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem

6

Cum primum Aufonius exercitus appulit oris,
Expedit; & prime revocabo exordia pugnae:
Tu vatem, tu diva, mone! Dicam horrida bella;
Dicam acies, adloque animis in funera reges;
Tyrrhenamque manum, totamque sub arma coactam
Hisperiam: major rerum mihi nascitur ordo;
Majus opus moveo. ———

Æn. 7. §. 45.

(45) ——— Dedimus summam certaminis uni.
Surgit; &, immissos hederâ collecta capillos,
Calliope querulas præsentat pollice chordas;
Atque hæc percussis subjungit carmina nervis.

Ovid. Met. 5. §. 340.

Tunc sic, neglectos hederâ redimita capillos,
Prima sui cepit Calliopæ chori.

Id. Fast. 5. §. 80.

(46) Descende coelo; & dic age tibiâ
Regina longum Calliope melos:
Seu voce nunc mavis acutâ;
Seu fidibus, citharæve Phœbi.

Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 4. §. 4.

(47) Ad retia fedebam. Erant in proximo, non
venabulum & lancea, sed stylus & pugillares. Medi-
tabar aliquid, enotabamque: ut si manus vacuas, ple-
nas tamen ceras reportarem. Plin. Lib. 1. Epist. 7.

Pugillares, or libri pugillares, books to hold in
the hand and write on. Catullus calls them, more
absolutely, Pugillaria; and Aufonius, (on another
occasion,) Pugillar bipatens: an expression, particu-
larly descriptive of their make.

POLYHYMNIA is the last of those three Muses, that are most commonly distinguished by holding some stringed instrument of music or other, in their hands. This in the hand of Polyhymnia, is (48) perhaps what the Romans, (after the Greeks,) called Barbitos; and what we have no name for, in our language. It has a bottom to it very different, both from the Testudo, and the most common sort of Lyres: but as I know so little either of the make, or names, of the stringed instruments of the antients, I shall venture no farther on that head. Pl. XII.
Fig. 7.

URANIA, is the Muse that presided over astronomy: and it is therefore that you see her here with the celestial globe, at her feet; and the Radius (49), used by astronomers, in her hand. In the statues of this Muse you sometimes see the globe in her hand; and sometimes it is placed on a column before her, that she may consider it the more nearly, and the more attentively. Statius seems to allude to this last (50); where he is speaking of the death of a poet and warrior, whose fate this Muse foresaw; and whom she had in vain endeavoured to keep from the wars. This agrees very well with the antient idea of astronomy, which was perpetually intermixed with judicial astrology; as one sees by Manilius, and the other writers on astronomy in those times. Pl. XII.
Fig. 8.

MELPOMENE, has her mask here on her head; and it is sometimes placed so much more backward, that it has been mistaken (51) for a second face. Her mask shews that she presided over the stage; and she is distinguished from Thalia, (or the comic Muse,) by having more of dignity in her look, stature, and dress. Melpomene was supposed to preside over all melancholy subjects, as well as tragedy: as one would imagine, at least, from (52) Horace's invoking her, in one of his odes; and his desiring her to crown him with laurel, in another. Pl. XII.
Fig. 9.

As to the Muses in general; it is remarkable that the poets say but little of them, in a descriptive way: much less, than might indeed be expected for deities, to whom they were so particularly obliged. Where they do speak of them, beside what I have already mentioned, it is generally something in relation to themselves. Thus Statius gives us an image of all the Muses together, mourning over a dead (53) poet, in silence; and another of Calliope, as receiving Lucan (54) kindly at his birth. Horace has much such another idea of Melpomene (55), on a like occasion: and I have a drawing here which may relate to the same subject, tho' I am not certain it does; but it is so pretty, and seems to hit so well, that I was willing to give it a place in my (56) collection. You see the mother sitting here; with much the same air that has been so often observed on the face of Mary of Medici, after the birth of Lewis the Thirteenth; in Rubens's famous

(48) ——— Nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 1. §. 34.

(49) ——— Cœlique meatus
Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent.
Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 851.

(50) Ipsa diu positis lethum prædixerat astris
Uranie. Cupit ille tamen pugnâque, viroque;
Forſitan ut caneret: longâ jacet ipſe canendus
Laude; sed amiffum mutæ flevit ſorores.
Statius. Theb. 8. §. 554.

(51) Hence Father Montfaucon, in his set of the Muses from the medals of the Pomponian family, gives one with two faces; one before, and the other behind; exactly like the common heads of Janus. See Montf. Vol. I. Pl. 59, 9.

(52) ——— Præcipe Iugubres
Cantus Melpomene: cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum citharâ dedit.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 24. §. 4.

——— Mihi Delphicâ
Lauro cinge volens Melpomene comam.
Id. Lib. 3. Od. 30. §. ult.

(53) Statius. Theb. 8. §. 554. See Note 50. anteh.

(54) Natum protinus, atque humum per ipsam
Primo murmure dulces vagientem,
Blando Calliope sinu recepit.
Statius. Lib. 2. Sylv. 7. §. 38.

(55) Qgem tu, Melpomene, femel
Nascentem placido lumine videris;
Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 3. §. 2.

(56) See the bottom piece, in Pl. XII.

famous painting, in the Luxemburg-gallery. The nurse is holding an infant, as just born, near the ground; and the person who stands by, looking so kindly upon the child, and holding a robe open as ready to receive it, we will call (if you please) a Muse; and perhaps it is Erato: for she seems, I think, most to resemble her, of any in the drawing I shewed you before. Urania stands, on this side, with her globe on a column; as considering and predicting the future fortunes of the new-born infant: and the person, between her and Erato, seems very attentive to what she says. I may be wrong, in making Muses and Deities of some of the persons you see here. All I can say is, that the first moment I saw the original, it put me in mind of these descriptions in Horace and Statius; and that if it was not meant for Muses, it at least agrees exceedingly well with their representations of some of those deities, on a like occasion.

THE Muses were a frequent ornament for their (57) libraries of old; as well as the heads of philosophers and poets. We see them often too on tombs; and they had a more particular propriety there, if the persons interred in them were either poets, or philosophers, or musicians, or astronomers. On these you often meet with the whole choir of the Muses, with some other deity, that had some relation to them, in the midst of them: sometimes the Hercules Musarum; sometimes Minerva, the goddess of wisdom; and sometimes, Apollo. The last was the case in the Relievo, for which Aufonius wrote his inscription; where he gives us the reason why Apollo is placed in the midst of them: and there is a Sarcophagus (58) in the Justiniani palace at Rome which represents Apollo standing in the midst of the Muses, just as he is described by Aufonius; and with his lyre in his hand.

APOLLO, considered in his poetical character, is called indifferently either Vates, or Lyristes; music and poetry, in the earliest ages of the world, having made but one and the same profession. Sometimes you see him naked; with his hair regularly combed, and collected over his forehead; with his lyre in one hand, and his plectrum in the other: and sometimes, in particular, leaning against a rock; just as he is described (59) by Propertius. At other times he has his hair finely dressed out; all flowing down at its full length, and crowned with laurel; dressed in a long robe, that falls to his feet: which is indeed the proper and distinguishing habit, of the Apollo Vates or Lyristes. The Roman poets, and particularly (60) those of the Augustan age, are very full in their descriptions of him. It was in this sort of dress that Apollo was supposed to appear at the (61) feasts of Jupiter; and particularly at that solemn one, after his victory over Saturn: under

Pl. XIII.
Fig. 1, & 2.

(57) Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas.
Quid simile? Primum ipsas ego Musas nunquam tanti
putassem: sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecæ, stu-
diique nostris congruens: Bacchis verò ubi est apud
me locus? Ea signa ego emere soleo, quæ ad simili-
tudinem gymnasiarum exoritur mihi in palæstrâ lo-
cum. Cicero. Lib. 7. Ep. 23. Fab. Gallo.

(58) In Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. LX. 1.

(59) — Aurat nixus ad antra lyræ.
Propertius. Lib. 3. El. 3. v. 14.

(60) — Sacris inducta capillis
Laurus erat: vates ille videndus adest.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 2. v. 496.
Alterius crines humero jactentur utroque:
Talis es assumpta, Phœbe canore, lyræ.
Id. Ibid. 3. v. 142.
Ipse deus vatum, palli spectabilis auræ,
Tractat inauratæ consona fila lyræ.
Id. Lib. 1. El. 8. v. 60.
Ille, caput flavum lauro Parnasside vinctus,
Verrit humum Tyrio saturatâ murice palli:
Instructumque fidem gemmis & dentibus Indis

Sustinet à levâ; tenuit manus altera plectrum:
Artificis status ipse fuit.

Id. Met. 11. v. 169.

Ima videbatur talis illudere palla;
Namque hæc in nido corpore vestis erat.
Artis opus rare, fulgens telluride & auro,
Pendebat levâ garrula parte lyræ.
Hanc primum veniens plectro modalatus eburno
Felicis cantus ore sonante dedit:
Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti,
Edidit hæc tristis dulcia verba modo.

Tibullus. Lib. 3. El. 4. v. 42.

(61) Phœbe, fave: novus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos:
Huc age cum citharâ carminibusque veni.
Nunc te vocales impellere pollice chordas;
Nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba meas.
Ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro,
Dum cumulant aras, ad tua facra veni;
Sed nitidus pulcherque veni: nunc indue vestem
Sepositam; longas nunc bene pectus comas:
Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato,
Victori laudes concinnasse Jovi.

Tibullus. Lib. 2. El. 5. v. 10.

under which character he may most properly be called, the Festal Apollo. It was thus too that poets, (or musicians of old,) were dressed, when they sang to the lyre, at the tables of the greatest princes; and, in particular, Iöpas in Virgil, at the feast which Dido gives to Æneas: as that poet gives us to understand by (62) one single word only; in his usual way of rather hinting at things, than expressing them directly, or at large.

ONE of the most celebrated characters of Apollo among the Romans, (particularly in the Augustan age,) was that of the Actian Apollo. There was a promontory near Actium, (called indifferently the promontory of Actium, or Leucatè,) which was very famous in ancient times for two things: the lovers leap (63), and the statue of Apollo which stood very near the place, from which the lovers (who were so disposed) were to take their leap. This statue of the Actian Apollo, as he was called, stood high; and was visible to the mariners a good way out at sea: he was (64) very much revered by them: and Augustus himself, before his engagement with Antony off this cape, addressed his devotions to him for the victory; as I think I have somewhere read, tho' I forget where. This made him so celebrated among the Roman poets: notwithstanding which, one should have some difficulty to determine exactly what sort of appearance Apollo made under the character of the Actian or Leucadian god. It seems as if his dress had been of a mixed kind on this occasion; partly that of the Apollo Venator, and partly that of the Apollo Lyristes. At least, the poets in general give him (65) a bow in his hand; and on (66) a medal of Augustus, he appears with the long flowing robe of the musical Apollo. This is a confusion of his attributes and characters, which is very uncommon; but which however is not wholly without authority, in (67) other ancient figures of this god.

As

(62) — Citharâ crinitus Iöpas
Perfonat auratâ.

Virgil. Æn. 1. v. 741.

As the Romans must have been so familiarly acquainted with the dress of the Festal Apollo, his long robe which he always wore then, and his full-dressed hair; Virgil's applying the epithet Crinitus (the known epithet of Apollo) to Iöpas, on this occasion, might imply, to them, that he was dressed out like the Festal Apollo: in a long magnificent robe, and with his hair all flowing down his back. This, by the way, is a strong instance of the use of being acquainted with the ancient Roman customs, and with the appearances their gods used to make on such and such occasions, towards understanding their poets. Had the author of a piece published a few years ago, (under a name, that would make every body fond of reading it,) been aware of this; methinks he could never have called Crinitus here: "an epithet so wholly foreign to the purpose." See Disc. on ancient and modern learning; by Mr. Addison, p. 6.

(63) — Quoniam non ignibus æquis
Ureris, Ambracias terra petenda tibi,
Phœbus ab excelso quantum patet adspicit æquor;
Actium populi, Leucadiumque vocant.
Hinc se Deucalion Pyrrhæ succensus amore
Misit, & illæso corpore preffit aquas:
Nec mora, versus amor tetigit lenissima Pyrrhæ
Pectora ———
Ovid. Her. Epist. 15. v. 170. (Sappho, to Phaon.)

(64) Mox & Leucate nimbofa cacumina montis;
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.

Virgil. Æn. 3. v. 277.

(65) Jam fragor armorum trepidantes perfonat aures,
Actiacoque sinus & Apollinis arma timentes.
Petronius Arb. v. 115.

Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Desuper: omnis eo terrore Ægyptus & Indus,
Omnes Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi.

Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 706.

Dixerat; & pharetræ pondus consumit in arcus:
Proxima post arcus Cæsaris hasta fuit.

Vincit Roma fide Phœbi.

Propertius. Lib. 4. El. 6. v. 57.

Actius hinc traxit Phœbus monumenta, quod ejus
Una decem vicit missa sagitta rates.

Id. Ibid. v. 68.

Apollo was not only supposed to assist Augustus, in the battle of Actium; but in that of Philippi too, against Brutus: as we learn from a passage in Valerius Maximus; (which, by the way, shews that there were Sortes Homerice of old, as well as Sortes Virgilianæ.) M. Bruti dignus admisso parricidio eventus omine designatus est: siquidem post illud nefarium opus natalem suum celebrans, cum Græcum versum expromere vellet, ad illud potissimum Homericum referendum animo retendit; "Αλλὰ μὴ μοῖρ' ὅλον ἔλυσεν ἐκείνους;" qui deus, Philippeni acie, a Cæsare & Antonio signo datus, in eum tela convertit. Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

(66) In Ovidius's Thest. Elect. numism. Pl. 37.
Fig. 11.

(67) Pliny, speaking of the celebrated works of Leontus at Rome, mentions one in which he had made Apollo, killing the Python, and at the same time, dressed as a musician, Apollinem Citharëdum.

1. 12. 100.

As Augustus was so particularly obliged to the Apollo of Actium, he built one temple to him on the spot; and another afterwards, (68) within the confines of his own house, at Rome. Augustus's house was called, the Palatium; (which, you know, was a particular name then; tho' it has since grown into a general one, for all royal houses;) and the noble figure of Apollo which stood in the temple he built to the Actian Apollo there, was thence called the Apollo Palatinus. This statue was a work of the famous (69) Scopas; and the design of it was not so precarious, as that of the Apollo at Actium. It was represented solely under the character of the Apollo Lyricus. The poets describe him in a manner that confines his character absolutely to this: they speak of him (70) as in his flowing robe, and as actually playing on his lyre. They even seem to hint (71) at his having quitted his bow; and to give (72) the reason, why he has quitted it. His figure therefore must have made much the same appearance with the Actian Apollo's, as that god is represented on the reverse of (73) Augustus's medal; and Actian Apollo on that medal, and Palatinus (74) Apollo in the poets, may possibly refer to one and the same character, and one and the same statue; namely, this celebrated statue of the Actian Apollo, on the Palatine hill.

THE

serpentemque ejus sagittis confici. Nat. Hist. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 384. Ed. Elz.

This puts me in mind of one of the most puzzling statues, I ever met with in Italy. It is in the entrance of the king of Sardinia's palace, at Turin. The face has the Greek air; and the hair is collected on the forehead, like Apollo's. There is a lift, or diadem, appears under the hair of the forehead; and then is lost, in the hair on each side. There is a particular sort of velum behind the head; with two Tæniæ, falling down a pretty way on the shoulders and breast. It has a sort of Chlamys, fastened with a round gem over the breast; and a Cingulum, appearing from under it, and going down to the left side. A vest under it, with large folds; girt, a little above the navel: then a Multitum, following closely the shape of the limbs, quite down to the feet; and very plainly distinguishing the sex. From under this, there is an odd sort of ribbed stuff, that comes half way over the feet; as the Soleæ appear under them. One foot is a little advanced before the other; and both the face, and attitude, are apt to put one in mind of Apollo shooting. What it represents, is very difficult to say; and it is as difficult, I think, to fix what nation it is of. If one was to see only the head, one should think it Grecian; if one was to see only the breast and shoulders, it might pass for Roman; and if one was to see it only from the navel downwards, one should take it to be Egyptian. It was of too doubtful a nature for me to make use of any print of it: and I have described it here so minutely, rather as a riddle for the antiquarians to find out; than as any authority in the present case: tho' a very sensible and learned gentleman I had the pleasure of knowing at Turin, was always of the opinion, that it represented Apollo in his robe, as a Musician; and in the attitude, of having just shot off his bow.

(68) Victor deinde Cæsar reversus in urbem contractas emptionibus complures domos, quò laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usus destinare professus est; templumque Apollinis, & circa Porticus, sacrum promissit: quod ab eo singulari extractum munificentia est. Vel. Paternulus, Lib. 2. §. 81. — Tem-

plum Apollinis in eâ parte Palatinæ domûs excitavit, quam fulmine ictam à deo desulcerari hauspicis pronuntiant. Addidit Porticus; cum bibliotheca, Latinâ Græcâque. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 29.

(69) Pliny, (speaking of the finest pieces of this statuary, at Rome,) says. Is fecit Apollinem Palatinum. Nat. Hist. Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 471. Ed. Elz.

(70) Propertius gives a long account of his having been at the opening of the Portico's belonging to this temple of the Apollo Palatinus; and among several other remarkable things, mentions the figure of the god himself.

Deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem
Pythius in longâ carmina veste sonat.

Propertius. Lib. 2. El. 31. v. 16.

(71) When Horace is writing on so particular and solemn an occasion, as the secular games were among the Romans; it is probable that he applies to the favourite Apollo of the Romans, in his time: which was this Apollo, the patron and favourite deity of Augustus Cæsar. In his poem on that occasion, he says;

Condito mitis placidusque telo,
Supplex audi pueros Apollo.

Hor. Carm. Sæc. v. 34.

(72) Propertius, after speaking of the figure of Apollo at Actium, which was armed; immediately says,

Bella satis cecini: citharam jam poscit Apollo
Victor; & ad placidos exiit arma choros.

Lib. 4. El. 6. v. 70.

(73) In that medal, subscribed ACT, and referred to before, in Oisellus's Thesaurus, (Pl. 37. 11.) Apollo appears in the long robe, but slung back loose; and holds a lyre in his left hand, and the plectrum in his right.

(74) Scripta, Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.

Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 3. v. 17.

THE representations of Apollo as presiding over the sun, will be more properly considered in another place (75): so that, if you please, we will now go on to some other character of him. That of the Apollo Medicus is (76) often mentioned by the poets; and it is on the account of this character, I suppose, that we so frequently see the serpent, at the feet of his statues: tho' the antiquarians in Italy, at present, will almost always have it to be the serpent Python. Let it be ever so small, or in the most peaceable posture that can be imagined, (for it is often sleeping, and always quiet;) our Cicerones, as you may remember, were always pointing him out for that terrible monster, which no less a god than Apollo was forced to use almost all his arrows to rid the world of. I do not see any reason they have to commit such an outrage against all appearances, when the character of Apollo as the god of health is so well known; and when all the other deities who share with Apollo in that character, have almost always a serpent by them. I do not remember ever to have seen an Hygiea without a serpent; and Esculapius has commonly one much larger, (and consequently much more like the Python,) than those at the feet of Apollo. But what, I think, puts this quite out of dispute, is; that in the figures we see of Apollo with a serpent by him, he has generally an easy mild look: whereas was he to be represented as engaging the Python, his features would be all (77) severe and terrible.

THERE is something of this severity discovers itself in the eye of the Apollo Belvedere; but it appears in all its force, when he is executing some piece of justice, (or if you will, some piece of cruelty,) on those who have offended him. Thus you see him with a face that almost makes one tremble to look upon it, in this gem, where he is ordering Marfyas to be flea'd alive: a subject, that is entirely horrid and shocking. The face of Marfyas expresses pain, as strongly as the god's does anger. Indeed I ought to add, in justice to Apollo, that Nero is represented here, under the character of this god; and I know no one of his characters fitter for that tyrant, than this is. The figures relating to this story of Marfyas, were very common of old; and we have a great many still left of them. It is said there was one, in particular, in the Forum; very properly placed, just by the seat of judgment (in the same manner as they have placed one now at the entrance to the hall for hearing causes, on Monte Citorio;) and another, in some part of the city, with Apollo himself inflicting the cruel punishment upon him; from whence he got (78) the name of Apollo the Tormentour. There are several strokes in the Roman poets, alluding to the (79) former of these figures; which, I imagine, represented

Pl. XIII.
Fig. 3.

Marfyas

(75) See Dial. XII. posth.

(76) Consilium est, quodcumque cano; parete canenti:

Unque facis, ceptis Phœbe saluber ades!

Ovid Rem. Am. 3. 706.

Carminis, et medicæ Phœbe repertor opis.

Id. Ibid. 3. 76.

Inventum medicina meum est; opiferque per orbem
Dicor; & herbarum subiecta potentia nobis.

Id. Met. 1. 3. 524.

—— Nihil auctor Apollo

Subvenit.——

Virgil. Æn. 12. 3. 406.

(77) Non ille attulerat crines in colla solutos;

Aut testudineæ carmen inerme iuvæ:

Sed qualis aspexit Pelopeum Agamemnona vultu,

Egestique avidis Dorica castra regis;

Aut qualis flexos solvit Pythona per orbis.

Propertius. Lib. 4. El. 6. 3. 35.

Te viridis Python, Thebanæque mater ovantem

Horruit in pharetris.——

Statius. Theb. 1. 3. 712.

(78) Suetonius, in Aug. 3. 70.

(79) —— Fora litibus omnia servant

Iple potest fieri Marfya caudicis.

Martial. Lib. 2. Ep. 64.

Deinde eo dormitum: non sollicitus mihi quæd cras
Surgendum sit mane; obcundus Marfya; qui se
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.

Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 6. 3. 121.

Scire velim quare toties mihi, Nævole, tristis
Occurras, fronte obductâ cœu Marfya victus:
Quid tibi cum vultu, qualem deprensus habebat
Ravola?

Juvenal. Sat. 9. 3. 4.

By the latter part of this passage from Juvenal, I should be apt to imagine, that this particular figure of Marfyas near the seat of judgment, represented him very much surprized. As he had vanity enough, to challenge Apollo; he had certainly enough too, to think that the sentence must have been given in his favour.

By the passage from Horace, I should imagine that he was represented in it turning his face from Apollo; as not bearing to look on his victorious rival.

If this was really the case, there must have been a strange mixture of the worst passions on his single face. Surprise, at his being judged inferior; envy and hatred, against the rival that was preferred to him; a deep concern, for his loss of glory; and horror, of the punishment he expected to undergo. All of which together might very well make a face, dismal enough to be made a proverb of.

Mariyas as hearing, or as having just heard, the terrible sentence pronounced against him. Hence, if any man had an extremely dejected air, they asked; "Why do you come out, with this Mariyas-face upon you?" And if a lawyer pleaded particularly ill, they said; "That man speaks bad enough, to make Mariyas look so much out of humour as he does." There were numbers of other figures relating to the execution of this Mariyas, as well as his condemnation; and I believe there are enough of them even remaining to us, to shew the whole series of that melancholy story, in all its different periods. In some, he appears just fixed to a tree, in such a manner that his feet do not quite reach to the ground; in others, sometimes Apollo himself, and sometimes some other executioner, has begun fleaing him; and in others again, he appears with his body quite flea'd, and all over one wound. We have descriptions of him in the poets too, in all these (80) different periods of his punishment; which are some of them so horrid, that it gives one a good deal of pain only to go through the reading of them.

APOLLO probably had this angry and avenging air too, in the works of the antients which represented the whole story of the punishment of Niobè. Niobè had highly incensed Latona; who desired her two children, Apollo and Diana, to avenge the affront that had been offered to her. In a picture, or relievo therefore of this story, (such as was that (81) fine one, on one of the great folding-doors to the temple of the Apollo Palatinus,) one should naturally expect to see these two deities in the air; with their bows bent, and aiming at some of those many children Niobè was so proud of. In the noble collection of detached figures relating to this affair, at the Villa Medici in Rome, this indeed was impracticable; but in a relievo or picture, where it is practicable, it would have been an unaccountable omission to leave out the two principal persons of the piece: and accordingly Perier, where he gives you a print of the Medicean figures, takes the liberty of adding the deities over them in the air (82). The poets who saw the story represented so often, both in marble and on canvas, speak very expressly of the presence of these two deities on this occasion; and of the vengeful appearance they made: and Juvenal, in particular, introduces Amphion as seeing them, and addressing his prayers to them, to deprecate their wrath.

"Parce, precor, Pæan; & tu, depone sagittas:
Nil pueri faciunt; ipsam configite matrem!"
Amphion clamat; sed Pæan contrahit arcum. (83)

THERE is a figure among those relating to this story, in the Villa Medici; which, in all probability, is meant for Amphion: and his attitude in it agrees exactly with this description of him by Juvenal. By the way, that poet has given us a mixture of humour in it, not quite so proper on this occasion. His Amphion seems to beg two distinct favours of the gods his prayer is addressed to. The first is, that they would have com-

passion

(80) ——— Illustres satyro pendente Celenas.
Statius. Theb. 4. v. 186.
—— Phœbo superante pendit;
Cæsa receperunt a cute membra sua.
Ovid. Fast. 6. v. 708.
—— Quid me mihi detrahis? inquit;
Ah, piget! Ah, non est, clamabat, tibia tanti!
Id. Met. 6. v. 386.
Clamanti cutis est summos direpta per artus;
Nec quidquam nisi vulnus erat: cruor undique manat;
Detestique patent nervi: trepidæque sine ulla
Pelle micant venæ. Salientia viscera possis,
Et perlucens numerare in pectore fibras.

Id. Ibid. v. 391.

Altera, dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos;
Altera, mœrebat funera Tantalidos;
Propertius. Lib. 2. El. 31. v. 14.

There was another famous work on this subject, spoken of by Pliny, in another temple of Apollo at Rome. Par hæsitatio est, in templo Apollinis Sosiani, Nioben cum liberis morientem Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit. Nat. Hist. Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 472. Ed. Elz.

(82) Perier's Statues, Pl. 87.

(81) Auro solis erat supra fastigia currus;
Et valvæ Libyci nobilis dentis opus;

(83) Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 173.

passion on his children; and the second, that they would rid him of the haughty mother of them. It sounds to me, just as if he had said;

O, spare my children! and O——take my wife!

OVID is very (84) full and distinct in his account of this affair. He represents Apollo and Diana with their bows, performing this piece of vengeance; and tells us, in particular, how and where each of the sons was wounded by the former. There is a great deal of difference, as well as a great deal of agreement, between his manner of telling the story, and the representation of it in the Medicean figures. As to the points in which they differ, they may generally be very well accounted for, from the different natures of statuary and poetry: the latter of which can represent persons in the air as easily, as on the earth; whereas the former is more confined, in general; and, in particular, tied down to one point of time. As to their agreement, that is very clear in several things; and more particularly in the principal figure, that of Niobe: who is represented as engaged in the same action, and with the very same attitude, (or manner of doing it,) both in the Medicean statue of her, and in Ovid's account of the latter part of this tragical story.

Ultima restabat, quam toto corpore mater;
Totâ veste tegens; "Unam minimamque relinque!
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, & unam." (85)

APOLLO and Diana were considered by the heathens of old, as the inflictors of plagues, and all sudden deaths; the former on men, and the latter on women. They generally (86) talked of these two deities, as discharging arrows on these occasions. The wounds, the arrows, and the deities themselves, were sometimes supposed to be all visible; and sometimes, to be invisible. But even in the latter case, the effect was plain: the dead body lay before them; and their credulity helped out all the rest. The artist therefore, as he could not well introduce the gods in the Medicean groupe of figures, did very well

(84) Define, Phoebus ait, (penne mora longa,) querelas;
Dixit idem Phoebe: celerique per aëra lapsu
Contingerant testî Cadmeidæ nubibus arcem.
Ovid. Met. 6. y. 217.
Planus erat lateque patens prope mœnia campus.
Pars ibi, de septem genitis Amphionæ, fortes
Conscendunt in equos——
Ib. Ibid. y. 222.

Sexque datis leto, diversaque vulnera passis,
Ultima restabat: quam toto corpore mater,
Totâ veste tegens; "Unam minimamque relinque!
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, & unam!"
Dumque rogat, pro quâ rogat occidit. Orba refedit,
Exanimis inter natas, natoque, virumque;
Dirigitque malis.——
Ibid. y. 303.

Of the brothers, he says that Ilmenos and Sipylos were killed on their horses; Phædimus and Tantalus, as they are wrestling: and Alphenor, as he is trying to lift them up: the sixth son, Damafichthon, is shot, first through the leg; and, as he was stooping to get out the dart, receives his mortal wound in the neck. Ilioneus, the seventh and last, falls in the act of praying to heaven for mercy. Ib. y. 224, to 227.

Amphion, on losing all his sons, stabs himself. Niobe hears of the loss of her husband and sons; flies to the plain: and mourns over their dead bodies. They are laid out on their biers; and their sisters come in habits of mourning, and lament round them. Niobe relapses into her blasphemies, and loses her daughters too. Ibid. y. 267, to 286.

Of the daughters, the first sinks over the body of one of her brothers, as she is drawing the arrow from his wound: the second, as she is trying to console her mother. The third drops as she is endeavouring to make her escape; and the fourth falls on her dead body. The fifth is killed, as she is seeking to hide herself: and the sixth, in a posture of astonishment. Ibid. y. 288, to 296.

(85) Ovid. Met. 6. y. 300.—See Perier's Statues, N° 87. or Maffei's, N° 32.

(86) It is perhaps owing to this way of talking formerly, that when any person happens to die suddenly (on the road, or the like) it is still so customary, in several nations to say they are "sun-struck; or shot by the sun." Thus the French coup du soleil; the Italian, colpo del sole: and the Spanish, golpe de sol.

That this was a very early notion among the Romans, appears from what is said by some of the eldest poets among them.

Per mi auxilium; pestem abige à me]
Flammiferam: hanc vim, quæ me exercebat.
Cæruleæ, incinctæ igni incedunt;
Circumstant cum ardentibus tædis.
Intendit Crinitus Apollo
Arqueum auratum:——
Diana facem jactit à levâ.

Ennius. in Alcæone.

Quod utinam me suis arcitenens telis mactasset dea!
Actius. in Erigone.

well in (87) generally omitting the wounds too; which they were supposed to make sometimes in the vitals, without leaving any mark on the outside of the body; as it often happens in the strokes given by lightning. Ovid follows both ways. He speaks of the wounds as visible (88) on the brothers, and as invisible on the sisters: and one would think, by his account, that the gods were invisible too; even to the persons who (89) suffered so much from their hands.

I HAVE been obliged to refer you to Perier's print of the figures, relating to this story, in the Medicean gardens; because I have no copies, or drawing of them, in my collection. To say the truth, the manner of ranging the figures themselves does not seem to me to have been settled so judiciously at first, as the fineness of the work, and the peculiarity of the story, might have deserved. Niobe indeed herself with her youngest daughter, as the principal figure, may be not ill placed, in the middle point of view. On her right hand you have a horse, which should rather have been by one of her sons; for it is meant to signify that they had been taking their exercises just before this calamity fell upon them. Then there is one of her grown daughters; stooping down, and regarding her brother, that lies breathless and supine before her. The next in the round, (for they are placed almost circularly,) is another son, flying from the danger; and pulling his loose robe, like a sail, (a circumstance, which might possibly give Ovid a hint for a simile used by him (90), in relating part of this story,) over his head, as endeavouring to screen himself with it. Then there is a daughter: and then, (in the midst of the front,) is the fine figure of the wounded son; fallen on his knee; and represented as in great pain. The two next, to your right hand, are both daughters: then the youngest son; but a boy, and frightened as a boy. The next figure in the round, I should take to be Amphion; for he is much older than the rest, and is just in the attitude in which Juvenal describes the father: tho' the disposers of these figures seem to have mistook him for one of his own children; there being seven daughters, and but (91) six sons, unless

you

(87) The son, who lies dead in the front of the groupe, and is one of the finest figures among them, has a wound in his side as made by a dart. There is no wound, that I remember, on any of the others.

(88) He mentions the darts and wounds, as to every one of the brothers, (and in some very strongly,) as visible.

— Non evitabile telum

Consequitur; summâque tremens cervicis sagitta
Hæsit, & exilabat nodum de gutture ferrum.

Ovid. Met. 6. v. 237. of Sipylos.

At non intonsum simplex Damascithona vulnus
Adficit. Idus erat quâ crux esse incipit, & quâ
Mollia nervosus facit internodia poples:

Dumque manu tentat trahere evitabile telum,
Altera per jugulum pennis tenuis æsta sagitta est.
Expulsi hanc sanguis; &c.

Id. Ibid. v. 259.

He mentions nothing of the darts or wounds, as visible on the sisters. His language then is relanguit, collabatur, & immoritur. He gives you indeed to understand that they were wounded, v. 286. but then it was by a wound that was imperceptible; vulnere cæco; v. 293.

(89) Brachia suffulerat: diique O communiter omnes,
Dixerat, (ignarus non omnes esse rogandos,) Parcite!

Ovid. Met. 6. v. 266.

So that Ovid supposes the gods who were destroying them invisible to them: otherwise the sufferer here would have applied, not to the gods in general, but to Diana and Apollo; as Amphion does, in Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 171.

(90) Proximas audito sonitu per inane pharetra,
Frena dabat Sipylos; vel. ti cum præficus imbris

Nube fugit visâ, pendentiâe undique rector
Carbasâ deducit, ne quâ levis effluat aura.

Met. Lib. 6. v. 233.

(91) The poets all agree in giving an equal number of sons, and daughters, to Niobe; tho' they differ in their number, in general.

Propertius makes them only twelve in all.

Nec tantum Niobe bis (sex ad bœta superba
Sollicito lachrymans depluit a Sipylo.

Lib. 2. El. 20. v. 8.

In which he has the authority of Homer on his side.

Και γὰρ τ' ὕψιστος Νιόβη ἐμνησάτο σέβη
Τὰ πρὸ δὴ δάμα παιδὶς ἐκὼ μετὰ νεότητι θάοτα,
Ἦ δ' ἔτι θυγατρὶς. ἔξ δ' ἦν ἡγεμόνισσι.
Τὸς μὲν Ἀπὸλλων πέφηνεν ἀπ' ἀργυροῖο βίῃο,
Χωμένος Νιόβη τὰς δ' Ἀρτέμις ἰοχέαιρα.

Il. v. 606.

Ovid is very express as to seven of each: (see Note 27, anteh.) and is followed by the author of Medea.

Utinam superbe turba Tantalidos meo
Exillet utero, bisque septenos parens
Natos tulisset! ———

AR. 5. v. 954.

It is somewhat to be feared, that the first disposers of these statues in the Medicean gardens, (after mistaking that of Amphion, for one of his sons,) might discard the figure of one of the sons, as a supernumerary figure. There are single figures of the sons of Niobe, relating to this story, scattered about in several collections at Rome; and some, in the Villa Medici itself, beside the select set in the garden.

It is a pity that Flaminio Vacca is not more particular in his account of the first finding these figures. He only says, that they were dug up in his time, near the Porta di San Giovanni; and purchased by the Great Duke, Ferdinand. Mem. Art. 74.

you reckon this for one. Next to Niobe, on this side, is another daughter ; which compleats the circular line of figures I was speaking of. In the space contained within this circle, there are only three figures : one of the sons, near Niobe ; another, near Amphion ; and a daughter, bending forward ; near the brother who lies dead, and is the only one who is so. These figures are all placed with their faces towards you ; (like bad actors, who speak more to the people in the pit, than to the persons they are concerned with ;) and are so ranged, I think, as rather to render the story confused, than to tell it clearly and regularly. To do that, the persons who gave them their places, should have considered perhaps a little more than they did, what point of time the artist had chosen for this noble work ; how each person in it is affected ; and what connexions they have, (or should have,) with one another. The point of time seems to me, to have been very near the beginning of this tragedy : when one of the children only was killed ; a second, wounded ; and all the rest struck, either with grief, or fear, or amazement. On this shocking alarm, some are mourning over those who have already suffered : and others are providing for their own safety. In this light, Niobe is represented somewhat differently here, from what she is in Ovid. She is sheltering her youngest daughter (not as the last left to her, but perhaps as her greatest favourite, and as the least capable of shifting for herself,) with her own garments, and with her very person : for she bends over her, as willing rather to receive the wound herself, than to lose her favourite child. The place where we see Niobe is, I think, not ill chosen ; except that it may be put too far backward for a principal figure : but for the rest, I dare say there is a meaning in some of them, which we are now apt to pass over, or mistake ; from their being put out of the places that were originally designed for them, by the artist who made them. The figures in the history-pieces of the antients (I mean in pictures, as well as in reliefs,) are generally flung more forward, and more in a line, than these are now disposed in. The artists then felt the ill effects and inconveniencies, that arose from their ignorance, (or, at least, very shallow knowledge, in perspective : and therefore generally avoided the flinging their figures backward, as much as possible ; and I believe never ranged a number of figures, in any one relief, or picture, in the circular manner that we see these now placed. These, indeed, are detached figures ; but that, I think, makes no great difference in the present case. For as they belong all to one and the same history, they must have their proper relations and bearings to one another ; no artist of so much judgment (as any one must necessarily have had, to make such fine figures as some of these are,) can ever be supposed to have set about such a large and complicated subject as this is, without arranging all the parts of it in a previous design ; before he began to touch the first block of marble. In this design, he must have ranged them in the manner that was usual of old ; which differs much, as I have said already, from the manner of disposing figures in any historical piece at present ; and consequently from the manner, in which we see these figures disposed in the Medici gardens. I do not pretend to say where each particular figure should be placed : that must be left to the artists to find out ; for it is among my *Desiderata*. Perhaps, it might not be an unworthy subject for the academy of inscriptions at Paris to propose among their prize-questions, to the artists : some of whom might possibly be able to discover, by the rules of their art, and the reason of the thing, (not forgetting the manner of the antients,) what particular spot was intended for each individual figure, in the original design. But this is above my capacity : and all I can say is, that I did not chuse to have them copied in the manner that they stand, at present : because I fear that, in many particulars, that may be rather a false than a true representation of the design of the artist.

APOLLO, as the inflicter of plagues, is sometimes described by the Roman poets, in the same manner that Homer paints him when sending a pestilence into the Grecian camp ;
surrounded

(92) surrounded with clouds, or (as Horace translates Homer's very words,) "With clouds wrapped about his shoulders:" and both he, and Diana, are thus described by Ovid, when coming to execute this piece of vengeance on Niobe's children. You see I had more reasons than one for placing Diana's statue next to Apollo's, in the circle of deities before you: and I believe you may think it high time now to leave him, that we may consider the goddess his sister, in some milder character than that of a destroying angel; employed in scattering pestilence, and death, among the nations.

Pl. XIII.
Fig. 4.

Of all the various characters of this goddess, there is no one more known, than that of her presiding over woods; and delighting in hunting. The Diana Venatrix, or goddess of the chase, is frequently represented as running on, and with her vest as flying back with the wind; notwithstanding its being shortened, and girt about her, for expedition. She is tall of stature; and her face, tho' so very handsome, is something manly. Her legs are bare; very well-shaped, and very strong. Her feet are sometimes bare too; and sometimes adorned with a sort of buskin, which was worn by the huntresses of old. She often has her quiver on her shoulder; and sometimes holds a javelin, but more usually her bow, in her right hand. It is thus she makes her appearance in several of her statues; and it is thus the Roman poets describe her: particularly, in the (93) epithets they give this goddess; in the use of which they are so happy, that they often bring the idea of whole figures of her into your mind, by one single word.

I BELIEVE there is scarce any one of all the little circumstances I have mentioned, which has escaped the poets. Her javelin and bow are as frequent in them, as in the antiques which represent her. Ovid takes notice of the (94) shape of her leg; and Virgil is so good as to inform us, even what colour her buskins were of.

The statues of this Diana were very frequent in woods. She was represented there, all the different ways they could think of. Sometimes, as hunting; sometimes, as bathing; and sometimes, as resting herself after her fatigue. Statius gives us (95) a very pretty description of the latter; which I should be very glad to see well executed in marble, or colours.

It

(92) Homer says of Apollo, when he went to assist the Grecian camp, that he walked in darkness.
Ο δ' ἦν νυκτὶ εἰκώς. *Il. a. 9. 47.* and in another place, he has the expression of Νηλεΐδης ὑπαιμενός αἶμας: which latter passage is translated literally by Horace, in his, Nube humeros amictus. *Lib. 1. Od. 2. 31.*

Statius has followed the same idea.

Delius infurgit; summâque biverticis umbrâ
Parnassi residens, arcu crudelis iniquo
Pellicera arma jacit; campoque & celsa Cyclopum
Tectâ superjecto nebularum incendit amictu.

Theb. 1. 9. 131.

And Ovid;

— Celerique per æra lapsu
Contigerant tecti Cadmeida nubibus arcem.

Met. 6. 9. 217.

(93) Jam mihi prima dea est, arcu præsignis adunco
D. —

Ovid. *Iler. Ep. 4. 9. 40.* (Phœdra, to Hippolitus.)
Quis probet in sylvis Cererem regnare jugosis?

Lege pharetræ virginis arva coli?
Crinibus insignem quis acutâ cuspidem Martem
Intruat, Aoniâ Martem movente lyram?

Id. Lib. 1. El. 1. 9. 12.

Inter Hamadryadas, jaculatricemque Dianam,
Callisto sacri pars fuit una chori.

Id. Fast. 2. 9. 156.

Altera succinctæ reliquetur more Dianæ,
Ut solet attonitas cum petit illa feras.

Id. de Art. Am. 3. 9. 144.

(94) Talia pinguntur succinctæ crura Dianæ,
Cum sequitur fortes fortior ipsa feras.

Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 2. 9. 32.

— Lævi de marmore tota

Punico stabis furas evincta cothurno.

Virgil. Ecl. 7. 9. 32.

This is spoken of Diana, by Virgil: and one sees, by the same author, that they gave her this part of her dress as a huntress; for where he brings in Venus disguised as a Tyrian huntress, that goddess says:

Virginibus Tyris mos est gestare pharetram;
Purpureoque altè furas vincere cothurno.

Æn. 3. 9. 335.

(95) Nec caret umbra deo: nemori Latonia cultrix
Additur. Hanc piceæ, cedrique; & robore in omni
Efficit sanctis occultat sylvæ tenebris.
Hujus inaspectu luco stridere sagittæ;
Nocturnique canum gemitus: ubi limina patrum
Effugit, inque novæ melior redit ora Dianæ.
Ast ubi fessa jugis, dulcesque altissima fomus
Lux movet; hic lætæ jaculis circum undique axis,
Etfiam pharetrâ cervicem excepta quiescit.

Statius. Theb. 4. 9. 433.

IT was, on one of these occasions, that Actæon had the misfortune to see her once, so fatally to himself: as the story is told in little, by an old artist, on this gem; and more at large (96), by Ovid in verse, and Apuleius in prose. Ovid takes particular notice that, when the nymphs were first alarmed by the appearance of a man, they huddled round the goddess, to hide her body, with their own; a circumstance, which is very plainly expressed too in the gem which you have in your hands.

Pl. XIII.
FIG. 5.

OVID in his account of the story observes, that tho' her nymphs endeavoured so much to hide the goddess, it was partly in vain; because she was so much taller, that her head appeared eminently above them all. Indeed the height of Diana's stature is frequently marked out in the poets; and that, generally, by comparing her with her nymphs. I wish we could now enjoy the sight of that famous picture of this goddess, by Apelles; in which this was so finely expressed. Pliny (97) says that Apelles formed his idea of it from

(96) Vallis erat picis & acutâ densa cupressu,
Nemorisque fœdâ, lœtæ nemorisque Dianæ:
Cujus in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu,
Arte laboratum nullâ. Simulaverat artem
Ingenio natura suo; nam pumice vivo
Et levibus topiis nativum duxerat arcum.
Fons sonat à dextrâ, tenui perlucidus undâ;
Margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatus.
Hic dea sylvarum, venatu fœssa, solebat
Virgineos artus liquido perfundere rore:
Quòd postquam subit, nympharum tradidit uni
Armigeræ jaculum, pharetramque, arcuque relictos:
Altera depositæ subiecit brachia pallæ;
Vincta dæa pedibus demant: nam doctior illis
Ismenis Crocale sparfos per colla capillos
Colligit in nodum, quamvis erat ipsa solutis.
Excipiunt laticem Nephelæque, Hyalæque, Rhæ-
niquæ,
Et Pheas, & Phiale; funduntque capacibus urnis.
Dumque ibi perlucet solutâ Titania lymphâ,
Ecce nepos Cadmi, dilatâ parte laborum,
Per nemus ignotum non certis passibus errans
Pervenit in lucum; & sic illam fata ferebant!
Qui simul intravit rorantia fontibus antra,
Sicut erant, viso nudæ sua pectora nymphæ
Percussere viro, subitque ululatus omne
Implevere nemus; circumfusaque Dianam
Corporibus texere suis: tamen altior illis
Ipsa dea est, colloque tenus supereminet omnes.
Qui color infectis adversi solis ab ista
Nubibus esse solet, aut purpureæ Auroræ;
Is fuit in vultu vix sine veste Dianæ.
Quæ, quæquam comitum turbâ stipata suarum,
In latus obliquum tamen aliiit; oraque retro
Revertitur.

Ovid. Met. 3. 183.

This description of the place, of the undressing, and of the attitude of the goddess herself, are all so picturesque, that I could not help transcribing the whole. Apuleius is still more particular, as to the grotto; and as his is probably a description of the work of some ancient statuary, and contains in it a fuller account perhaps than we have in any of the ancient authors, of such a grot; I shall give that at large too.

Dum hunc & hujusmodi sermonem altercamur, paucis admodum connectis passibus ad domum Byrhenæ pervenimus. Atria, longè pulcherrima, columnis quadrifariam per singulos angulos stantibus atrollebant statuas P. lmaris Dææ. Facies quæque, pinis explicitis; sine gressu pilæ volubiles, instabile vestigium plantis roseis decitantes, nec ut maneat in-

hærent: etiam volare creduntur. E contra, lapis Parius in Dianam factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem. Signum, perfectè luculentum; veste reflatum; pro cursu vegetum; introeuntibus obvium, & majestate numinis venerabile. Canes utrinque focus dææ latera muniant; qui canes & ipsi lapis erant. His oculi minantur; aures rigent; nares hiant; ora sæviunt: & si quando de proximo latratu ingruerit, cum putabis de faucibus lapidis exire. Et (in quo summum specimen operæ fabrilis egregius ille signifex prodidit) sublati canibus, impetus arduus: pedes imi resistunt; currunt priores. Pone tergum dææ, saxum infurgit in speluncæ modum; muscis, & herbis, & foliis, & virgulis, & sicubi pampinis, & arbutulis alibi, de lapide florentibus. Splendet intus umbra signi de nitore lapidis. Sub extremâ faxi margine poma, & uvæ faberrimè politæ, dependunt; quas ars, æmula naturæ, veritati similes explicuit. Putes ad cibum inde quædam, cum mustulentus Autumnus maturum colorem afflaverit, posse decerpi: & si fontes (qui dææ vestigio discurrentes, in lenem vibrantur undam) pronus aspexeris, credas illos ut rure pendentes racemos, inter cætera veritatis nec agitationis officio carere. Inter medias frondes lapidis, Actæon simulachrum; curioso obtutu in dorso projectus; jam in cervum ferinus; & in saxo simul & in fonte, loturam Dianam opperiens visitur. Apuleius. Aſin. Aur. Lib. 2. Fol. 23. Ed. Beroaldi, 1512.

(97) Dianam, sacrificantium virginum choro mistam; quibus vicissim Homeri versus videtur id ipsum describentis. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 438. Ed. Elz.

The verses from Homer are the following.

Οἷο Λητοῖας ἴσσι κατ' αἰὲς ἰσχυραῖα.
Ἡ κατὰ Τυφάστου περίμνηστον ἢ Εὐρυμύδου,
Ἰαπετῶν κατὰ πῶλον καὶ ὠκεὸς ἑλκυσσῶσι
Τῇ δὲ δ' ὅμα δαμάσσι, κατὰ Διὸς Ἀργεῖοις,
Λητοῖας παῖδες ὅτι γὰρ ἡδὲ δὲ τὴ θύμῃ Λητοῦ.
Πασσῶν δ' ὑπερ πῶλον κατὰ εἴχῃ, ἡδὲ μετῶπα.
Παῖς δ' ἀριγύατον τέλει, καὶ ἀλλὰ δὲ τὴ πασσαί.
Odyss. ξ. 108. (Of Nauficæa.)

Virgil's imitation of them.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi
Exeret Diana choros; quam mille secuta
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades. Illa pharetram
Pectus humero; gradienque deas supereminet omnes.
Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

Æn. 1. 502. (Of Dido.)

from a celebrated description in Homer; and that he even surpassed his original. Virgil has imitated the very same description, in his *Æneid*. What a pleasure might it have been, to have compared the copies of two such scholars, as Apelles and Virgil, with the work of so great a master as Homer? At least, how much more pleasing, than to fall a disputing (98), (as several of the critics have done,) whether Homer or Virgil have given the finest strokes on this occasion? This Diana, both in the picture and in the descriptions, was the Diana Venatrix: tho' she was not represented either by Virgil, or Apelles, or Homer, as hunting with her nymphs; but as employed with them (99) in that sort of dances, which of old were regarded as very solemn acts of devotion.

ANOTHER great character of Diana is that, under which she is represented as the intelligence which presides over the planet of the moon; and which will therefore come more properly in our way, when (100) we are taking a view of my temple of the stars and planets.

Pl. XIV.
Fig. 1.

A THIRD remarkable way of representing Diana was with three bodies. This is very common among the antient figures of this goddess; and it is hence the poets call her (101) the triple, the three-headed, and the three-bodied Diana. Her distinguishing name, under this triple appearance, is (102) Hecate, or Trivia. A goddess, frequently invoked in enchantments, and very fit for such black work: for this is the infernal Diana; and as such, is represented with the characteristics of a Fury, rather than as one of the twelve Great Celestial Deities. All her hands hold instruments of terror; and generally grasp either cords, or swords, or serpents, or flaming torches.

THERE are several other less distinguished characters of Diana: of which I shall mention only one, that seems to have been usually overlooked. As there was a Venus, which they called the Venus Cœlestis; so there was a Diana, which one might properly enough call, the Diana Cœlestis. By which name, I should not mean the power she has in the heavens, as opposed to the powers she had in hell and upon earth; but the appearance she makes, when she was to assist in the great council of the gods; or to stand in the presence of Jupiter. Under this character she is larger, and more dressed out than usual: with a full robe, that falls quite down to her feet; tho' she still retains her bow, and the quiver on her shoulders. In one word, much as she is described by Statius, in his *Achilleid*.

(98) We learn from Aulus Gellius, that Valerius Probus, (whom he calls) a very learned and excellent critic, always used to say; "That Virgil had failed more in this imitation of Homer, than he had in any other." (Noël. *Ant. Lib. 9. c. 9.*) Scaliger, on the contrary, in speaking of these two passages, prefers Virgil greatly: "Virgil's, he says, appears to have been written by a master; and Homer's by a school-boy." (Poet. *Lib. 5. c. 3.*) — Were Scaliger and Probus both alive now, one might leave them to fight it out.

(99) The expression of *παίζουσιν*, used by Homer on this occasion, is scarce proper for hunting; as that of, Chorus exercise, in Virgil, should be understood of the religious dances of old, because dancing, in the old Roman idea of it, was indecent even for men, in public; unless it were the sort of dances used in honour of Mars, or Bacchus, or some other of their gods. It is in consequence of this that Pliny, in speaking of Diana's nymphs on this very occasion, uses the word, sacrifice, of them; which quite determines these dances of theirs to have been of the religious kind. Lucian says a great deal of these religious dances in his treatise, *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*. Tom. I. P. 784, &c.

(100) Dialogue XII. posth.

Sic

(101) *Per triplicis vultus arcanaque sacra Dianæ.*
Ovid. *Her. Ep. 12. v. 79.* (Medea, Jaf.)
Tuque, triceps Hecate! —
Id. *Met. 7. v. 194.*
Montium cufos nemorumque virgo!
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adimisque letho!
Diva triformis!
Horat. *Lib. 3. Od. 22. v. 4.*

(102) *Tergeminaque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ.*
Virgil. *Æn. 4. v. 511.*
Ora vides Hecates, in tres vertentia partes.
Ovid. *Fast. 1. v. 141.*

Diana interim est, altè succincta, venatrix; & Ephesia, mammis multis, & veribus exstructa; & Trivia, multis capitibus & multis manibus horrida. Minucius Felix, §. 21. p. 108. Ed. Davis.

Her own proper name under this appearance was Hecate. Trivia is only an accidental one; from her statue's being usually placed, where three streets (or ways) met together.

Ora vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes,
Servet ut in ternas compita secta vias.
Ovid. *Fast. 1. v. 142.*

Sic ubi virgineis Hecate lassata pharetris
Ad patrem fratremque redit, comes hæret eunti
Mater; & ipsa humeros exertaque brachia velat:
Ipsa arcum pharetramque locat, vestesque latentes
Deducit; sparsosque studet componere crines. (103)

You see how far this description tallies with the statue before you; for in this case, I have not done as with my Venus, and Apollo; but have given you the Diana which is the very properest to appear in this circle, and at the same time the best that I know of. We have the advantage of having the original itself, within our reach; and have had the pleasure of seeing it together more than once, at my Lord Leicester's house in town. Cicero gives a particular description (104) of a statue of Diana very much like this, which was once in the possession of Scipio Africanus; a person of the most elegant taste (105), among all the Romans of his time.

THE next goddess to Diana here is Ceres. You see her face is a very pretty one; and I am apt to imagine, from some (106) expressions in the poets, that she was a beauty of the brunette kind: but here, as usual, we want some good paintings of the ancients, to shew whether that conjecture be true or false. If she was a brunette beauty, the colour of her dress was very well (107) adapted to her complexion. Her head is often crowned either with corn, or poppies; and her robes, as you see, fall down to her feet; which signifies dignity, in the language of statuary. Most of these particulars, which I have mentioned from the figures of this goddess, are marked out by the (108) old poets too; and more particularly by Ovid, in different parts of his works.

THERE is one objection that may be made to the beauty of Ceres, from most of the figures I have seen of her; which generally represent her breasts as none of the smallest. Ovid, perhaps, was polite enough to have omitted this particular, on purpose, in his accounts of this goddess; but some of the earlier Roman poets, (as well as some of the fathers of the church,) are far from being (109) so complaisant to her.

VIRGIL, in his Georgics, gives us an idea of Ceres, as regarding the laborious husbandman (110) from heaven; and blessing the work of his hands with success. There is a picture like this (111), in the famous old manuscript of Virgil in the Vatican: and Lucretius

(103) Statius. Achil. 1. 5. 348.

(104) This statue had been taken from Sicily by the Carthaginians; was retaken from them by Scipio: and restored by him, to the Sicilians. Cicero says, it was a very fine piece of workmanship; and his particular description of it agrees, in most points, with that at Lord Leicester's. Erat admodum amplum & excelsum signum, cum stolâ; veruntamen inerat in illâ magnitudine ætas atque habitus virginalis. Sagittæ pendebant ab humero. Sinistrâ manu retinebat arcum; dextrâ, ardentem faciem præferebat. Cicero. Or. 4. in Verrem.

(105) See Dial. V. Note 25.

(106) Et te, flava comas, frugum mitissima mater.
Ovid. Met. 6. 5. 118.
Flava Ceres, tenues spicis redimita capillos.
Id. Lib. 3. El. 10. 5. 3.
Frigida cœlestium matres Arethusa vocabat;
Venerat ad sacras & dea flava dapes.
Id. Fast. 4. 5. 424.

(107) Alba decet Cererem vestis; cerealibus albas
Sumite: nunc puli velleris usus abest.
Id. Ibid. 5. 620.

(108) Annuit his; capitisque sui pulcherrima motu,
Concussit gravidis oneratos mœnibus agros.
Id. Met. 8. 5. 781.
Tum demum vultumque Ceres animumque recepit;
Imposuitque suæ spicæ ferta comæ.
Id. Fast. 4. 5. 616.

(109) Balba loqui non quit, τραυλιῆς; muta, pudens est:
At gemina & mammosa, Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho.
Lucretius. 4. 5. 1158.
Arnobius refers to this passage in Lucretius, (and, by the way, determines the reading of it, which has been disputed;) in his third book. Avet animus deos deafque inspicere. Ab Iaccho Cererem, musa ut prædicat Lucretii, mammosam; Hellepontiacum Priapum; &c. In his fifth, he says; Ceres, mammiis cum grandibus.

(110) Multum adeo, rastro glebas quæ frangit inertes
Vimineaque trahit crates, juvat arva; neque illum
Flava Ceres alto nequicquam spectat Olympo.
Virgil. Georg. 1. 5. 96.

(111) That which answers G. 3. 5. 146. It is the second plate, in Santo Bartoli's prints of them.

cretius has a strong description of another deity exactly in the same (112) attitude; tho' with a very different regard.

XIV.
1. 4.

THE last deity in this circle is Mercury; on whom both the artists and poets have been much more copious, than on the goddesses we have been considering. As his chief character is that of being the messenger of Jupiter, this god seems to be all cut out for swiftness. His make is young, airy, and light. His limbs are all very finely turned; and tho' he may yield much to Apollo and Bacchus in beauty, he certainly exceeds most of the other gods in it. This is the distinguishing character of his figures, as I have drawn it from the numbers of them I have seen in marble; and if one had went first to the poets for it, one should have learned just the same idea of him from them. They call him the (113) young god; the swift, the flying, and the winged deity: and as to his beauty, they mention that (114) often; and in a very strong manner.

THERE are several marks to know Mercury by; among which we may reckon this lightness and agility of his person as the chief: but as to the things which are more properly called his distinguishing attributes, the most remarkable of these are his Petasus, or winged cap; the Talaria, or wings to his feet; and his wand with two serpents about it, which they call his Caduceus.

THIS cap of his has generally two little wings attached to it, in the better remains of antiquity; tho' in some of the very oldest works, you see him sometimes (115) only with two feathers stuck in it. Even these wings were supposed to be only so attached, as to be easily taken off, or fixed on (116) upon it again, at pleasure; for in several figures, you see him in the same sort of cap without any wings to it. It is like the ordinary cap of the servants of old; just such an one in particular, as Sofia would naturally appear in, whenever Amphitryon was acted at Rome.

His

- (112) Humana ante oculos sedē quom vita jaceret
In terris oppressa, gravi sub Religione;
Quæ caput à cœli regionibus ostendebat;
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus insans.
Lucretius. 1. 3. 66.

- (113) Velox Cyllenius ——— Ovid. Met. 2. 3. 816.
Deus volans ——— Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 4.
Ales Tegeaticus ——— Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. 3. 102.

- (114) Nec se diffimulat; tanta est fiducia formæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. 3. 731.
Sive mutatâ juvenem figurâ
Ales in terris imitatus, almæ
Filius Matris. ———
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. 3. 43. (Of Augustus.)
Membraque et vultus deo
Similes volanti. ———
Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 3. (Of Britannicus.)
Omnia Mercurio similia: vocemque, coloremque,
Et crines flavos, et membra decora juvante.

Virgil. Æn. 4. 3. 569.
We do not see the full beauty of Mercury, under the character of the messenger of Jupiter, as he is most commonly represented; for then, (as Statius says,)

Obnubique comas; & temperat astra galero.
Theb. 1. 3. 305.

(115) He appears thus on several of the Egyptian antiquities; (as particularly on a very celebrated one, at the Palazzo Mattei; in the Adm. Pl. 16.) and probably was so represented, in the ruder ages, at Rome

itself. Mercury, in the preface to Plautus's Amphitryon, says;

Nunc internosse et nos possitis scirellis,
Ego has habeo hic usque in petaso pinnulas.

Hence perhaps was that custom of the Roman messengers sticking a feather in their caps, as a mark of distinction; to which Cicero seems to allude in one of his letters to Cassius. Præposteros habes talibus, quum à me discedunt, flagitant literas; quum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipsum fecerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent: sed petasati veniunt; comites ad portam expectare dicunt. Lib. 15. Ep. 17.

When any business was extremely pressing, they put a feather into the letter itself too; for that I should take to be the meaning of Juvenal in his fourth satire, 3. 149.

— Tanquam diversis partibus orbis
Anxia præcipiti venisset epistola pinnâ.

rather than assert, with any old scholiast whatever, that a feather stuck into a letter was a mark of ill-news, without giving any reason for that assertion; or with some later commentators, that this referred to the custom of sending letters by pigeons; which, tho' used from one part to another, in countries adjoining; I have never heard was practised from countries, very far distant from one another.

(116) There is a line on Mercury's putting on his wings, in Ovid; which may perhaps refer to those on his cap, as well as those on his feet.

Tartara jussus abire sumptis caducifer alis.

Fast. 4. 3. 603.

His wings, for his feet, were of the same kind. You see several figures of Mercury without them, as well as this before you; and the poets speak expressly (117) of his fastening them to his feet, when Jupiter has given him any orders to take a flight down to the earth. There is a very pretty figure in the Justinian gallery at Rome, of a little Cupid (118) putting on the wings on Mercury's feet.

His Caduceus is so punctually described by the poets, that one might almost instruct a painter from them, how to colour every part of it. It should rather be held lightly (119) between his fingers, than grasped by the whole hand. The wand itself (120), should be of the colour of gold: and the two serpents of a greenish viper-colour; and might fling a cast of the same colour upon the gold, if the painter had skill enough to do it as it should be. In several antiques, the Caduceus itself is represented with wings to it; but as I do not remember that the poets say any thing of them, one might leave their colour to the judgment of the painter, if he was resolved to have wings to it; for they might be either inserted, or omitted, just as he pleased.

THERE are two celebrated old manuscript Virgils, in the Vatican library at Rome, with paintings in them relating to some of the most remarkable passages. The more ancient of the two is, I think, generally thought to be of Constantine's time, by those who are learned in the ages of manuscripts: but as the pictures are evidently of too good a manner for that time, they are supposed by the best judges to have been copied from some done in a better age: about the time of the Antonines (121); or perhaps even higher. I have therefore not scrupled to admit these pictures from the Vatican Virgil, wherever they were wanted, in my collection; and the drawing I have just taken out to shew you, is copied from one of them. It represents Mercury going with his message from Jupiter, to order Æneas to quit Carthage. You see the god passing thro' the air, in a more natural and easy manner than one generally finds in modern pictures of flying figures. In his left hand, he holds his Caduceus; and with his right, points to the heavens; to shew that his commission is from Jupiter. He has his Petasus on his head, and his Talaria on his feet. In a word, it agrees in every respect with Virgil's (122) description of him on this occasion; excepting that the painter has added his Chlamys, which is fastened over his shoulders,

PL. XIV.
FIG. 5.

(117) Parva mora est alas pedibus, virgamque potenti
Somniferam iunisse manu, tegimeneque capillis.
Ovid. Met. 1. 5. 672.

(118) It is in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 68. 4.

(119) Inque dei digitis aurea fuit.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. 5. 63. (Paris, Hel.)

(120) Cyllenes colique decus! facunde minister,
Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret.
Martial. Lib. 7. Epigr. 74.

(121) Some of the most sensible antiquarians I know, are of this opinion: tho' in one of the libraries in Italy, I have met with a testimonial in form, by Bellori and some others, which carries it still higher. Their opinion was, that these pictures were done in Septimius Severus's time; and perhaps copied then from some others, of their best and most flourishing ages. This testimonial runs as follows

Anno 1686, die 16 Feb. In bibliotheca Vaticanâ coram R. P. Joanne Mabillonio, ord. S. Benedicti; D. Joanne Petro Bellorio; & me infra scripto; visus est codex manuscriptus, sub Num. 3225 in eadem bibliotheca servatus. Est in quarto quadratus, lineis majusculis, nullâ distinctione verborum conscriptus, præterquam in interpunctionibus: quarum quæ in su-

periori, punctum nostrum; quæ in medio vel infimo loco sunt, commata nostra designant.—Continet ubique imagines coloribus effictas, quæ sæculo Constantini superiores videntur, & fortè ad tempora Septimii Severi spectant; cum in iis non solum conspiciantur templa, victimæ, ædificia, biremes, pilei Phrygii, habitus, aliæque ad Trojanorum & Romanorum sacrificia ac arma pertinentia; sed etiam lineamenta perfectiora, quæ melioris & superioris ævi ætatem indicant. Quinimo pictor harum imaginum videtur fecurus fuisse ideam nobilioris & antiquioris pictoris; nihilque in iis exhibetur, quod primam Romani imperii majestatem non redoleat.

Emanuel a Schelfstrate.

This was taken from the original, in Schelfstrate's own hand writing; who was keeper of the Vatican library, in Innocent XIth's time.

(122) Dixerat: ille patris magni parere parabat
Imperio. Et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea; quæ sublimem alis, sive æquora supra
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hæc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias sub tristitia Tartara mittit:
Dat somnos, adimitque; & lumina morte refingit.
Illâ fretus, agit ventos & turbida tranat
Nubila. ———

Virgil. Æn. 4. 5. 251.
There

shoulders, on his breast; and floats behind him in the air. The reason why he has added this is very obvious; the old artists generally making out the motion of any person they represent as going on very swiftly, by the (123) flying back of the drapery: and he had very good authority for giving the Chlamys to Mercury; which is so frequently spoken of in general by the poets (124), as part of his dress: and who give it him, particularly on this very occasion; when he is flying from the heavens, to the earth.

THERE is yet another distinguishing mark of this deity, which is his sword. It is of a very particular make; and as they seem inclined to give every thing belonging to Mercury some hard name; they call it his Harpè. It was with this Harpè that he killed Argus; and he lent it to Perseus (125) to perform his greatest exploits with it. Its shape, in the antiques which represent both these stories, is alike: I have here, a drawing of Perseus with it. It is a longer sort of sword, than was usual of old; at least, among the Romans; with a very particular hook, or spike, behind it. The descriptive (126) epithets given it by the poets, agree entirely with the old figures of it.

Pl. XV.
Fig. 1.

WHATEVER I have as yet said of Mercury refers chiefly to his character of being sent always on the particular commissions of Jupiter. He had a general power too, of a large extent, delegated upon him by the same god: which was that of (127) conducting the souls of men to their proper place, after their parting from the body; or re-conducting them up to our world again, whenever there was any particular occasion for it. This gave him a great deal of authority in the regions of the happy souls, as well as of the unhappy; which were equally supposed by the ancients to be lodged within the earth, in a place called by one common name, that of Ades. Horace, in particular, gives us a very extraordinary account of Mercury's descending to Ades (128), and his causing a cessation of the sufferings there: but as this perhaps may be a mystical part of his character,

There is a passage in Statius very proper to be subjoined to this; not only as it is an imitation of it, but because these two contain the fullest account of this god and his several attributes that I know of, in all the Roman poets.

Paret Atlantiades distis genitoris : & indo
Summa pedum properè plantaribus illigat alis ;
Obnubique comas, et temperat astra galero.
Tum dextre virgam inferuit : quâ pellere dulces,
Aut suadere iterum somnos ; quâ nigra subire
Tartara, & exsangues animare affueverat umbras.
Defilait ; tenuisque exceptus inhorruit aurâ :
Nec mora, sublimes raptim per inane volatus
Carpit, & ingenti designat nubila gyro.

Statius. Theb. 1. v. 311.

(123) The flying back of the clothes, which one sees so frequently in the best old statues which represent any person as in a swift motion, is strongly marked out by Ovid; in his Daphne flying from Apollo.

— Nudabant corpora venti ;
Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina velles ;
Et levis impexos retrò dabat aura capillos
Ovid. Met. 1. v. 529.

(124) Nec se dissimulat, tanta est fiducia formæ ;
Quæ quamquam iusta est, curâ tamen adjuvat illam.
Permelcetque comas ; chlamidemque ut pendeat aptè
Collocat ; ut limbus totumque appareat aurum :
Ut teres in dextrâ, quâ somnos ducit & arceat,
Virga sit ; ut terâs niteant talaria plantis.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 736.

— Illum, Arctosque labentem cardine porus,
Tempestas æterna plagæ prætentaque cælo
Agmina nimborum primique aquilonis hiatus

In diversâ ferunt. Crepat aurea grandine multo
Palla ; nec Arcadii bene protegit umbra galeri.

Statius. Theb. 7. v. 39.

(125) — Subitus præpes Cylleñida sustulit Harpen ;
Harpen, alterius monstri jam cæde rubentem.

Lucan. Pharf. 9. v. 663.

(126) — Pennis ligat ille refamtis
Parte ab utraq; pedes ; teloque accingitur unco.

Ovid. Met. 4. v. 665.

— Falcato verberat ense.

Id. Ibid. v. 726.

— Hamati vulnere ferri.

Lucan. Pharf. 9. v. 678.

Some read this, Lunati, instead of Hamati; and have changed the word, I suppose, from not knowing any thing of the Hamus; that appears so particularly on the back of this sword, in the works of the old artists. When they were about it, they should have found out a new reading for this verse in Ovid too :

Inachides ferrum curvo tenuis abdidiit hamo.

Met. 4. v. 719.

The very word Harpè expresses this odd make of Mercury's sword : (Αρπην, falx ; five, ensis falcatus ; Scap.) tho' without seeing the old figures of it, the manner in which it is bent, would be very apt to be mistaken.

(127) Tu plas lætis animas reponis
Sedibus : virgæque levem coërces
Auræ turbam. —

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. v. 19.

(128) Lib. 3. Od. 11.

rafter, we had better let it alone; or if we must touch upon it at all, I may possibly find (129) a more proper occasion of saying something farther upon it, than the present.

HORACE, in the place I have just hinted at, talks of Mercury as a wonderful musician; and represents him with a lyre. You know he was said to be the inventor of that instrument. There is a mighty ridiculous (130) old legend, relating to this invention; which informs us, that Mercury, after stealing some bulls which belonged to Apollo, retired to a secret grotto he used to frequent, at the foot of a mountain in Arcadia. Just as he was going in, he found a tortoise feeding by the entrance of his cave. He killed the poor creature; and perhaps eat the flesh of it; and as he was diverting himself with the shell, he was mightily pleased with the noise it gave from its concave figure. He had possibly been cunning enough before to find out, that a thong pulled strait and fastened at each end, when struck by the finger, made a sort of musical sound. However that was, he went immediately to work; cut several thongs out of the hides he had lately stolen; and fastened them on as tight as he could, to the shell of this tortoise; and in playing with them, made a new kind of music to divert himself in his retreat. This account, considered only as an account of the first invention of the lyre, is not altogether so unnatural. The Romans had a particular sort of lyre, which was called (131) Testudo; or, the tortoise; and the most ancient lyres of all are represented in a manner, that agrees very well with this account of the invention of that instrument. The lyre, in particular, on the old celestial globes (132), was represented as made of the entire shell of a tortoise; and so is that of Amphion, in the famous (133) groupe of the Dirce, in the Farnese palace at Rome. But the most remarkable one I have ever met with, is one at the feet of a statue of Mercury in the Montalti gardens; which not only shews the whole belly of the tortoise, and part of what the strings were attached to there; but has two horns above, exactly like the horns of a bull; and strings like thongs of leather, fastened round the bottom of them. In several figures of Apollo, (and in some, I believe, of the Muses,) you still see the tortoise's shell: tho' it lessened gradually in process of time, and at last became only an (134) ornament, instead of making the most essential part of the lyre. I have dwelt the longer on this old fable of the original of this particular sort of lyre, called Testudo; because there are several (135) passages in the poets which refer to it, and which are not easily to be understood without it.

Pl. XV.
Fig. 2.

You

(129) Dial. XVI. posth.

(130) Postquam Mercurius boves Apollinis furatus est, eos in antro suo occultavit; duasque mactavit, quorum pelles rupi affixit. Partem carniū coxit, ut victum sibi pararet; reliqua verò omnia combussit; & Cyllenem subito commigravit. Ante cavernam autem suam, testudinem reperit herbam depascentem. Quā captā interna omnia abstraxit; cochleæque fideculas aptavit, ex pelle boum concinnatas; lyramque effecit. Apollodorus. Lib. 2.

There is a passage in Ovid, in which he calls Mercury, in the same breath, the inventor of the lyre, and the god of thieves: which terms seem to have very little connexion to us; but must have agreed very well among people, to whom this story was vulgarly known.

At tu materno donasti nomine mentem,
Inventor curvæ furibus apte lyre.

Ovid. Fast. 5. 5. 104.

Horace joins these two characters of Mercury in the same manner. Lib. 1. Od. 10. 5. 6, & 7

(131) Ipse cavā solans ægrum testudine amore.

Virgil. Georg. 4. 5. 464.

Tuque testudo, resonare septem

Calhida nervis.

Horat. Lib. 3. Qd. 11. 5. 4.

That this Testudo, or seven-stringed lyre, was the same with that invented by Mercury, appears from Ovid; where, speaking of Mercury, he says:

Nec pietas hæc prima tua est; septena putaris,
Pleiadum numero, fila dedisse lyre.

Fast. 5. 5. 106.

(132) See Pl. XXIV.

(133) In Perier's statues, Pl. 100.

(134) When they left off making use of the concave of the tortoise's shell, as a material part of this instrument; they still used some of it by way of ornament, and inlaid pieces of it in the Cornua of the lyre. As in one, held by an Apollo, in the open part of the Great Duke's gallery; which tho' modern, may be very well authorized from some lines in Tibullus's fine description of Apollo.

Artis opus varix, fulgens testudine & auro,
Pendebat levæ garrula parte lyra.

Lib. 3. El. 4. 5. 38.

(135) It appears from this story, that the most ancient lyres were made of the shell of a tortoise: which, as an amphibious creature, may be called indifferently Pifcis, or Fera. This, I think, may serve to clear up a very difficult passage in Statius; and another, that

You may see too by this story, that Mercury was not quite so honest as he should be; and, to say the truth, he was of old the god of thieves and pickpockets. One should be apt to suspect, that this must have been a deity of Spartan growth; as that was the only nation perhaps, in which a clever thief was to be rewarded rather than punished. However that be, Mercury was certainly the god of ingenuity and thieving. I do not remember any instance of this character of his on any work of the ancient artists: unless it be possibly meant in a relieve, behind the great church at Florence; which seems of so low an age, that I did not think it worth while to have a copy taken of it. To make some amends, the poets mark out this (136) character of Mercury very often, and very fully.

As Mercury was the god of rogues and pickpockets, so was he also the god of shopkeepers and tradesmen; whom I will allow to be very angry with me for mentioning them in so bad company, as soon as ever they have left off the using secret marks for the prices of their goods. Mercury is said to have derived his name (137) from presiding over tradesmen; as they who gained much by any trade, or behaved cleverly in it, had a name from him. This mercantile Mercury was represented of old, (as the modern Mercury is at the exchange at Amsterdam,) with a purse in his hand. The Romans looked on this god as the great dispenser of gain; and therefore the holding the purse is a frequent attribute of his, in all collections of antiquities of this kind. In this gem you see him give up his purse to Fortune; in another, he is offering it to Minerva and she taking only a little out of it; as if Good Luck had more to do with gain, than Good Sense: tho' both of them, it should seem (according to the moral of these representations) come at it, most usually, by the help of a little knavery. In a third, he is offering it to a lady, with a veil on her head, like the figures of Pudicitia; who seems to refuse him strenuously. In this last, Mercury seems in haste; he is in the attitude of leaving her; and of taking his flight, if she will not accept his offer instantly. This is more directly expressed on this gem; but I imagine the same is generally meant in the figures of the mercantile Mercury: for he is commonly represented at the same time holding out a purse, and with his winged cap upon his head; which, in the language of the statuary, is as much as to say: "If you do not lay hold of any gain, the moment it is offered to you, the opportunity will fly away; and who knows whether it may ever come in your reach

PL. XV.
FIG. 3.

PL. XV.
FIG. 4.

PL. XV.
FIG. 5.

that is not so easy as it may usually have been imagined, in Horace.

Non Heliconæ gravi pulsat chelys entheæ plectro;
Nec lassata voco toties mihi numina musas:
Et te Phœbe choris, & te demittimus Evan.
Tu quoque muta ferræ, volucer Tegeæ, sonoræ
Terga premas: alios possunt mea carmina cœtus.

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. §. 5.

O telluridis auræ
Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas!
O mutis quoque pisicibus
Donatura cygni si libeat sonum!

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 3. §. 20.

If any of the commentators on these poets have given any idea of a musical beast or a singing fish, without the help of this legend, they must have had a great deal of good luck. For my part I must own that, even with it, I think this old notion of testudo, as a beast, a fish, and a harp; is the fittest subject for a riddle, that one could pick out even among all the strangest imaginations of the old poets. The only author of poetical riddles, that I know of among the ancients, has indeed a very bad one on this very subject: which I shall take the liberty of quoting, not as any authority, because of the low age it was wrote in; but barely as a curiosity, and to shew how bad riddles they could write formerly. In the last line the author seems to have an eye to the passage just quoted

from Horace; and to the old story, about the origin of the lyre.

Tarda gradu lento; speciosa prædita dorso:
Docta quidem studio, sed fœvo prædita fato:
Viva nihil dixi; quæ sic, modo mortua, canto.
Symposium. Ænigm. §. 20.

(136) Te canam magni Jovis & deorum
Nuntium, curvæque lyre parentem;
Callidum quicquid placuit jocosæ
Condere furto.

Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduas pharetrâ
Risit Apollo.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. §. 12.

Alipedis de stirpe dei versata propago
Nascitur Autolychus, furturn ingeniosus ad omne:
Qui facere assuevit, patre non degener aris,
Candida de nigris & de candentibus atra.

Ovid. Met. 11. §. 315.

The same poet calls him, Furibus aptus. Note 130, antch.

(137) Mercurius a mercibus, dictus est; hunc enim negotiorum omnium existimabant esse deum. Fest. Pomp. Lib. 1. — The Romans called those who throve in business, Viri Mercutiales.

reach again?" The poets have (138) this idea of Mercury too; and we learn from them, that it was a common subject for (139) pictures as well as other works, of old.

It may seem strange, that Mercury, who was the patron of robbers, should at the same time be supposed to preside over the high roads. The statues that relate to this Mercury are of that awkward terminal figure, which was so much in fashion, (I have often wondered why,) in all the best ages of antiquity. These old Termini were sometimes without, but oftner with busts, or half-figures of some deity on them; and those of Mercury so much more frequently than any other, that the Greeks gave them their general name (140), from this god. Such is the drawing I have in my hand. There is an allusion in Juvenal to some figure of this kind, which I imagine would be more easy to be understood, and would strike us much more strongly; were we used to see these Terminal Mercuries as commonly, as the Romans were of old. It is in his satire on the nobility of his time.

PL. XV.
FIG. 6.

— At tu

Nil nisi Cecropides; truncoque simillimus Ihermæ:
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine; quàm quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago. (141)

THE particular design of this comparison, (as appears both from what goes before, and what follows it,) was to mark out more strongly the absolute uselessness to the world of one Rubellius Plancus; a man, that had no one thing to boast of, but his nobility: and Juvenal seems inclined to take even that from him. He asserts, (and that very justly,) that where there is no virtue, there cannot be any nobility. The great idea of the word Virtus among the old Romans, (as I shall shew more fully (142) on another occasion,) was "a man's exerting himself for the service of his country, or for the service of those about him." Juvenal therefore insists upon it, that as this Plancus was not of any manner of service to either, he must be ignoble. All the first part of his famous satire on nobility, turns entirely on this single point: as you will plainly perceive, if you will be so good as to consider it with me; and to give me leave to make use of the definition of Virtus, according to the Roman idea of that word, instead of the word itself.

WHAT signify pedigrees (143), says he, and a croud of old broken statues of our ancestors; if (144) we ourselves are debauched and indolent?—The (145) exerting ourselves

(138) Accipe quod nunquam reddas, mihi, si tibi dicam;
Tunc infans eris si acceperis? an magis excors
Rejeda præda, quam præfens Mercurius fert!
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 3. v. 67.

(139) Qui prior es, cur me in decursu lampada possis?
Sum tibi Mercurius; venio deus huc ego ut ille
Pingitur. An renuis? &c.
Persius. Sat. 6. v. 63.

(140) *Ἑρμης* is used, in Greek, for any terminal figures in general.

(141) Juvenal. Sat. 8. v. 55.

(142) Dial. X.

(143) Stemmataquid faciunt? Quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censer; pictoque ostendere vultus
Majorum, & stantes in curribus Æmilianos;
Et Curios jam dimidios, humeroque minorem
Corvinum, & Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
Quis fructus generis tabulâ jactare capaci
Corvinum; posthac multâ deducere virgâ
Fumos equitum cum dictatoris magistris?

Juvenal. Sat. 8. v. 1—8.

(144) Si coram Lepidis malè vivitor. Effigies quo
Tot Bellatorum, si luditur alea perniox
Ante Numantinos? Si dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi, quo signa duces & castra movebant?
Cur Allobrogici & magnâ gaudent arâ
Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus; si
Vanus, & Euganeâ quantumvis mollior agnâ;
Si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum,
Squalentes traducit avos; emptorque veneni
Frangendâ miseram fuscet imagine gentem?
Ibid. v. 9—19.

(145) Tota licet veteres exornent undique cernæ
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paulus, vel Cossus, vel Drusus, moribus esto;
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum:
Præcedant ipsas illi, te consule, virgas.
Prima mihi debes animi bona: sanctus haberi
Justitiæque tenax, factis dictisque, mereris?
Agnosco procerem. Salve Getulice, seu tu
Silianus; quocunque alio de sanguine, rarus
Civis & egregius patria contingis ovanti:
Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiris
Invento. —

Ibid. 20—30.

selves for the service of our country, and of those about us, is the only thing that can render a man really noble.—If (146) any one has only a bare title, without this foundation of all nobility; it is a shameful abuse of words, to call that man, a great man. My neighbour's dwarf, that we call Atlas in derision, looks as well really paws for a giant; and that dog, (who is good for nothing but sleeping before the fire,) is as much, really a lion, as he a nobleman.—Such (147) a nobleman, is Rubellius Plancus! One who is so full of the blood of the Julii, that he despises the rest of mankind; and looks as big upon you, as if he had the blood of all the kings since Cecrops in his veins. Yet among us that he despises so much, there are some who can plead his cause for him; when he has a lawsuit: and others, who go abroad to fight, for the glory of their country. Now (148), Plancus, let us hear what you can do? No one thing of use. You are just like a statue, with a great title fixed upon you, but without arms or legs; like those which we see so often by our public roads: and indeed so very like them, that I for my part can find out no manner of difference between you, except that they are of solid marble, and that you have a vent for breath.—Is (149) this the being a nobleman? Can we call a man noble, for what would not make a horse so?—Well, I know not how it may be with men: but this I am sure of; that the best-bred horse in the world is ignoble, if he proves good for nothing."

THIS I take to be the true design and intent of what Juvenal has laid down more at large, for above sixty lines together, in the beginning of his most excellent satire against the nobility of his time; and of that passage in it, in particular, relating to the Terminal statues (150) of Mercury: which used to puzzle me formerly, perhaps, as much as any thought

- (146) — Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui
Indignus genere est; præclaro nomine tantum
Inignis? Nantum cujusdam, Atlanta vocamus;
Æthiopem, cygnum; parvam extortamque puellam,
Europen: canibus pigris, scabieque vetustâ
Lævis et sicca lambentibus ora lucerna,
Nomen erit pardas, tigris, leo; si quid adhuc est
Quod fremat in terris violentius. Ergo cavebis,
Et metues, ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.

Ibid. 30—38.

- (147) His ego quem mones? Tecum est mihi fermo, Rubelli
Place. Tumes alto Drufum nomine, tanquam
Fecis ipse aliquod, propter quod nobilis effis
Ut te conciperet quæ fanguine fulget lili,
Non que ventoso conducta sub aggere textit.
Vos humiles, inquit; vulgi pars ultima nostri;
Quorum nemoquet patrum monstre parentis:
Ad ego, Cecropides! Vivas; et originis hujus
Gaudia longa feras. Tamen, imâ plebe, Quiritem
Facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
Nobilis indocti; venit, de plebe togatâ,
Qui juris nodos et legum enigmata solvat:
Hic petit Euphrates juvenis, domitior Batavi
Cusidos aquilas; armis indomitique, —

Ibid. 39—52.

- (148) ——— At tu,
Nil nisi Cecropides; truncoque simillimus Hermæ:
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

Ibid. 52—55.

- (149) Dic mihi Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
 Quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? Nemp̄e volucrem
 Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
 Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo.
 Nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cujus
 Clara fuga ante alios & primus in æquore pulvis:
 Sed venale pecus Corinthe, posteritas &
 Hirpi; si rara jugo victoria fedit.
 Nil ibi majorum respectus: gratia nulla
 Umbrarum. Dominos pretiis mutata jubentur

Exiguus, tritoque trahunt epirhedia collo;
Segnipedes, dignique molam vertare, nepotes.

Ibid., *ŷ*, 56—67.

(150) The *fatire*, in that similitude would be very strong, if it regarded only any terminal *fatire*, in general; but it is much stronger, if we consider *Plancus* here as compared to a terminal figure of *Mercury*, in particular. As the distinguishing character of this god was nimbleness and activity, (whence the Greeks called him, *Ἡρμης*, the active or useful god,) he must look particularly idle and mis-named, whenever they saw him on their road-sides or elsewhere, either without any arms, or with them wrapped up in his cloak; without his legs, which were so well made for dispatch; without the wings, that were supposed to bear him so rapidly thro' the air; in a word, without any of the marks of swiftness and activity, which he had in all the figures that represented him in any other of his characters but this.

And this would be still stronger, if Plancus was very vicious, as well as very indolent; (and they generally go together:) for it is remarkable in the terminal statues of Mercury, that as he had lost some limbs, it was made up to him in others. Herodotus informs us that there was some mythical reason for this.

Ὅτι οὐχ ἄν τε αἰδία τ' ἀγέλαματά τε ἔβρισε, Ἀθηναῖοι
πρῶτοι Ἑλλάνων παρὰ Πειλοσῶν μαδόντες ἐπὶ κέντρῳ
οἱ δὲ Πειλοσῶν ἰσθμῷ λόγῳ περὶ αὐτὴν εἰλέξαν, τα ἐν
τοῖσι ἐν Σαρδηνίῳ μετρησίου δ' ἐδιδόσαναι. Ηρόδοτος,
in Euterp. cap. 57.

If I knew this reason, I should not care to reveal it to the reader ; for in all these sorts of things, I would strictly keep to Horace's rule, in relation to mysteries ; and think they are only fit, either to be told in Greek ; or covered with vine-leaves, as that poet says they should be.

— Non ego, variis obfita frondibus,
Sub dio rapiam.

DIALOGUE *the Eighth.*

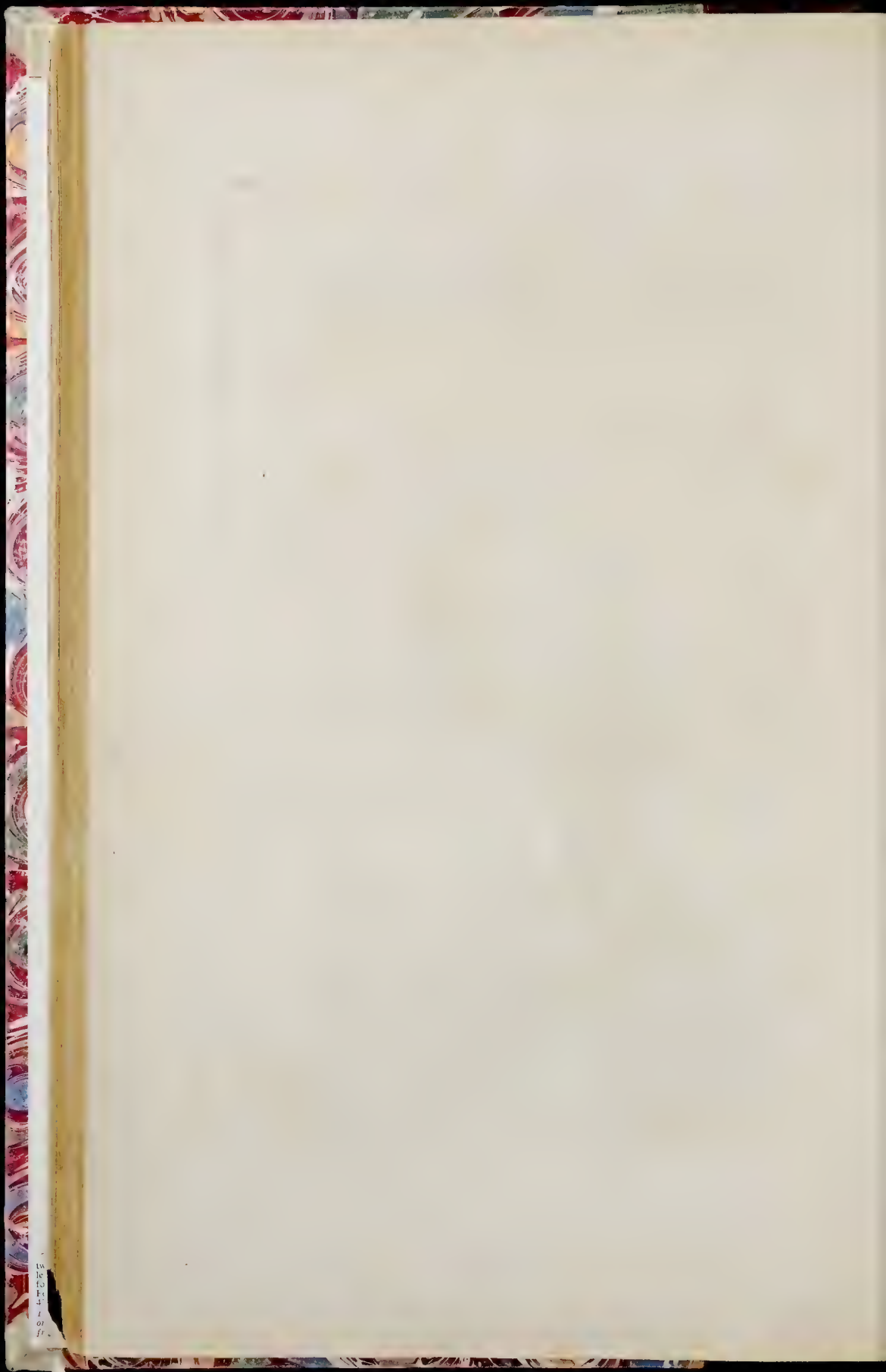
III

thought in the poets borrowed from the statues or paintings of the antients, that I ever met with.

I HAVE now done with all the figures within this temple. I could have said much more on several of them, had not I feared the being too tedious to you. Even as it is, the pleasure I always feel in talking over these matters, and the patience with which you have heard me, have betrayed me into too great a length. However, I have at last done: and so if you please we will get out of our temple, that we may enjoy a little fresh air before the night comes upon us.



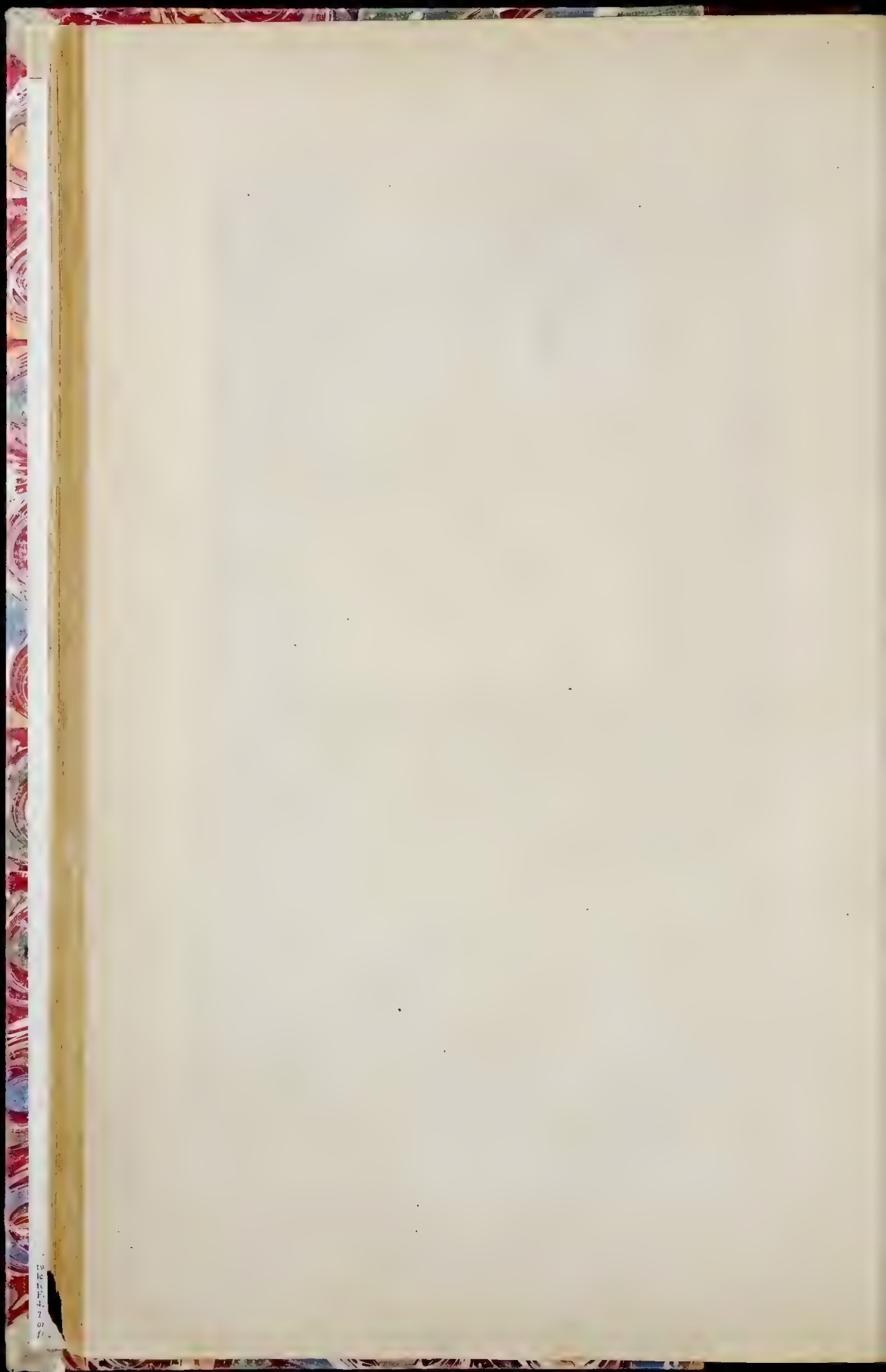
Reynolds's Copy.



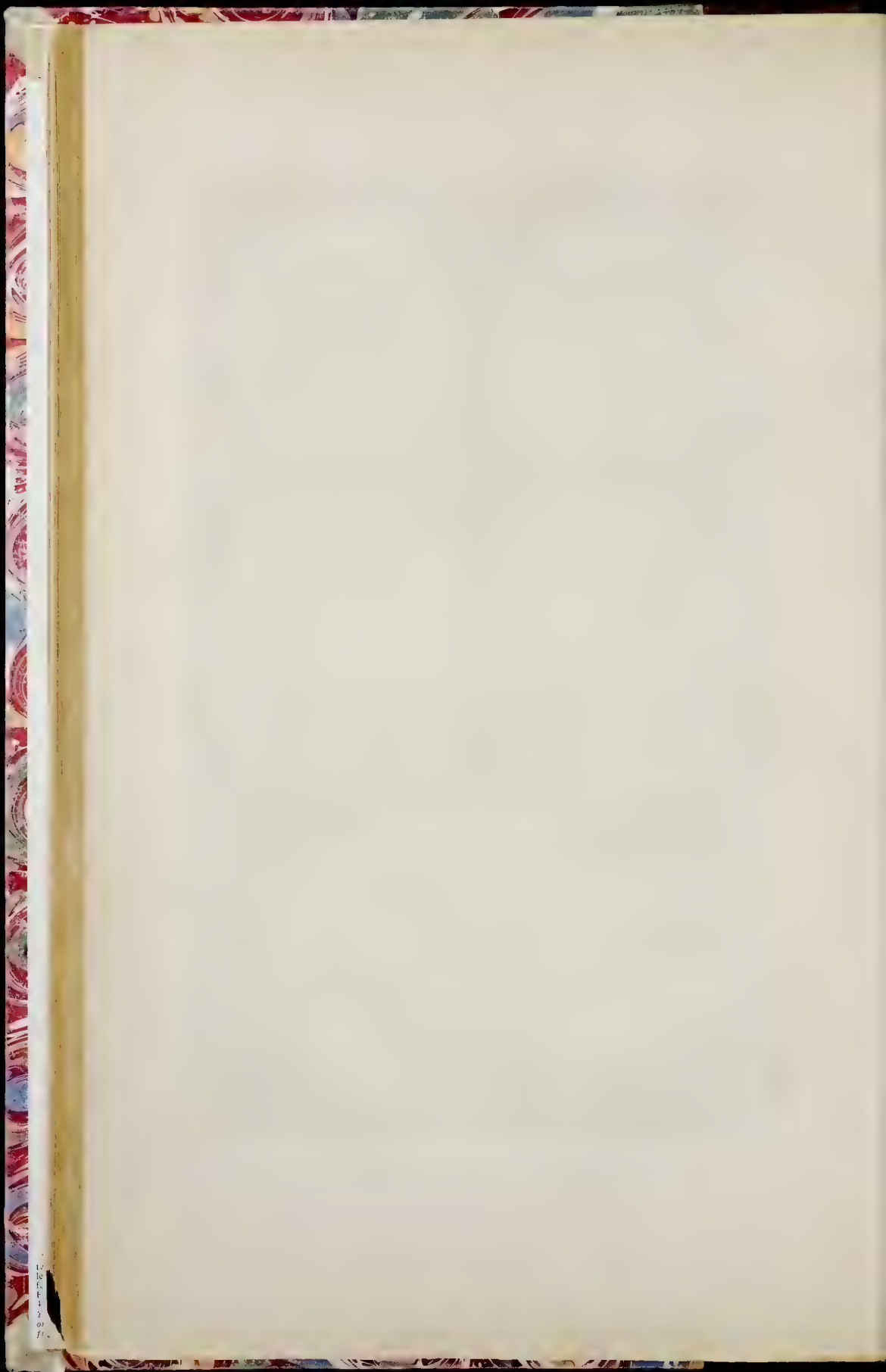
W
le
to
H
I
of
P



J. B. Bernard sculp.

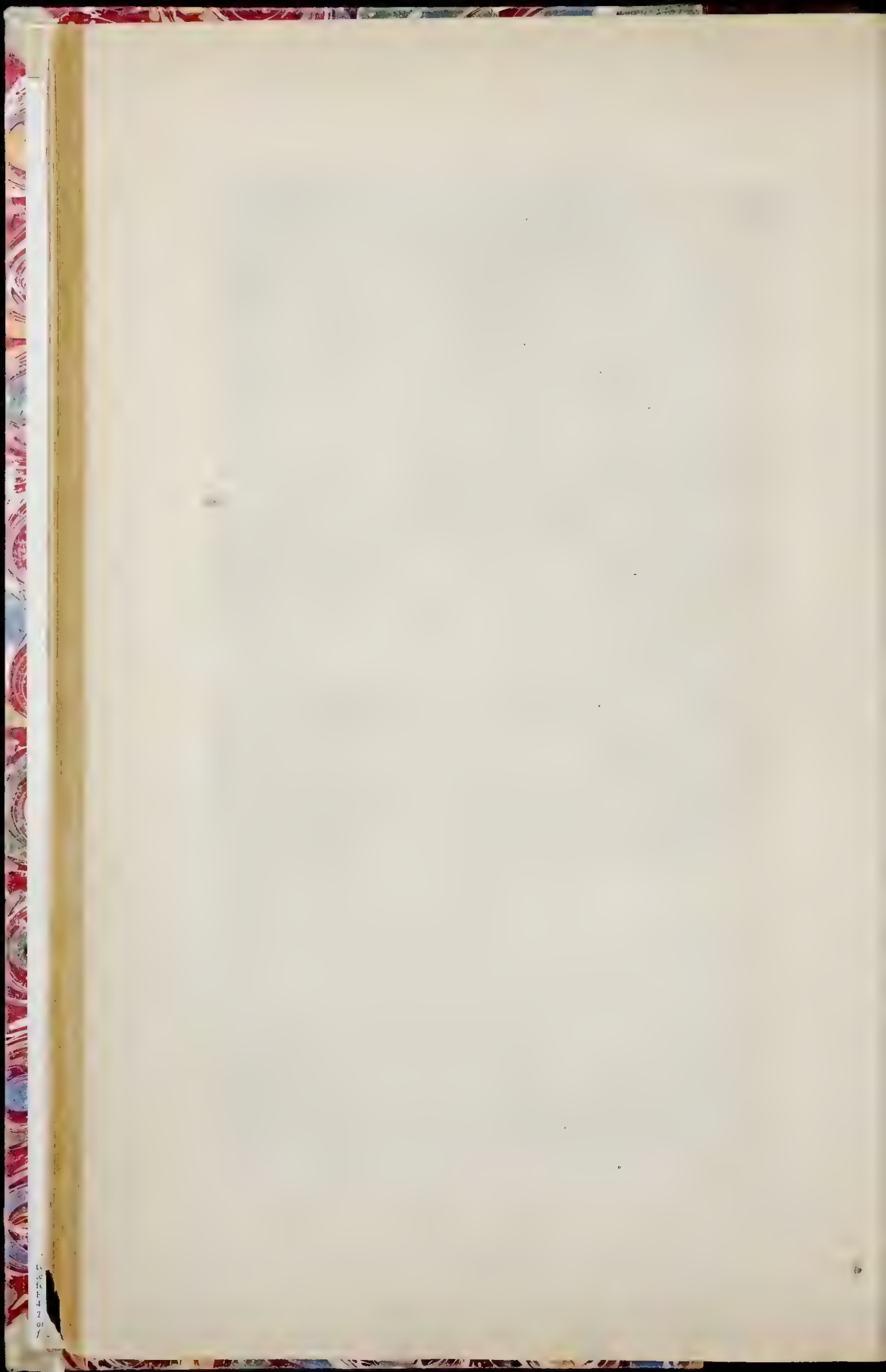




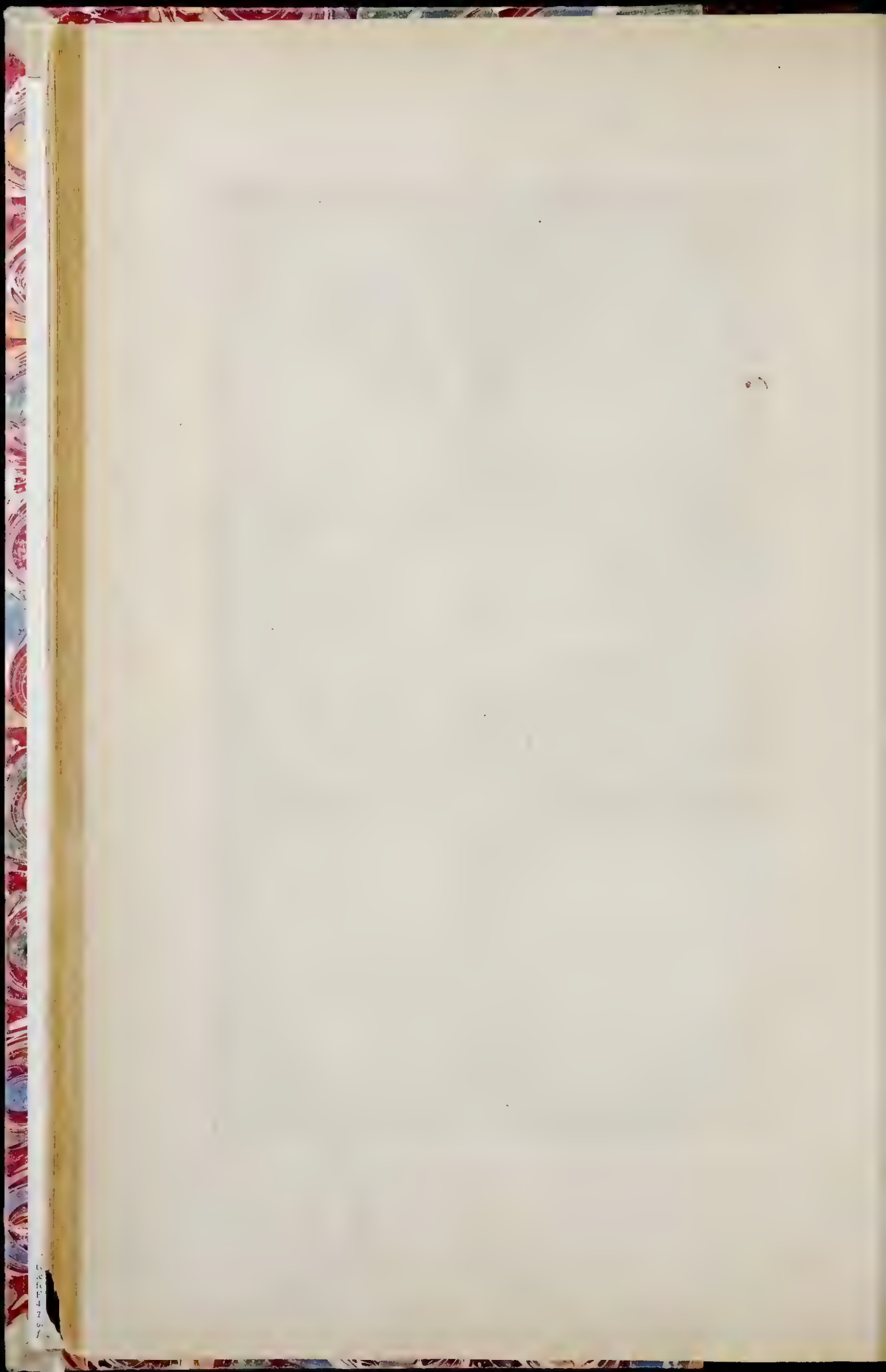




J. & B. Reinard. Sculp.

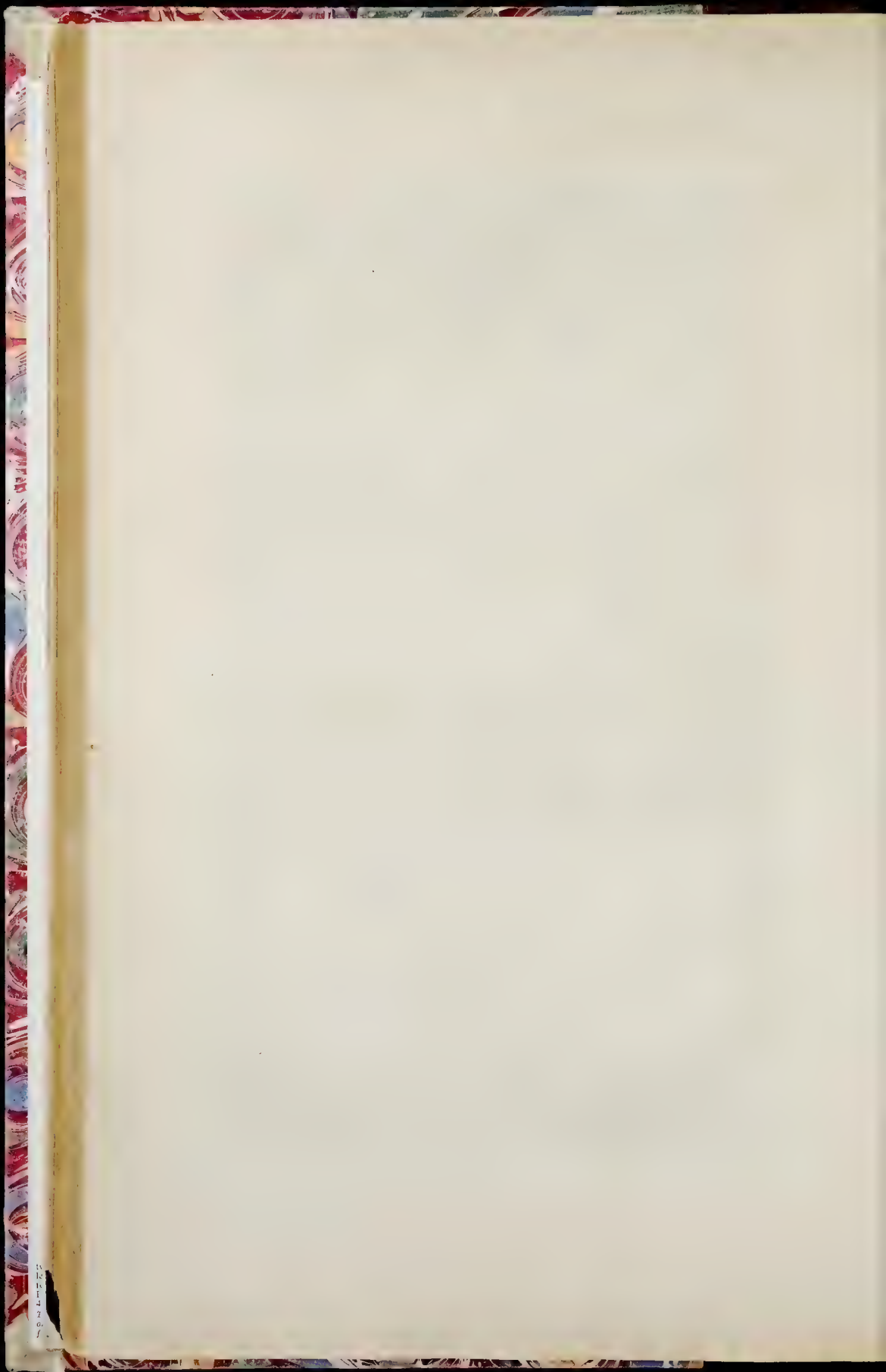








L. F. Boimard Sculp



BOOK the Third.

Of the Heroes, supposed by the Romans,
to have been received into the Higher
Heavens.

D I A L. IX.

Hercules, Bacchus; Esculapius, Romulus; Castor, and
Pollux.

AS Polymetis was going, the next morning, to shew his friends the figures he had placed in the portico of his Rotunda; Philander happened to say, that he had always imagined that the heroes received into the heavens had been much more numerous than his, or any one portico, could hold. Polymetis readily allowed, that there might have been great numbers that were supposed to have been received into some part or other of the heavens; either as stars themselves, or as inhabiting and presiding over stars; and that these might very well be all considered as divinities, by the antient Romans: but the heroes I am going to shew you, says he, are those of a superior order; such as were supposed to be admitted into the community of the twelve Great Gods. There are only six of these heroes: Hercules, Bacchus; Esculapius, Romulus; Castor, and Pollux. I used, for a long time, to confound these, with the common heroes supposed to have been deified of old; and what first gave me any suspicion of their eminent superiority above the others, was my observing that the Roman poets, (whenever they speak of men who had made the noblest appearance upon earth, and who were therefore received into the highest heavens,) always instance in some or other of the six, I have just mentioned. Thus Horace, on one (1) occasion, mentions Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, Castor, and Romulus; and on another (2), Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, and Romulus. Virgil, on a like occasion, instances (3) in Bacchus and Hercules; and Silius, in (4) Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, Castor, and Romulus. The same is observable in the Roman prose-writers, as well as in their poets. Thus Pliny, in speaking of Pompey, compares him to Hercules and Bacchus (5), as the two greatest men that

ever

(1) Romulus, & Liber Pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
(Post ingentia facta decorum in templa recepti)
Dum terras hominumque colunt genas; aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt;
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis: diram qui conatit hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo sine domari:
Præsentî tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras;
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

Horace; (in his compliment to Augustus.) Lib. 2. Ep. 1.
p. 17.

(2) Hæc arte Pollux, & vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit ignes: —
Hæc te merentem, Bacche Pater, tunc
Vexere tigres; indocili jugum
Collo trahentes: hæc Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit.

Id. (in another compliment to Augustus.) Lib. 3. Od. 3. p. 16.

(3) Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit;
Fixerit arripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
Pacavit nemora, & Lernam tremefecerit arcu:
Nec qui pampineis victor juga siccit habenis
Liber, agens celsò Nysæ de vertice tigris.

Virgil; (in a compliment to the same prince.) Æn. 6.
p. 864.

(4) — Ques ætherii servatur seminis ortus
Cui porta patet. Referam quid cuncta domantem
Amphitryoniaden? Quid cui post Seras & Indos,
Captivo Liber quum signa referret ab Euro,
Caucasæ curram duxere per oppida tigres?
Quid (suspiratos magno in discrimine nautis)
Lædæos referam fratres; vestrumque Quirinum?
Says Virtus, in her speech to Scipio; in Silius Italicus,
Lib. 15. p. 83.

(5) Æquato, non modò Alexandri Magni rerum
fulgore; sed etiam Herculis prope, ac Liberti Patris,
Pliny. Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

ever lived; and Cicero mentions the names of (6) all these six Great Heroes, (and no other names but theirs,) both in his treatise on the nature of the gods, in general; and in another, where he is speaking of the laws of his own country, in particular. And indeed, it is chiefly on his authority, that I have admitted the statues of these six Great Heroes, and theirs only, into the portico of my temple for the great Celestial Deities.

HERCULES is the foremost even in this distinguished class. He was pointed out by the ancient heathens, as their great exemplar of virtue: and indeed, as the idea of virtue with them consisted chiefly in seeking and undergoing fatigues with steadiness and patience, they could scarce have chosen a fitter patron than Hercules; the course of whose life was almost wholly taken up in (7) going about to seek adventures; and in labouring for the benefit of mankind. You see him here, as resting after the last of his twelve most noted labours; for in this statue, (which is a copy of the famous Hercules, in the Farnese palace at Rome,) he leans on his club, and holds the apples of the Hesperides in his hand. You may plainly see, by this statue and the other figures of him, that the principal idea which the artists endeavoured to express in Hercules, was that of a person made to endure the greatest fatigues. I chose to have this figure of him here, rather than one that represented him after his deification. The latter would have been more proper to the place; but this agrees better with the descriptions we find of him in the poets, and is more adapted to my design.

I do not know any of the twelve Great Gods themselves that has so many monuments of antiquity relating to him as Hercules; and of course the base of his statue here, is as well stocked with drawings, medals, and gems, as that of Jupiter himself. Indeed he is represented with Jupiter on some old altars and reliefs, with an (8) inscription that seems to set him on a level with that chief of all the gods; or, at least, with the great gods in general. I mention this, that you may be sensible of the full dignity of the person, we are going to consider more particularly: and who will probably take us up; the greatest part of the morning.

You see, in the statue before you, how he is all formed to express strength. That breadth of his shoulders; this spaciousness of his chest; the vastness of his size, and the firmness of the muscles all over him; shew more force and resistance in his make, than I dare say was ever really to be found in any of the most celebrated gladiators, or boxers of old: even tho' one should suppose the race of men to have been stronger in those days, than they are in ours. All these particulars which you see in the statue, are marked out too by (9) the poets: and Horace, in particular, has been supposed by some to allude to this

(6) *Suscepit vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cœlum famâ ac voluntate tollerent. Hinc, Hercules; hinc, Castor & Pollux; hinc, Esculapius. Hinc Liber etiam; (hunc dico Semele natum, non eum quem nostri majores augustè sanctoque Liberum cum Cerere & Liberâ consecraverunt; quod quale sit, ex mysteriis intelligi potest.) Hinc etiam Romulus; quem quidam eundem esse Quirinum putant. (Spoke by Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero's de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 38. Ed. Ald.*

Ad divos adeunto castè. Pietatem adhibento; opes amovento. Qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit.—Eos, qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunt; & illos quos endo cœlo merita collocaverunt, Herculem, Liberum, Esculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum: ast olla propter quæ datur homini adscensus in cœlum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunt. Id. de Leg. Lib. 2. Cap. 8: and Laws of the Twelve Tables. Tab. 11. §. 4.

4

These six therefore seem to be, THE FEW, that Virgil speaks of:

— Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter; aut ardens exivit ad æthera virtus.
Æn. 6. v. 130.

(7) — Sæva terribis gens religata ultimis?
Quas peragrans undique, omnem hinc feritatem
expulsi. Actius in Trachyniis.
Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit.
Virgil. Æn. 6. v. 802.

— Vagus Hercules.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. v. 9.

(8) DIS MAGNIS. See Montfaucon, Vol. I. P. 1. 16; & ib. p. 47.

(9) — Agnosco toros,
Humeroſque, & alto nobilem trunco manum.
Her. Fur. Act. 3. Sc. 2. v. 625.
— Neque enim tam lata videbam
Pectora, Neptunus muros cum jungeret altris.
(Spoke of Hercules.) V. Flac. 2. v. 491.
E.

this very figure of Hercules; in a ⁽¹⁰⁾ passage that, I think, would read better and stronger if so understood, than in the common way.

THE chief attribute of Hercules, or the most distinguishing character of his figures, is this incomparable strength that appears all over him. His other attributes ⁽¹¹⁾ are his lion's skin, his club, and his bow; which are all too well known both from the poets and statuary, to want any particular enquiry about them. I shall only just observe, by the way, that we sometimes see Hercules, in the works of the artists, dressed in his lion's skin; in such a manner, that the head and jaws of the lion appear over his head: a sort of ⁽¹²⁾ military dress, described often by the poets; and particularly by some of them, in relation to this very god.

You know very well, that the whole life of Hercules was scarce any thing but one continued series of labours. As there are so many of them, the writers who treat of them, and of the antiquities relating to them, have generally fallen into a great deal of confusion: so far, that I scarce know any one of them, that has perfectly well settled which were his twelve labours, that are so much talked of. To avoid falling into the same confusion, one may divide all his adventures into three classes. In the first class, I should place such as were previous to his twelve celebrated labours. In the second, those twelve labours themselves; which he was obliged to do by the order of Euristheus, and the fatality of his birth. And in the third, any supernumerary exploits; that he undertook voluntarily, and of himself.

If one had a greater number of the previous exploits of Hercules to mention, the first undoubtedly should be that of his strangling the two serpents, sent to destroy him in his cradle;

Et membra vasta caput avellens manu.

Hercules Oet. Aët. 3. Sc. 2. v. 827.

— Grandibus alitè

Infurgens humeris, hominem super improbus exit;

Sed non ille vigor, patriumque in corpore robur.

(Spoke of a descendant of Hercules.) Stat. Theb. 6. v. 840.

(10) Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus

Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;

Nec, quia desperes invidi membra Glyconis,

Nodosâ corpus nolis prohibere chirogrâ.

Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. v. 31.

The inscription on the base of the Farnese Hercules tells us, it was made by an artist called Glycon. As we now call it, the Farnese Hercules, for distinction; they might very well of old have called it, the Hercules Glyconis, for the same reason. Such distinctions were more necessary then, than now; because they had a much greater number of statues in Rome of old. If they did usually call this figure, the Hercules Glyconis, in Horace's time; he might very well call it, the Glycon, in verse.

If this may be allowed to have been the case, the intent and true meaning of the passage from him, will be as follows. "You can never come to see so sharply as Lynceus; would you therefore suffer your eyes to go out? You can never acquire the strength and firmness of Hercules; would you therefore suffer your body to run to ruin, and to be crippled with diseases?"

I should the rather take this to be the case, because it seems more worthy of so good a writer, in two instances so closely united, to have taken them both from the antient mythology; than to take one from that, and the other from a (supposed) gladiator of his own time.

The epithet of Invictus too, would have a particular propriety, if applied to the Farnese Hercules. For

that figure represents him as having just finished the last labour enjoined him by the order of Juno; that is, just when she had given up her pursuit of him, as a person not to be conquered, by any difficulties.

(11) Pone truces arcus agmenque immitte phœtræ,

Et regum multo perfusum sanguine robur;

Infratrumque humeris deponere gentibus hostem.

Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. v. 36.

Οὐκ Ἡρακλῆς ἔτις ἐστίν; ἤρηνεν ἀλγίστα, μα τῶν Ἡερ-
κλῆα. Το τ-ζῶν, το βυσταλ-ν, η λῶντι. το μετ' ἐξῆς
ὁλοῦ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστίν. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 298. Ed.
Blaeu.

(12) This was a very common dress among the Roman soldiers; and occurs perpetually, both on the Trajan, and Antonine pillar, at Rome.

Thus Virgil; of one of his warriors;

Cui pellis latos humeros crepta juvenco

Pugnatori operie: caput ingens oris hiatus,

Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis.

Æn. 11. v. 680.

And in another place:

Ipse pedes, tegumen torquens immane leonis

Terribili impexum setâ, cum dentibus albis,

Indatus capiti: sic regia tecta subibat

Horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu.

(Of a son of Hercules) Æn. 7. v. 609.

— Tergo videt hujus inanem

Impexis utrinque júbis horrere leonem;

Ilius in speciem quem per Theumēssa Tempe

Amphitryoniades victum juvenilibus annis,

Ante Cleonni vestitur prælia monstris.

Statius. Theb. 1. v. 487.

— Cleonæo jam tempora clausus hiatu

Alcides. —

Val. Flaccus. 1. v. 155.

A figure, (perhaps of young Aventinus, a son of Hercules,) is given, Pl. XVII. Fig. 5. on purpose to shew the manner how they wore the lion's skin over their heads, the more exactly.

cradle; for this he seems to have performed, according to some accounts of it, when he was not above (13) half an hour old. This is extraordinary enough; but what is more extraordinary than this is, that there are exploits supposed to have been achieved by Hercules even (14) before Alcmena brought him into the world. His killing of the serpents however is early enough for me; and therefore I shall begin from that. The old artists seem to have shewed a great deal of fancy, in representing this story. As Hercules was then so absolutely an infant, they express his ignorance of what the serpents were, very plainly. Sometimes he has a little smile on his face, as if he was pleased with their fine colours and their motions: sometimes he looks concerned that he has killed them, and so put an end to the diversion that they gave him. Sometimes they shew the courage and steadiness of this infant hero; his strong gripe of the serpents, and his killing them at the same time with so much ease, that he scarce deigns to look upon them. Sometimes the nurse is introduced with his twin-brother, the little Euristheus, in her arms: she, quite frightened; but he not regarding her, nor wanting any of her assistance. All these different ways I have seen in gems, or marble; and could shew you most of them, among my drawings here: and, I think there is not any one of them, that the poets have not touched upon, (15) as well as the artists.

Pl. XVII.
FIG. 1.

Pl. XVII.
FIG. 2.

Pl. XVII.
FIG. 3.

ANOTHER of the previous exploits of Hercules, was killing a vast lion. There are several victories of his over lions, talked of by the antients: one in particular, as done when he was very young; and another, after he was entered on that great resolution of passing his whole life in a continued course of combating monsters, and of doing good. The lion he killed in his youth was encountered by him in a valley, near his native city of Thebes; and the other, (which is the first of his twelve celebrated labours,) was the Cleonæan lion: if we may trust to a passage (16) in Statius. Hercules is described by the poets, in his conquests of lions, two different ways: either as squeezing them to death, against his own breast (17); or as tearing their jaws asunder. The former seems to have been the method used by him in his earlier engagements. It was a very awkward way of killing such monsters; as appears but too much, in the figures (18) that represent it.

He

(13) See Plautus's *Amphitruo*. Act. 5. Sc. 1. §. 46, to 67.

(14) This perhaps is one of the most mysterious points, in all the mythology of the antients. Tho' Hercules was born not long before the Trojan war, they make him assist the gods in conquering the rebel giants; (Virgil. *Æn.* 8. §. 208.) and some of them talk of an oracle, or tradition in heaven, that the gods could never conquer them, without the assistance of a man. Apollodorus. *Bibl. Lib. 1.* & Macrobius. *Sat. Lib. 1. Cap. 20.*

(15) — Igneus serpentium

Oculos, remisso pectore ac placido intuens.

Hercules Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 1. §. 219.

— Cum prima novæcæ

Monstra manu premeres, atque examinata doleres.

Statius. *Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. §. 48.*

Eldit geminos infans, nec respicit, angues.

Martial. *Lib. 14. Ep. 177.*

Ego cunas recessim, rursum vorum trahere & ducere;
Metuens pueris, mihi formidans: tantoque angues acris
Persequi. Postquam conspexit angues ille alter puer,
Citus e cunis exiit; facit recta in angues impetum;
Atherum altera apprehendit eos manu perniciter.

The Nurse, in Plautus's *Amphit.* Act. 5. Sc. 1. §. 64.

(16) Illius in speciem, quem per Theumefia Tempe
Amphitryoniades, victum juvenilibus annis,
Ante Cleonæi vestitur prælia monstri.

Statius. *Theb. 1. §. 487.*

Tempe is sometimes used, by the antients, for any very pleasant valley. This lion was killed in the vale,

at the foot of Theumefus; a mountain, near Thebes. Hercules was born in that city: and so may very well be supposed to have killed this lion in one of his walks; before he set out, to travel over more distant countries, on his professed design of clearing the world of monsters.

(17) As squeezing them against his breast.

— Hoc pectore pressus

Vastator Nemees.

Statius. *Lib. 4. Sylv. 6. §. 41.*

— Maximus Nemeæ timor gemuit læcrtis pressus
Herculeis leo.

Her. *Furens. Act. 1. Sc. 1. §. 225.*

— Rabidi cum colla minantia monstri

Angeret; & tumidos animam angustaret in artus.

Statius. *Theb. 4. §. 828.* (Of the Nemean lion too. *Ibid.* §. 825.)

— Anhelantem duro Thyrsanthius angens

Pectoris attritu, sua frangit in ossa leonem.

Ib. *Lib. 6. §. 271.*

As tearing their jaws asunder.

In foribus, labor Alcide; Lerneæ recisus
Anguibus Hydra jacet; nixque elisa leonis
Ora Cleonæi, patulo celantur hiatu.

Silius. *Ital. Lib. 3. §. 34.*

(18) Statius seems to hint at this, in the passage last quoted from that poet: where he adds;
Haud illum impavidi, quamvis & in ære, suumque
Inachidæ videre decus.

5

Theb. 6. §. 273.

He was all the while exposed, both to their fangs and claws: and tho' he might get the better of them any way, by his immense strength; he must have suffered all the while himself extremely, in such a method of destroying them.

THERE is a figure of Hercules very young, and yet with the lion's skin over his head, Pl. XVII. FIG. 4 in the Capitol at Rome. This may serve to justify several modern artists, who have been generally thought to give Hercules this dress too early. You have seen the picture designed by the late Lord Shaftesbury, which represents Hercules determining, (at his setting out in life,) whether he should follow virtue or pleasure; and choosing the former with all her difficulties, rather than the latter with a load of ignominy. As his known labours were the consequence of this resolution, and as the killing a lion was one of these labours; every body almost that sees this picture is apt to observe, that the lion's skin is given him a little too soon in it. If this observation were true, it would fall on several very eminent painters, as well as on Lord Shaftesbury; for they have generally followed the same method, in their pictures of this story. But if one lion's skin may not be allowed them, we have others, you see, at their service; and, for my own part, I own I should not think it wrong, even if Hercules had never killed any lion before this determination of his; because it seems to me more necessary to mark out their hero, and not leave him unknown, than to observe the order of time so very scrupulously. Be that as it will, it now appears that the fact too is for them; Hercules having acquired such a spoil in his younger days, and before the point of time when he took up that noble resolution of dedicating his whole life to virtue: the idea of which, in the old Roman scheme, (directly opposite to the modern monkish one,) consisted entirely in activity; and in going thorough the most busy scenes of life, and all the difficulties of it, with steadiness and resolution.

AND this indeed is what seems to have been shadowed out in the various exploits attributed by the ancients to Hercules; and to be pointed at in the very name they gave them, when they called them his labours. The two previous exploits of his I have mentioned, are all that evidently appear to have been done before the celebrated ones, which are called, by way of eminence, his Twelve Labours; and which he was obliged to go thorough, by the fatality of his birth, and the malignity of Juno. The Roman poets call them, (19) twelve; but what these twelve were, is much easier to be fixed from the old artists, than the poets: for, Martial, Ovid, Silius, and even Virgil himself, where they speak of the exploits of Hercules, usually blend his extraordinary and ordinary labours so much (20) together, that it is impossible from them alone to know the one from the other. However one may learn what the twelve were, from (21) several relievos

(19) O cui jus cæli bis sex fecere labores!

Ovid. Met. 15. v. 39.

We learn from Petronius, that there were little vulgar books about them; (not unlike our little histories of the seven champions, or the four sons of Aymon, among the French.) For Trimalchio, in his satire, when he does not know what to do to carry off a little time, says: Rogo, Agamemnon mihi carissime, numquid duodecim Ærumnas Herculis tenes? Aut de Ulyssæ fabulam? Petronius Arbiter. p. 81.

(20) Martial mentions seven of the ordinary labours, and two of the extraordinary. Lib. 9. Ep. 102.—Ovid, ten of the ordinary, and four of the extraordinary. Met. 9. v. 180.—The author of Hercules Furens, ten of the ordinary, and three of the others. Act. 2. Sc. 1.—Silius, six of the ordinary, and two of the others. Lib. 3. v. 44.—Virgil, but two of the ordinary; and six of the extraordinary. Æn. 8. v. 287.

(21) It may not be improper to insert here a list of the twelve labours of Hercules from some of these relievos; and from some of the lower poets: as they probably wrote them, to serve for inscriptions to other relievos of the same kind.

The order of them on the Albano Altar.	On the Relievo, at the Villa Casali, in Rome.
1. Lion	Lion
2. Hydra	Hydra
3. Boar	Boar
4. Stag	Stag
5. Stymphalides	Stymphalides
6. Stables	Stables
7. Bull	Horses
8. Horses	Bull
9. Geryon	Amazon
10. Amazon	Geryon
11. Cerberus	Hesperides
12. Hesperides	Cerberus

II h

Aufonius?

relievo's, on this subject, which are still remaining in Italy: and as to the particular order of them, (in which the relievo's themselves do not agree,) I shall chiefly follow this drawing, taken from an altar which used to stand, almost neglected, by the gate of Albano; but has been very lately removed, by the order of the pope, to the Capitoline gallery.

As this old altar for many years served only as a seat, for any idle person that chose to saunter in the place where it stood; it has been ill used, and has suffered in several parts of it: and particularly so much in the three first labours, that it is impossible to make them out from two several drawings I have of them. I shall therefore supply these three, from some other antiques. The other nine, are most of them very well preserved; and all so well, as not to stand in need of any other supply.

Pl. XVIII. The first of these labours, is Hercules's engagement with the Cleonæan lion. I have
FIG. 1. a drawing of it here: taken from a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. You see Hercules is represented in it, killing that monster, (in the same manner that Samson is most commonly drawn by our modern painters,) by tearing his jaws asunder: and just as Silius says this action was wrought (22) on the folding-doors of a very antient temple of Hercules, at Gades, in Spain.

Pl. XVIII. This drawing of the second, or the conquest of the Hydra, is taken from another
FIG. 2. gem in the same collection. This seems to have been one of the most (23) difficult tasks Hercules was ever engaged in. The old artists differ in their manner of representing the Hydra. Sometimes it is a serpent, branched out into several other serpents; and sometimes, a human head; descending less and less, in serpentine-folds; and with serpents upon it, instead of hair. The poets seem to speak of (24) both; tho' they have, perhaps, been generally understood only of the former. As any one of these serpents heads were said to double upon being cut off, the number of heads must have been very much at the choice of any artist who represented this combat. The poets speak of them as very numerous; and carry it sometimes as far as (25) a hundred. The artists are much more moderate

Aufonius's inscription, probably for some old relievo on this subject.

Prima Cleonæi tolerata ærumna leonis.
Proxima Lernæanæ ferro & face contudit Hydram.
Mox Erymantheum vis tertia percussit aprum.
Æripedis quarto tulit aurea cornua cervi.
Stymphalides pepulit volucres discrimine quinto.
Threiciam sexto spoliavit Amazona baltheo.
Septima in Augææ stabulis impenfa laboris.
Oclava expulso numeratur adorea Tauro.
In Diomedis victoria nona quadrigis.
Geryone extincto decimam dat Iberia palmam.
Undecimo mala Hesperidum destituta triumpho.
Cerberus extremi suprema est meta laboris.

Hilafius's inscription, for another.

Compressit Nemex primum virtute leonem
Exincta est anguis quæ pullulat Hydra secundo.
Tertius evictus fas est Erymanthus ingens.
Cornibus auratis cervum necat ordine quarto.
Deiecit horrifono quinto Stymphalidas arcu.
Abiit Hippolite sexto sua vincula victæ.
Septimus Augææ stabulum labor egerit undæ.
Oclavo domuit magno ludamine taurum.
Tum Diomedis equos nono, cum rege, peremit.
Geryonem decimo triplici cum corpore vicit.
Undecimo abstractus vidit nova Cerberus altra.
Postremo Hesperidum victor tulit aurea mala.

These four, all agree in the same labours; tho' they all differ, more or less, in the order of them. The latter inscription I first met with in an edition of all Virgil's works, by Theodore Pulman, at Leyden; 1595. It is there attributed to Hilafius, an old grammarian. Whoever the author be, he seems

to mistake a little at his first setting out; in calling this lion, the Nemean lion. It was rather, the Cleonæan, as Aufonius calls it; and as one may infer from what Statius says, Theb. 1. 3. 487. in Note 12, anteh.

(22) Silius Ital. Lib. 3. 3. 4, 14, 18; & 33. (See Note 17, anteh.)

(23) — Diram quid contudit Hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit.
Horat. Lib. 2. Ep. 1. 3. 11.

Non Hydra scisso corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculeum.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 4. 3. 62.

(24) — Non te rationis egentem
Lernæus turbæ caput circumfudit anguis.
Virgil. Æn. 8. 3. 300.

— Clypeoque, infigere paternum,
Centum angues, cinctamque gerit serpentibus
Hydram.
Ibid. 7. 3. 658.

— Cum per artus Hydra fuscandum meos
Caput explicaret. —
Hercules Oët. Act. 4. Sc. 2. 3. 1293.

That is, fecundum serpentibus caput; not, capita. The old part that lies by the statue of Hercules killing the Hydra, in the Capitol, has a human head with great serpents growing out of it.

(25) Vulneribus secunda suis fuit illa; nec ullum
De centum numero caput est impune recitum;
Quin gemino cervix hæcde valentior efficit.
Ovid Met. 9. 3. 72.

moderate in their numbers of them: they usually give only seven: I suppose, to prevent the confusion, that such a croud of heads must have occasioned in a relieve or picture; in the same manner as the painter in the Vatican Virgil represents Briareus, who was always said to have an hundred hands, only with eight.

THE third, or the Erymanthian boar, is represented here; from a gem, in the king of France's collection. You see, he has tossed the monster over his shoulder; and is carrying him away, as in triumph. I do not remember any thing descriptive relating to this, in any of the Roman poets: unless Martial may possibly allude to some whimsical representation of it, in a verse of his (26) which I do not well understand.

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 3.

WE come now to the fourth, or the wild stag; which, (as well as all the rest,) is evident enough, on the altar in the Capitol. This was a strange stag; and is said by the poets, to have been of a prodigious size; and to have had (27) brazen feet. You see him however here, brought to the ground; and Hercules kneeling on him, as quite conquered.

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 4.

THE Stymphalides, (agreeable to an expression (28) in Martial,) are supposed to be so high, that the artist has not expressed them in this work. You only see Hercules shooting with his bow, up into the air; and one of these birds lying dead on the ground before him. I have seen them expressed on gems, as flying too: but then Hercules is kneeling, to allow the greater distance between him and the birds. Even so, they look much too near; and I think the best way, where they are so cramped for room, is to do as the artist has done here: to omit the flight of the birds; and to ascertain the story, by one or more of them dropped at his feet.

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 5.

THE sixth labour, is his cleansing Augeas's stables. You see him here, as resting after it: sitting on his basket; and with a dung-fork, in his hand. This was, certainly, one of the meanest employments that Euristheus found out for Hercules: and that may be the reason why it is not mentioned by any of the Roman poets, that I know of, except the author of one of their tragedies (29). They probably looked on it as too disgraceful for their great hero, when taken according to the outward appearance; tho' it might perhaps include as high a mystic sense, as any of his noblest exploits.

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 6.

HERCULES is represented here, in his seventh labour, as having flung the bull over his left shoulder; with as much ease as he did the Erymanthian boar. I imagine too, from a verse in Ovid (30), that he was sometimes represented holding him by the horns; as he does the stag, in the drawing I shewed you a little before.

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 7.

HERCULES's eighth labour, is his killing Diomed and his horses. That tyrant of Thracæ, was most infamous for his barbarities. Among other things, he is said to have drove four furious horses in his war-chariot; and to give them the more spirit and fierceness, he used to feed them with the flesh and blood of his subjects. I have seen antiques in which some of those miserable wretches are represented as flung alive into the manger, before them. Hercules is said to have freed the world from this barbarous practice; and to

PL. XVIII.
FIG. 8.

(26) Addidit Arcadio terga leonis apro.

Mart. Lib. 9. Ep. 102. v. 6.

(29) And he too, marks its being scandalous, or disgraceful.

(27) — Pessique Erymanthia; & altos

Æripedis ramos superantia cornua cervæ.

Sil. Ital. Lib. 3. v. 39.

Nec ad omne clarum facinus audaces manus

Stabuli fugavit turpis Augiæ labor.

Herc. Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 1. v. 248.

(28) Æripedem sylvæ cervam, Stymphalidas astris

Abstulit. —

Mart. Lib. 10. Ep. 102. v. 8.

(30) Vosne manus, validi preffistis cornua tauri?

Ovid. Met. 9. v. 185.

to have killed both him and his horses : as is signified by this drawing ; and said expressly (31) by some of the poets.

PL. XVIII. FIG. 9. THE ninth labour of Hercules here, is his combat with Geryon. Geryon is generally represented with three bodies ; agreeably to the expressions (32) used of him by the poets. Tho' they call him so large, it must be owned, that in this drawing he looks too much like a little boy. But perhaps this is a case of the same kind with one I mentioned to you before (33), in relation to Jupiter, and one of the rebel-giants ; and then ought rather to be considered as an aggrandizing of Hercules, than as a lessening of Geryon : for of what a vast height must the hero himself have been, since the head of Geryon, (who was himself a giant,) does not reach so high as Hercules's navel ?

PL. XVIII. FIG. 10. THE tenth is his conquest of the Amazon ; and in the works representing this story, you generally see him taking off her zone : as in this drawing, in particular ; and as the poets, I think, always chuse to describe him (34), on this occasion.

PL. XVIII. FIG. 11. THE eleventh is his dragging Cerberus up from the infernal regions : a subject, in which the poets seem to have exceeded the sculptors very much. The latter only representing Hercules dragging Cerberus after him ; whereas in the (35) poetical descriptions of this affair, you have Cerberus's trembling ; his dread of the light, which he had never seen before ; his endeavouring to draw back from it, and his turning away of his eyes, to avoid the torture of beholding it. All this is expressed in so picturesque a manner by Virgil and Ovid, that I cannot help thinking that they borrowed some of their strokes, from some celebrated picture or other on this subject in their time.

PL. XVIII. FIG. 12. THE twelfth and last, is his killing the serpent and gaining the golden fruit, in the gardens of the Hesperides. In the many antiques that represent this story, you always see the serpent twining round the tree ; as he is described by (36) Lucan ; who, by the way, gives a fuller account of this affair than any other of the Roman poets :) and in some of them, you have the nymphs themselves, who took care of this heathen paradise ; and more particularly, of this celebrated tree. The thing most to be remarked in the drawing before you, is the erect air of Hercules, and that look which seems to shew something of satisfaction and triumph, on his having thus at last accomplished all the orders of Euristheus.

I AM glad we are got thorough these twelve fated labours of Hercules, as Horace (37) calls them : for as they were a sort of systematical thing among the antients, I was willing

(31) Juxta, Thraces equi.—

Sil. Ital. Lib. 3. §. 38.

Quid ? cum Thraces equos humano sanguine pingues,
Plenaque corporibus laceris præcepia vidi,
Visaque dejecti ; dominumque, ipsosque peremi.

Ibid. §. 196.

(32) Tergemini nece Geryonæ spoliisque superbus
Alcides aderat.—

Virgil. Æn. 8. §. 203.

Ter amplum Geryonem.—

Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 14. §. 8.

— Nec me pastoris lberi

Forma triplex ; nec formatriplex totus, Cerbere, movit.

Met. 9. §. 185.

Quidve tripeçlora tergemini vis Geryonai ?

Lucr. 5. §. 28.

Forma tricorporis umbræ.

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 289.

(33) See Dial. 6. p. 54, anteh.

(34) — Vestrâ virtute relatus

Thermodontiaco cæclatus balteus auro.

Ovid. Met. 9. §. 189.

Pelratam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo.

Marual. Lib. 9. Ep. 102.

(35) Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincula petivit
Iplius a sollo regis ; traxique trememem.

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 395.

Est via declivis, per quam Tyrrhinus heros
Resanem, contraque diem radiosque micantes
Obliquantem oculos, nexis adamante catenis
Cerberon abstraxit.—

Ovid. Met. 7. §. 413.

(36) — Fuit aurea sylvæ,

Divitiisque gravis et fulvo germine rami :

Virgineusque chorus, nitidi custodia luci ;

Et nunquam somno damnatus lumina serpens,

Robora complexus rutilo curvata metallo.

Abtulit arboribus pretium, nemorque laborem,

Alcides ; passusque inopes sine pondere ramos,

Rettulit Argolico fulgentia poma tyranno.

Lucan. 9. §. 367.

(37) Note 23, anteh.

willing to mention them all, tho' I had nothing material to observe on some of them. As to the extraordinary exploits of Hercules, (such as he undertook voluntarily, and of his own accord,) I need not be so particular. There are (38) several mentioned by the poets; but I shall shew you only two or three antiques of such among them, as seem the most likely either to give some light to the classics, or to receive some light from them.

ONE of the most remarkable among these voluntary labours of Hercules was his combat with Antæus. Antæus, you know, was a vast giant; and so, according to the ancient mythology, was very (39) naturally supposed to be a son of the earth. As Hercules travelled all over the world to rid it of monsters, he fought out this giant in Africa; and had a long combat with him there. Their way of fighting was a mixture between wrestling and boxing: such as was frequently used in the Circus, at Rome; and what may be seen to this day, (perhaps in its greatest perfection,) in our English Circus Maximus, the celebrated Mr. Figg's amphitheater. In this sort of combat, Hercules foiled his antagonist several times; but as often as he fell on his mother the earth, she constantly supplied him with new strength. He freed himself from Hercules; and always rose with fresh vigour for the fight. Hercules, after fatiguing himself a considerable time in vain, at length found out the mystery: and, instead of flinging him on the ground, (as he had done so often to no purpose,) he grasped him in his arms; lifted him up from the earth; and held him there, till he had pressed him to death against his own bosom. Lucan has given us a very long account of this combat: and is very particular as to the two chief points in it; Hercules's struggling with him in vain (40) on the ground, and his (41) holding him up and pressing him to death in the air.

THE former part of this combat, I never yet met with on any antique. Perhaps they did not care to represent Hercules even as likely ever to have been defeated, or at least baffled of his victory. The statues of the latter part, or of his victory over Antæus, were common of old; and Martial speaks of one of them in particular, which was very properly placed (42) in the Circus at Rome; and seems to have given its name to that part of the Circus where it stood. This point of the story is still not uncommon; and I have seen it on gems and medals, as well as in statues. The large statue of this, in the Great

Duke's

(38) Such, as his bearing the heavens; Ovid. Met. 9. v. 198.—His opening mountains, and making a passage for the sea. Herc. Furens. Act. 2. Sc. 1. v. 235.—His conquering the Centaurs; Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 294.—His killing Cacus in Europe, and Busiris and Antæus in Africa; Martial. Lib. 9. Ep. 102. Ovid. Met. 9. v. 182, & 183:—and his taking several cities in Europe, and Asia; Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 290.

(39) All the rebel giants had been supposed to be sons of the earth, long before: and indeed, according to some, the very name of giant signifies earth-born, or son of the earth.

(40) — Jam terga viri cedentia victor
Alligat, & medium compressis ilibus arctat,
Inguinaque inferis pedibus distendit; & omnem
Explicuit per membra virum. Rapti arida tellus
Sudorem; calido complentur sanguine venæ:
Intumuerunt tori, totosque induit artus;
Herculeoque novo laxavit corpore nodos.
Lucan. 4. v. 632.

(41) "Hærebis pressis intra mea pectora membris!
Hæc, Antæ, cades." Sic fatus fustulit altè,
Nitentem in terras, juvenem. Morientis in artus
Non potuit nati Tellus summittere vires,
Alcides medium tenuit, jam pectora pigro
Stricta gelu; terrisque diu non credidit hostem.
Ibid. v. 653.

(42) Hæc rapit Antæi velox in pulvere Draucus;
Grandia qui vano colla labore facit.

Martial. Lib. 14. Ep. 48.

As the area of their amphitheaters was called arena by the Romans, so the area of their circus's was called pulvis: and as the word arena was often used by them for the whole amphitheater, so was the word pulvis used for the whole circus.

Pulvis is used for the area of the circus, by Statius;

— Illos ipse volantes
Pulvis & incurvæ gaudent agnoscere metæ.

Lib. 5. Sylv. 2. v. 26.

And for particular circus's, by the same:

— Aut quem de turribus altis
Arcadas Ogygio versantem in pulvere metas
Speculabant Tyriæ non torvo lumine matres.

Ibid. v. 124.

— Et nuper Nemeæ in pulvere felix
Alcidas, primis quem castris ipse ligarat
Tyndarides.—

Id. Theb. 10. v. 501.

Ovid uses it, in general, for a circus.

Acer equus quondam, magnæque in pulvere famæ.
Met. 7. v. 542.

As the area of the circus, was called pulvis in general; so that part of it, where the figures of Hercules and Antæus stood, seems from Martial's distich above cited to have been called, pulvis Antæi.

Pl. XIX.
Fig. 1.

Duke's palace at Florence, represents Hercules's steadiness whilst he is pressing Antæus to death; and Antæus as far spent, and endeavouring but faintly to rid himself from the knot, in which Hercules grasps him round the middle. This is very like the figure we see on medals; and they might all perhaps have been copied from the famous statue of Polycletus on this subject, mentioned by (43) Pliny to have been at Rome in his time. It agrees very well with Lucan's description of this combat (44), toward the end of it; as possibly there might have been other figures which agreed with Ovid's account: who seems to make Hercules hold this vast giant up under his (45) left arm only; whilst he finishes the combat, by throttling him with his right hand.

THERE is a little groupe relating to this story in the Florentine gallery, where you have the figures of Antæus and Hercules engaged, and Minerva standing by; to signify that Hercules gained this conquest by policy as well as strength. I take this to be the intention of the artist; because tho' some of the antient poets seem to make Minerva as (46) constant an attendant of Hercules, as Monsieur Fenelon has made her to his young hero, yet she is not generally represented with him by the artists in his other exploits; and indeed in no one of them, that I know of, but this.

BELLORI takes the subject of one of the paintings, found in the sepulcher of the Nafonian family, to be this combat of Hercules and Antæus. In the midst of it is one man, holding up another. Behind them, stands Minerva as busy and directing: and before them is a figure of a woman, sitting; as in great concern. The person, who is held up, has his foot stretched out toward her. The fitting figure Bellori says is the Earth, or Tellus; the mother of Antæus. Cafaubon makes use of this picture, in his Juvenal illustrated from antiques; to explain a passage relating to Hercules and Antæus: and Montfaucon has received it under the same notion, into his collection of antiquities.

THERE is a passage (47) in Statius with which this particular in the picture, of Antæus's endeavouring to reach the goddess Tellus, if it were only with the extremity of his foot, would square much better; than it does with that in Juvenal, to which it is applied by Cafaubon. I have not however admitted a drawing of this picture into my collection as yet, being in some doubt about it: the two principal figures being too young for Hercules and Antæus; and not at all answering their strength and character. To say the truth, as Santo Bartoli has given them, and as the others have copied them from him, they look more like two boys playing together; than two such heroes, engaged in combat. So that if it was originally meant for this story, either the painter performed his part in the principal figures, very poorly; or the engravers have copied them very ill.

THE passage in Juvenal, to which Cafaubon applies this picture, may be as well illustrated from any common figure of Hercules; or at least, any figure of Hercules holding up Antæus. It is where Juvenal is exclaiming against the folly and extravagance of flatterers; who do not only neglect to look out for some excellence in those, whom they extol so much; but cry them up, for the very things in which they are most defective. "They

are

(43) Among the famous works of Polycletus, that writer mentions; Herculem, qui Romæ, Antæum a terrâ sustinentem. Nat. Hist. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 383. Ed. Elz.

(44) Alcides medium tenuit, jam pectora pigro
Stricta gelu. —

Lucan. 4. 5. 653.

(45) Quique inter lævumque latus, lævumque lacertum,
Prægrave compressâ fauce pependit onus.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 9. 5. 98.

(46) Quantum hæc, Diva, manus? quoties sudaverit ægis
Ita mihi? —

Says Hercules to Minerva, in Statius's Theb. 8. 5. 512.

Sic tibi non ulla sociâ sine Pallade pugnæ;
Nec facer invidet paribus Thyrius ædis.

(Spoke, to Thebes;) Ib. 12. 5. 584.

(47) — Herculeis pressum sic fama lacertis

Terrigenam sudasse Libyn, cum fraude repertâ
Raptus in excelsum est: nec jam spes ulla cadendi;
Nec licet extremâ matrem contingere plantâ.

Statius. Theb. 6. 5. 896.

are sure (48), says he, with all their wisdom, to commend the fine sense of the ignorant ; and the beauty, of the deformed : and if a man is of a weak make, and has a particular long taper neck, they will compare it to the short thick neck of Hercules ; even when all the veins of it too are swelled, by his having pressed Antæus so long against his breast." What an excess they run to in such a comparison, will appear to any one who is well acquainted with the antient statues and figures of Hercules, much more strongly ; than can be easily imagined, by those who are unacquainted with them.

I HAVE been so long on this combat of Hercules with Antæus, that I will mention but one more of his supernumerary exploits ; for fear of quite tiring you with accounts of giants and monsters. As Hercules freed Africa from this destroyer, so when he was in Italy he put an end to the villainies of a very notorious robber there. You will know, by the character, that I mean Cacus. Virgil gives as ample an account of this exploit, as Lucan does of the former. There are some antient gems that represent Cacus, in the act of stealing Hercules's oxen ; and dragging them to his cave by their tails, just as the story is related by Virgil (49) ; and, on the reverse of a medal of Antoninus Pius, you see him lying dead at the feet of Hercules ; and the country-people pressing towards the hero ; and kissing his hand as their great deliverer : but I have never yet met with the combat itself, between them, on any medal, gem, or marble. As this was a subject so much more proper for (50) painters, than for sculptors, it is no wonder that we do not meet with it in the works of the latter : And as to the antient paintings, you know, there is but a small share of them that remains to us. Virgil and Ovid differ in their accounts of this combat : the latter makes Hercules (51) dash Cacus's brains out, with his club ; whereas the former speaks, very expressly, of his squeezing him to death. If this point were to be determined by their single authorities, it is easy to guess on which side the scale must turn ; for Virgil was certainly the most exact of all the Roman poets ; and Ovid the most inexact of them ; at least, of all in his time. Indeed Virgil, in this particular case, seems to have very good reason for what he says. He makes Hercules go out with his usual weapon, his club, to pursue Cacus ; but when he has found him out, and plunges into his cave, which was all dark and full of smoke ; his club would be of no use to him, as he could not see where to direct his blows. He therefore makes him rush on ; and when he meets Cacus, he lays hold of him with one hand, (in the manner of the Luctantes of old,) and throttles him with the other. Both Virgil and Juvenal (52) mention, that Hercules, after he had killed him, dragged him out of his cave by the feet ; and Juvenal, in particular, in such a manner, as shews that he referred to some known painting or sculpture of this part of the story, in his time ; in which Cacus seems to have made a very contemptible and ignominious figure.

PL. XIX.
FIG. 2.

In the Palazzo Sampieri at Bologna, there are three ceilings painted by Lewis, Hannibal, and Austin Carache. The subject of the latter is this very story of Hercules killing Cacus : and it is very remarkable in it, that he has given Cacus a human body with the head

(48) — Adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
Sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici ;
Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus æquat
Herculis, Antæum procul a tellure tenentis.
Juvenal. Sat. 3. v. 89.

Fumus agit, nebulaque ingens specus æstuat atræ.
Hic Cacus in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
Corripit, in nodum complexus ; & angit in hærens
Elisos oculos, & siccam sanguine guttur.
Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 261.

(49) — Hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
Caudâ in speluncam tractos, versisque viarum
Iudiciis raptos, fax occultabat opaco.
Æn. 8. v. 211.

(51) Ovid. Fast. 1. v. 576.

(52) Duceris plantâ, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
Et ponere foris ; si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiscere. —

(50) Faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,
Evomit, involvitque domum caligine cæcâ,
Prospexitur crispans oculis ; glomeratque sub antro
Fumiferam noctem committitis igne tenebris.
Non tulit Alcides animis ; seque ipse per ignem
Præcipiti injectis saltu, quâ plurimus undam

Juvenal. Sat. 5. v. 127.
— Pedibus informe cadaver
Protrahitur. Nequeant expleri corda tuendo
Terribiles oculos ; vultum, villosaque fetis
Pectora semiferi ; atque extinctos faucibus ignes.
Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 267.

head of a beast. This work was done in the height of the school of the Caraches; and might possibly be borrowed from some antique. What made me first entertain this fancy, was Virgil's calling (53) *Cacus* a monster, in one place; and half a man and half a beast, in others. It is true, I have yet never met with any antique that represents *Cacus* in this manner; there are so few as yet discovered, that relate to this story. Perhaps, one day or other, some others may come to light; in which we may see him with as much of the brute in marble, as *Carache* has given him in his painting.

Pl. XIX.
Fig. 3.

If one was to consider all these, and the many other exploits attributed to *Hercules* together, one should be apt to think that his whole life was made up of difficulties and hardships; quite from his being born into the world, to his agonies on mount *Oëta*. *Ovid* has given (54) a full account of this last scene of his glorious life. *Silius Italicus* mentions a fine relicvo, representing him (55) on the funeral pile, on the gates of a temple dedicated to him of old; and *Pliny* speaks of a very celebrated (56) statue of *Hercules*, in his last torments, at Rome. There is now a very fine one there, in the Palazzo *Barbarini*, which is evidently of the high Greek taste: the face of which very plainly expresses the agonies he suffered, from the envenomed robe that stuck to him; and insinuated its poison, into all parts of his body. *Ovid*, after giving this account of the sufferings of *Hercules*, describes his being carried into heaven, where he was received into the society of Jupiter and the great gods; and takes notice of his personage, as enlarged and rendered more (57) august and venerable, than it was in his state of mortality. I wish we had the famous picture of his assumption, which *Pliny* (58) mentions as extant, in his time; in the Portico of *Octavia*. There is a Greek relieve, in (59) *Montfaucon*, in which *Hercules* is represented, as received into the heavens: and tho' it is pretty oddly imagined, (for he is attended by Fauns and Satires there;) and is not perhaps of so good an age, as one could wish; yet it represents this hero, as large and majestic: and sufficiently agrees with what is said of him after his deification, by *Ovid*.

I CANNOT help observing, interposed *Mysagetes*, that there are several particulars in the character of this great exemplar of virtue among the heathens, (as I think you called him,) which would give infinite pleasure to the good bishop that we used to visit at the Propaganda,

- (53) Haic monstro Vulcanus erat pater. —
Æn. 8. v. 198.
Semihominis Caci. —
Ibid. v. 194.
Pectora femiferi. —
Ibid. v. 267.
(54) Dum potuit, solita gemitum virtute preffit:
Vieta malis postquam patientia, reppulit aras,
Implevitque suis memorosam vocibus Oeten.
Nec modus est: forbent avidæ præcordia flammæ,
Ceruleusque fluit toto de corpore sudor;
Ambustus sonant nervi: cæcæque medullis
Tabæ liquefactis, tendens ad sidera palmas,
Cladibus, exclamat, Saturnia pascere nostris!
Pascere, & hanc pellem spectra cradelis ab alto;
Corque ferum satia! —
Ovid. Met. 9. v. 168.

This is while he labours with the torments of the poisoned shirt, that stuck to all his skin. After he has made his funeral pile, and laid down on it, he is quite composed.

— Dumque avidis comprehenditur ignibus ægger,
Congeriem sylvæ Nemeæ vellere fumam
Sternis, & impositâ clavæ cervice recumbis;
Haud alio vultu, quàm si conviva jaceres
Inter plena meri redimitus pocula tertis.
Ibid. v. 238.

(55) *Silius*, Lib. 3. v. 43.

(56) In mentione statuarum est et una non preterenda, licet autoris incerti; juxta rostra, *Herculis* tunicati Eleo habitu, Romæ: torvâ facie, sentienteque; supremâ in tunica. *Pliny*, Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 352. Ed. Elz.

(57) Interea quodcumque fuit populabile flammæ
Mulciber abstulerat: nec cognoscenda remansit
Herculis effigies; nec quicquam ab imagine sumptum
Matris habet, tantumque Jovis vestigia servat.
Utque novus serpens posita cum pelle senectâ
Luxuriare solet, squamæque nitere recenti;
Sic ubi mortales *Tirynthius* exiit artus,
Parte sui meliore viget; majorque videri
Cæpit, & augustâ ferri gravitate verendus:
Quem pater omnipotens, inter cava nubila raptum
Quadrijugo curru, radiantibus intulit astris.
Ovid. Met. 9. v. 272.

(58) *Pliny*, in speaking of the paintings of *Artemon*, says the noblest of his works at Rome were, in porticibus *Octaviæ*; and among them mentions—*Herculem*, ab *Oëtâ* monte *Doridos*, exuta mortalitate, consensu deorum in cælum euntem. *Nat. Hist.* lib. 35. c. 11. p. 444. Ed. Elz.

Ovid's account tallies exactly with this: Exiit artus, says *Ovid*; and, exuta mortalitate, says *Pliny*: Consensu deorum, says *Pliny*; and, assensere dei, say *Ovid*. Met. 9. v. 259.

(59) *Montf.* Vol. I. Pl. 141.

Propaganda, when we were at Rome. You know, he had found out most of the mysteries of the christian religion, in the very earliest writers among the Chinese; and seemed to have a great deal of inclination to do the same, in the remains of the Greek and Roman artists. I remember to have heard, from a very good friend of the bishop's, that when Cardinal Polignac was making his collection of statues at Rome, and had just purchased a young Hercules strangling the serpents; he shewed it to several of his friends that happened to dine with him, to have their opinions of the figure. Some commended the attitude of the little Hercules; some, the steadiness of his face; and others, the expression of pain in the serpents. The bishop, who was of the company, seemed to have observed the figure more curiously than any of them; and yet had said nothing in commendation of it. After every body had given their opinions, the Cardinal at last turned to him; And pray, Monsignor, says he, what may be your opinion of it? "I think of it, says the bishop, what I doubt not your Eminence must have thought of it, long since; it is most evidently, a representation of the great hero; destroying the old serpent; by his being born into the world." How many particulars are there, my Polymetis, in what you have said in your account of Hercules, that would have been full as evident to the bishop as this? He would certainly have made a type of the hero, who chose virtue so early, and who suffered and acted for the good of mankind so steadily, thro' the general course of his life. His gaining the apples of the Hesperides, and his taking away Cerberus from the infernal regions, would have been clear points; and I question whether there be any one lion or giant that he killed, that would not have had some mystic meaning or other, which the bishop could have easily adapted to his favourite scheme.

As for my part, says Polymetis, I have nothing to do with the bishop's parallel in this case: it is beside my purpose at present; and should be ⁽⁶⁰⁾ most cautiously handled, at any time. But what I think would go a great way toward spoiling it is, that Hercules is represented by the antients with very great faults, as well as very great virtues. This killer of monsters was himself tamed by love; and an absolute slave to women: he drank as immeasurably, as he fought courageously: he is sometimes represented as transported with passion; and sometimes, as ⁽⁶¹⁾ cringing with fear. This indeed was in his mad fits, when he killed his friends, and dashed his children's brains out; after which monstrous action, he fell into a deep gloomy melancholy. So that this great hero might have set for both the characters represented over the gate of our hospital for lunatics; and had there been a house of that kind in Greece in his time, would have had a double right to an apartment in it.

AND was he represented in all these bad parts of his character by the antient artists, says Philander, as well as in the glorious ones? Yes, says Polymetis; I believe in all of them. Pliny tells us of a picture of him, done by ⁽⁶²⁾ Niccarchus; in which that great artist had drawn Hercules in his deep concern, for the outrages he had committed whilst his

(60) In looking over the remains of the antient artists, I have met with a great many things of this kind; some of which were very surprising; but I have generally forbore mentioning them, for several reasons; and more particularly for that, given by the great Lord Bacon, in his *Wisdom of the Antients*: where, (speaking of an old story of Hercules,) he says, "Thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known and common fable. And yet I will not deny, but that there may be some things in it, which have an admirable consent with the mysteries of christian religion. And especially, that falling of Hercules in a cup, to set Prometheus at liberty; seems to represent an image of the divine Word, coming in flesh as a frail vessel,

to redeem man from the slavery of hell. But I have interdicted my pen all liberty of this kind; lest I should use strange fire at the altar of the Lord." Lord Bacon's *Wisdom of the Antients*. p. 83.

(61) Pacatus mitisque veni! Nec turbidus irâ,
Nec famulare times: sed quem te Manalis Aogæ
Confectum thyalis & multo fratre madentem
Detinuit; qualemque vagæ post crimina noctis
Thespius oblitupuit toties fecer.—
Statius, *Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. 3. 43.*

(62) Niccarchus (fecit) Herculem tristem, infaniam
penitentiam. Pliny, *Nat. Hist. Lib. 35. c. 11. p. 449.*
Ed. Elz.

his mad fit was upon him. The drunken Hercules is no uncommon figure still; and Hercules demeaned by his amours is commonly to met with; and that represented in several different manners, some of which are as little to his honour as can well be imagined.

IN the frequent *Leſtiſterniums* that the Romans made to Hercules, they uſed even to invoke him under his drunken character, as one finds by Statius; and a particular friend of that poet had a very remarkable little figure of this god, which he uſed to place (63) upon his table, whenever any gayeties were carrying on there. I ſpeak of this figure as ſo remarkable, becauſe it had run thorough a ſeries of the (64) higheſt fortunes, of any ſtatue perhaps upon record. It was a Hercules (65) in miniature; of (66) braſs; and caſt by the famous (67) *Lyſippus*. Before it came into the family of Statius's friend, it belonged to (68) *Sylla* the dictator: before him it was in *Hannibal's* poſſeſſion; and was a particular favourite and fellow-traveller of his, in his expedition into Italy: as before that, it had accompanied Alexander the Great, all through his expedition in the eaſt. It was not a foot high; and ſo was portable enough. Theſe great men, no doubt, did not carry it about with them only for its beauty, but partly out of (69) devotion. or, (which is generally the ſame thing with great men,) out of a ſhew of devotion. He held (70) a *Cyathus* in one hand, and his club in the other, with a mild good-natured look, that ſeemed to invite others to be as happy and well pleaſed as himſelf: or poſſibly with the very ſame look, and that ſteddy pleaſure in drinking, with which he is represented on an antient gem: copied (71) perhaps from this very figure, by *Admon*; and belonging at preſent to the *Marquis Verolpi*, at Rome.

PL. XIX.
FIG. 4.

As to Hercules's amours, and his weakneſſes for women: it was a very common ſubject among the antient artiſts, to make Cupids taking away his club; or to repreſent him, (like the vaſt *St. Chriſtophers* of the modern ſtatuarys,) bending under a little boy. This was to ſhew that he, who conquered all other difficulties, was a ſlave to love; and that

(63) This was the general uſe of this figure; and it was hence it had its name, of *Hercules Epitrapezios*.

—— *Semper claros ornare penates*
Aſſuetum, & felix dominorum itemmate ſignum.
Statius, Lib. 4. *Sylv.* 3. *ſ.* 88.

(65) ——— *Parvique videri,*
Sentirique ingens. ——— Ibid. *ſ.* 38.
—— *Cum mirabilis intra*
Stet menſura pedem, tamen, &c. Ibid. 39.

(66) ——— *Valtus alios in numine caro;*
Æraque ſupremis timuit ſudantia menſis.
(Of Alexander the Great, and this figure) Ibid. *ſ.* 74.

(67) Ibid. *ſ.* 109.

(68) All this hiſtory of its fortunes, is given at large, in this poem of Statius.

(69) This appears from ſeveral paſſages in the ſame; and particularly from one quoted already, Note 66.

(70) *Nec torva effigies epuliſque aliena remiſſis;*
Sed qualem parci domus admirata Molorch,
Aut Aleæ lucis vidit Tegeæa ſacerdos:
Qualis & Oetæis emiſſus in aſtra favillis
Neſtar adhuc torvæ lætus Janone bibeſbat.
Sic mitis vultus, veluti de peſtore gaudens
Hortetur menſas. Tenet hæc marcentia fratris
Pocula; adhuc favæ meminit manus altera cædis:
Suſtinet occultum Nemeſo tegmine ſaxum.

Statius, Lib. 4. *Sylv.* 6. *ſ.* 58.

(71) The reaſon, that would chiefly induce one to imagine this to have been the caſe, is that known practice of the old ſculptors of copying the beſt and moſt celebrated ſtatues.

The ſtatue, here ſpoken of, was made by the beſt artiſt of his kind, in the very beſt age of ſtatuary: and muſt have had an additional reputation from the remarkable eminence of the perſons, in whoſe poſſeſſion it had ſucceſſively been: ſo that the chief queſtion ſeems to be, whether the figure on the gem be the ſame with that repreſented by this ſtatue.

As to that, it is certainly the very ſame deity; in the ſame particular character; and with the very ſame attributes in that character. It is Hercules; the Hercules *Bibax*; and that Hercules, holding the *Scyphus* in one hand, and his club, (his general characteriſtic,) in the other. His holding up the club, in the gem, (whereas one might rather have expected to ſee him leaning on it,) agrees particularly well with the *meminit manus altera cædis*, of Statius, where he is ſpeaking of this ſtatue of *Lyſippus*.

If there be any ſeeming objection to the probability of this; it is the want of the ſtone and lion's ſkin on the gem, which Statius mentions as belonging to the ſtatue: and this, I think, cannot be of any great force; becauſe nothing is more uſual with the ſtatuarys than to introduce ſome piece of rock, or even ſome piece without any meaning at all, to ſupport their figures; (*ſuſtinet*;) and as this ſort of ſupports is uſeful to a ſtatue, but of no ſignificance at all in a gem; the ſculptor would be as much to be commended for omitting it, as the ſtatuary was for inserting it.

that Cupid disarmed him of all his force. And this, I think, is yet more strongly expressed in all the figures, which shew his favourite mistresses dressed up in his lion's skin, (which was his known military dress;) or himself dressed up in their clothes. The chief scene of his effeminacies was in Asia; whilst he lived with Omphale, queen of Lydia. She indeed was not the only person with whom he made so despicable a figure; but it was with her that he acted his low part the most notoriously. In some of his fits, Ovid tells us (72) he gave up his favourite robe, the lion's skin, to her; and put on Omphale's head-dress, gown, bracelets, and necklace: in others, he attended her, like a slave (73), with her umbrella, to keep the sun from her. Sometimes you hear of his holding (74) the women's work-baskets for them, whilst they are spinning; and sometimes he even joins them in their work; and sets down to spin, himself. There is a statue of Hercules, with one of his mistresses, (and most probably it is Omphale, as it is generally called,) in the Farnese palace, at Rome; in which you see him in a woman's gown, and with the spindle in his hand. This statue of him is itself little; and the air of his face rendered so mean, that he looks much more like an old woman with a great beard, (as Parson Evans says of Sir John Falstaff in his disguise,) than a hero. All his dignity is (with much propriety) quite lost on this occasion: and it is probable that he sometimes made even a worse figure than this; for we are told that the women used to scold him, for working so awkwardly as he was apt to do; and that he threw himself at their feet, to deprecate the (75) lashes they threatened him with. Indeed there are so many of these faults and meannesses recorded of Hercules by the antients, that when one considers them, one is apt almost to lose sight of his great character: and to wonder how they could ever have given him the very (76) foremost place in this distinguished class of heroes; of those very few, who by their virtue obtained a place among the chief of all the celestial deities, in the highest heaven.

Pl. XIX.
Fig. 5.

BUT it is time to leave him; and to turn to his companion here, on your right hand. You see it is Bacchus; who, according to the antients, was almost as illustrious a conqueror and hero, as the person we have just quitted; tho' one should not be apt to imagine any such thing by his face, which is much more like that of a woman, than a man's.

Pl. XX.
Fig. 1.

IT is certain however, that the old Roman writers, and their poets in particular, speak of Bacchus (77) as a very great warrior. They say, that he traversed a great part of the world,

(72) Dumque parant epulas potandaque vina ministri,
Cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis: —
Ipsa capit clavamque gravem, spoliūque leonis.

Ovid. Fast. 2. §. 325.

Non puduit fortes auro cōhibere lacertos,
Et solidis gemmas apposuisse toris: —

Aufus es hirsutos mitrā redimire capillis;
Aptior Herculeæ populus alba comæ. —

Detrahat Anteus duro redimicula collo,
Ne pigeat molli succubuisse viro.

Id. Her. Ep. 9. §. 72. (Deianira, Herc.)

(73) Ibat odoratis humeros perfusa capillis
Mæonis, aurato conspicienda sinu:
Aurea pellebant rapidos umbracula fores;
Quæ tamen Herculeæ sustinuerunt manus.

Id. Fast. 2. §. 312.

(74) Inter Iōniacas calathum tenuisse puellas.
Diceris. —

Ovid. Her. Ep. 9. §. 74. (Deianira, Herc.)

(75) Crassaque robusto deducis pollice fila;
Æquaque formosæ pensâ rependis heræ.
Ah quoties, digitis dum torques flamina duris,
Prævalidæ fufos comminuere manus!
Credideris infelix, scuticæ tremefactus habenis,
Ante pedes dominz pertimuisse minas.

Ibid. §. 82.

(76) Lucian introduces Eſculapius disputing the right of precedence with Hercules; for the very reasons above given. Εγω δε, α κ' μινδεν αλλο, ως ε-
δουλευσα, ποτερον' ως εξαιτιν ερια, εν Αρδια' περιτριβη-
ε-δεδυκως, κ' παιματος υπο της Ομφαλης χιτωνος σαν-
δαλω. Αλλ' ως μελαγχολουσαι, απεκτηνα τα τεκνα,
κ' την γυναικα. Tom. I. p. 209. Ed. Blæu.

(77) ——— Præliis audax Liber.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 12. §. 21.

Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit;
Nec qui pampineis victor juga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celfo Nisæ de vertice tigris.

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 805.

——— Oriens tibi victus ad usque

Decolor extremo quæ cingitur India Gange.

Ovid. Met. 4. §. 21.

——— Gange, totoque oriente subacto.

Id. Fast. 3. §. 729.

Hæc te merentem, Bacche Pater, tux

Vexere tigres, indocili jugum

Collo trahentes: hæc Quirinus

Martis equis Acheronta fugit.

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. §. 16.

world, and made very considerable conquests in the east. Pliny, in particular, speaks of him as of a more celebrated conqueror than (78) Alexander the Great. The same author says that Bacchus was the first (79) inventor of triumphs: and there is scarce any subject more frequent in the old reliefs than Bacchus represented in a triumphal car, attended by an (80) effeminate fantastic set of women, fauns, and satyres: and generally with elephants, lions, or tigers, and other of the wild beasts so frequent in the Indies; to shew that it refers to his great eastern expedition, and his conquests in that part of the world. The Thyrsus, so much used in his triumphs, is (81) a mark of the same kind. It is from these great achievements of his, that Bacchus got a place in the highest heavens; and that you meet with his statue here, next to that of Hercules; with whom he is so often mentioned, as an instance of the two greatest conquerors in the earlier ages of the world. It seems to have been under this character too, that he was styled, Liber Pater; or, Bacchus the great prince and governor: a sense, in which Pater is often used in the Roman authors; and which, (as I have said before,) might possibly have been attached to that word, ever since the patriarchal form of government.

ALL this makes it the more strange to see Bacchus represented always in the best works of the ancients, with a face as young, and perhaps more beautiful and effeminate, than ever man had. From whatever reasons this might proceed, one finds that the Roman poets

(78) *Æquato, non modò Alexandri magni rerum fulgore, sed etiam Herculis prope, ac Liberi Patris.* Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. c. 26. p. 371. Ed. Elz.

The most strained compliment that the highest flatterers of Alexander the Great could pay him, was to say that he equalled, or exceeded, Bacchus and Hercules, in the extent of his conquests. Thus the two miserable poets, in Quintus Curtius: *Hi tum cælum illi aperiebant; Herculemque, et Patrem Liberum, & cum Polluce Castorem, novo numini cessuros esse jactabant.* Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. §. 18. And the petty kings of India: *Alexandro, fines Indiæ ingresso, gentium suarum Reguli occurrunt imperata facturi. "Illum tertium Jove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse, memorantes. Patrem Liberum, atque Herculem, famâ cognitos esse: ipsum coram adfice cernique."* Ibid. §. 32.

This was Alexander's great aim in setting out on that expedition. Illos terrarum orbis liberatores, emensisque olim Herculis & Liberi Patris terminos; non Persis modò, sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposuit jugum. Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. §. 24. And his constant argument for the completing it: *Ne infregitis in manibus meis palmam, quâ Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia abficerit, æquabo.* Id. Lib. 9. §. 6. — Ne inviderent sibi laudem quam peteret Hercules & Liberi Patris terminos transiituro. Ibid. §. 9. — It is observable that the Roman historians speak of these eastern conquests of Bacchus generally, by the way, and in a few words, as a thing well known. Thus Curtius above; and Justin, (of Mithridates' conquering Armenia;) *Primus humanorum post Herculem & Liberum Patrem, qui reges orientis fuisse traduntur, eam cœli plagam domuisse dicitur.* Lib. 42. c. 3. And of Alexander's being received at Nyfa; *Cum ad Nyfam urbem venisset, oppidanis non repugnantibus, (fiduciâ religionis Liberi Patris, à quo condita urbs erat,) parci jussit: letus non militiam tantum, verum & vestigia se dei secutum.* Id. Lib. 12. c. 7.

The time of this expedition of Bacchus appears,

from a passage in Statius, to have been before the Theban war; and not long before it.

*Errant gemine Diræa ad flumina tigris;
Mittit jugum, belli quondam vultor Eoi
Curus; Erythræis quas super victor ab oris
Liber in Æonios meritis dimiserat agros.*

Theb. 7. v. 567.

(79) *Emerere ac vendere instituit Liber Pater. Idem diadema, regum insigne, et triumphum invenit.* Pliny, Lib. 7. c. 56. p. 398. Ed. Elz.

(80) Juno, in Lucian, says that she should be ashamed of having had such a son as Bacchus; *Θυλὴς ἔσθ' ἡ διηρδάρμεις ὑπὸ τῆς μέδης· μήτρα μὲν αἰσθητὸς μένος τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ μαινόμεναις γυναιξὶ συναν, ἀσφρότερος αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὸ πυμπασί, ἡ αὐλοῖς, ἡ κυμβάλοις χορεύων.* — To which Jupiter answers: *Καὶ μὴν πῶς γὰρ ὁ Θανυμίτης, ὁ ἀσφρότερος τῶν γυναικῶν, ἡ μὲν τὴν Λυδῖαν ἐχειρώμενα, ἡ τὴν κατωκίτας τὸν Τυρρὸν ἐλαβὼς, ἡ τὴν Θερμακίαν ὑπεργαγῆτο· ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐπ' Ἰνδὸς πλάσας τὴν γυναικίῳ τυτὰν ἐρπυσίῳ, τὰς τε ἐλευσάσας εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ τὴν χώραν ἐκράτισεν· ἡ πὶ βεσσηνὰ, πρὸς εὐλογίαν ἀντιστῆναι πολυμοσίῳ, ἀρχιμυλῶν ἀπὸ γαζης. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀπάντα ἐπαρξέν, ὀρχημέσας ἀμὰ ἡ χορεύων· θυρσοῖς χρομέσας κίττιναις μέδων, ὡς φησὶ, ἡ ἐνδεαζών.* Ibid. p. 215. The same author describes him, and all his attendants, more at large; in his *Διονύσους*. Tom. II. p. 360, 361.

(81) *Et tu, Thyrsiferâ Liber ab Indiâ.*

Hippolitus. Ad. 2. Chor. v. 751.

When Marc Antony was bent on his eastern expedition, and thought of conquering the Indies, he imitated Bacchus, and his triumph. Cum ante novum se Liberum Patrem appellari jussisset; cum redimitus hederis, coronâque velatus aurâ, et thyrsium tenens, cothurnisque succinctus, curru velut Liber Pater vetus esset Alexandriæ. Velleius Paterculus. L. 2. §. 82.

poets fall in with the artists entirely, in this particular. They never once describe Bacchus as old. On the contrary, they speak as expressly of his (82) eternal youth, as they do of Apollo's; they talk much of his (83) extreme beauty: and mark out the (84) effeminacy of his face, very strongly.

THERE is one thing which the poets generally attribute to Bacchus, and which I have therefore been surprized not to find more commonly in his statues; and that is, his (85) horns. Even these were little, and pretty; and Ariadne, in Ovid, mentions them as (86) one reason why she fell in love with this god. I have sometimes thought of two different causes, why we may see them so very seldom in the figures of Bacchus that remain to us. One is the ignorance of the present antiquaries abroad, who perhaps when they have found a statue of Bacchus with horns, may have immediately taken it for a Faun; and then added, (a thing they are but too apt to practise,) some attribute of a Faun to the figure. The other, is the smallness of the horns themselves; which are therefore very liable to be hid, by the crown of grapes, or ivy, which is almost a constant ornament of the head of Bacchus. Some of the poets seem to hint at his horns being covered by the crown of grapes he wore on his head. But after all, when one considers how much the poets agree with the artists of old; how frequent this attribute is in them, and how very uncommon in statues; it is one of the greatest difficulties I have met with in this sort of search into antiquities: and what, I own, I cannot yet account for, so as to satisfy myself.

VIRGIL (87) speaks of some little heads of Bacchus, which the countrymen of old hung up on trees, that the face might turn every way; out of a notion, that the regards of

- (82) Et tu Thyrsigerâ Liber ab Indiâ,
Intonsâ juvenis perpetuum comâ.
Hippolitus. *Act. 2. Chor. 5. 252.*
— Ipse puer semper, juvenisque videris;
Et media est ætas inter utrumque tibi.
Ovid. *Fast. 3. 5. 774.*
Solis æterna est Phœbo, Bacchoque juvenia.
Tibullus. *Lib. 1. El. 4. 5. 37.*
- (83) — Casus relevés, pulcherrime, nostros.
Ovid. *Trist. Lib. 5. El. 3. 5. 43.*
Candida formosi venerabimur ora Lymæ.
Oedipus. *Act. 2. Chor. 5. 508.*
— Quocumque deus caput egit honestum.
Virgil. *G. 2. 5. 392.*

- (84) Huc adverte favens virgineum caput.
Oedipus. *Act. 2. Chor. 5. 408.*
Virgineâ puerum ducit per litora formâ.
Ovid. *Met. 3. 5. 607.*
— Tibi inconstuta juvenitas;
Te, puer æternus; tu formosissimus alto
Conspiceris cœlo: tibi, cum sine cornibus aditas,
Virgineum caput est. —
Id. *Ib. 4. 5. 20.*

- (85) Mite, pater, caput huc placataque cornua vertas;
Et des ingenio vela secunda meo.
Ovid. *Fast. 3. 5. 790.*
Sume fidem & pharetram, sies manifestus Apollo;
Accedam capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.
Id. *Her. Ep. 15. 5. 24. (Sappho, Phaon.)*
— Teneris adducta lacertis
Purpureus Bacchi cornua preffit Amor.
Id. *de Art. Am. 1. 5. 232.*
Insignis cornu Bacche, novemque deæ.
Id. *Ib. 3. 5. 348.*
— Molles thyrsos, Bacchæque cornua. —
Statius. *Theb. 9. 5. 436.*

Respicens tenet virides velatus habenas
Ut pater, & niveâ tument ut cornua mitra;
Et facit ut Bacchum referat scyphus. —

Valerius Flaccus. *2. 5. 272.*

This passage seems to refer to his horns being covered with his head-dress; as the following, to their being covered sometimes with his crown of grapes.

Non crines, non ferta loco; dextramque reliquit
Thyrus; & intactæ ceciderunt cornibus uvæ.
Statius. *Theb. 7. 5. 151.*

In some of his statues of old, these horns were gilded.

Te vidit infans Cerberus aureo
Cornu decoram. —

Horat. *Lib. 2. Od. 19. 5. 30.*

— Hermique vadum, quo Lydius intrat
Bacchus & aurato reficit sua cornua limo.
Statius. *Lib. 3. Sylv. 3. 5. 62.*

From these horns Bacchus had antiently the title of Bicorniger: as in Ovid's *Her. Ep. 13. 5. 33.*

These horns were given to Bacchus, to shew that he was the son of Jupiter Ammon. — Εὐκλειστον δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀμμωνος υἱὸς εἶναι, καὶ κερατφόρος ἀναπαύσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀγαλλματιστοίαν. Clemens Alex. *Protrep. p. 36.* — Eodem nempe quo frater Bacchus instituto; cui ideo cornua adscribit Diodorus, *Lib. 3. p. 206.* quod Cornigeri Ammonis esset filius. Spanheim, de Numism. *Dissert. 7.*

- (86) Cæperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri;
Me, tua. —

Ariadne, of Bacchus, *Fast. 3. 5. 500.*

- (87) Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina læta, tibi que
Oscilla ex altâ suspendunt mollia pinu.
Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea sætu:
Complentur vallesque cavæ, saltusque profundî;
Et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.
Virgil. *G. 2. 5. 392.*

Pl. XX.
Fig. 2.

of this god gave fertility to their vineyards: and Ovid mentions Bacchus's turning (88) his face towards him as a blessing. The former, in a passage, which is not very easy to be understood of itself; and for the full understanding of which I was obliged to a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. Virgil on this occasion says, that there is plenty wherever this god turns his beautiful face: Mr. Dryden, in his translation of the words, seems to have borrowed his idea of Bacchus from the vulgar representations of him on our sign-posts; and so calls it, (in downright English,) Bacchus's honest face.

I HAVE mentioned, on another occasion, that this god was reckoned equal (or, at least, next) to Apollo, for the beauty of his face, and the length and flow of his hair. You see in this figure of him, how it falls in large ringlets over his shoulders. The poets touch often on this circumstance in speaking (89) of him and of Apollo. And it is an attribute so peculiar to them, that if one was to find the body of a deity without the head, and with these ringlets waving down the breast, one might be pretty sure, that it belonged to one or other of these two gods; tho' there were no circumstance beside to determine it. Some other circumstance indeed would be necessary to distinguish which of the two it belonged to; for they are as like as brothers: only, in their best figures, Apollo's face is the more heavenly, and majestic, of the two; and Bacchus's, the more charming, and more like a woman's.

THE most usual attributes of Bacchus in the figures that remain to us, beside those I have already considered, are his (90) Thyrsus; his vine, and ivy crowns; his Symra, or long triumphal robe; his Nebris, or Faun's skin; and his Cothurni, or buskins. These are all frequently described too by the Roman poets; who moreover sometimes mention his having a Mitra on his head, and sometimes wreaths of flowers; either of which I do not remember to have ever observed in any statue, or relief.

THE Cantharus, Calathus, or Scyphus (91), in the hands of Bacchus; and the Tiger, that one sees so often in some fond posture or other, at the feet of his statues; seem equally

to

(88) Fast. 3. v. 789. quoted before, Note 85.

(89) Solis æterna est Phœbo Bacchoque juvena;
Nam decet intonsus crinis utramque deum.

Tibullus Lib. 1. El. 4. v. 38.

Et dignos Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.

Ovid. Met. 3. v. 421.

Perpetuo sic flore mices: sic denique non fuit

Tam longæ Bromio, quàm tibi, Phœbe, comæ.

Martial. Lib. 4. Ep. 45. v. 8.

Tigres pampinea cuspidè territans

Ac mitrà cōhibens virgineum caput,

Non vinces rigidas Hippolitici comas.—

Phœbo colla licet splendida compares:

Illum cæsaries nescia colligi

Perfundens humeros ornat & integit.

Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. v. 755, & 800.

(90) Thyrsus.

Ipse, racemiferis frontem circumdatus uvis,

Pampineis agitât velatam frondibus hastam.

Ovid. Met. 3. v. 667.

Vine, and ivy crowns,

— Deum

Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 25. v. ult.

Ornatus viridi tempora pampino.

Ib. Lib. 4. Od. 8. v. ult.

— Non ille quidem turgentia fertis

Tempora, nec flavâ crinem distinxerat uvâ.

Statius. Theb. 5. v. 269.

Bacche, racemiferos hederâ redimite capillos.

Ovid. Fast. 6. v. 483.

Festa corymbiferi—Bacchi,—

Ibid. 1. v. 393.

Te decet cingi comam floribus vernis;—

Hederâve mollem bacciferâ religare frontem.

Oedipus. Act. 2. Chor. v. 415.

His Symra.

— Madibus myrrhâ crines, mollesque coronæ;

Purpureaque, & pictis intextum vestibus aurum.

Ovid. Met. 3. v. 556.

Non erubescit Bacchus effusus tener

Sparssisse crines, nec manâ molli levem

Vibrare thyrsûm; cum, parum fortis gradu,

Auro decorum symra barbaricum trahit.

Hercules Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 3. v. 475.

His Nebris.

At procul ut Stellæ thalamos fenestre parari

Latous vatum pater & Semeleius Evan;

Hic movet Ortygiâ, movet hic rapida agmina Nysâ:

Hic chelyn, hic flavam maculofo nebrida tergo;

Hic thyrsos, hic plestra ferit.—

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. v. 227.

His Cothurni.

Huc, pater, O Lenxæ, veni: nodataque musso

Tinge novo mecum direptis crura cothurnis.

Virgil. G. 2. v. 8.

His Mitra is mentioned in the tragedy of Hippoli-

tus, in the foregoing note; as the wreaths of flowers,

in the quotation from Oedipus, in this.

(91) Sacer at Bacchum referat scyphus.—

Val. Flaccus. 2. v. 272.

Nos Satyrus; nos Bacchus amat; nos ebrâ tigris,

Perfusus domini lambere docta pedes.

Martial. Lib. 14. Ep. 107. (Calathi.)

Cantharis potasse, Liberi Patris exemplo: says

Pliny, of Caius Marius. Lib. 33. c. 11, p. 365. Ed.

Elz.

to relate to his character of being the god of wine and jollity. It is said somewhere, I think in Diodorus Siculus, that Bacchus first introduced the vine into Europe; and probably he brought it with him after his conquest of the Indies, in which country that plant grew (93) naturally; and, particularly about Nyfa; the place most peculiarly sacred to Bacchus. Hence the antients gave him his known character of the god of drinking. But tho' he had that character, it is uncommon, in the old statues of Bacchus, to see him drunk; and it is yet less common to find any descriptions, in the old poets, that represent him in that condition. I can recollect but one of that kind that I ever met with; and even in that it is rather said that he (94) pretended to be drunk, than that he really was so. Our modern ideas of Bacchus seem to be taken from the old characters of Bacchus and Silenus, confounded together. Silenus indeed is almost always drunk, wherever one meets with him. We have readily retained that idea of this attendant of Bacchus, in our northern, drinking, part of the world; and so have mixed up the youth of Bacchus, with the plumpness and fottishness of Silenus; and, to finish all, instead of an ass, we set him usually astride a tun. This, indeed, is our very lowest and most vulgar idea of Bacchus: but most of our better modern painters and statuary have gone so far into it, as to have almost lost the original idea of Bacchus; and to have brought him from the finest shape and face that can be imagined, to a fat jolly boy, that is usually above half drunk. Horace calls Bacchus, in general, the (95) Modest decent god; on some occasions, (96) the Joyous god; and once, in speaking of him as the cause of drunkenness (97), the Immodest god. With us, he has lost all his modesty; and appears always either drunk, or at least very ready to be so.

I suppose, it was under this joyous, or gayer character of Bacchus, that he was considered of old as the inspirer of poets: several of them, (and he who talks so modestly of him, in particular,) used sometimes to take a good share of that juice, that this god introduced into our part of the world: and as this kindled their spirits, and gave a flow to their imagination, it was but justice in them to acknowledge him for one of their chief patrons. However that be, they certainly speak often of Bacchus and Apollo, as their (98) joint-inspirers: their Parnassus rose with two distinct summits, one of which was called Nyfa, and was sacred to Bacchus; as the other, (called Cyrrha,) was to Apollo: and

Elz.—And Valerius Maximus; of the same: Post Jugurthinum, Cimbricumque, et Teutonicum triumphum, cantharo semper potavit; quid Liber Pater, inclutum ex Asia ducens triumphum, hoc usus poculi genere ferebatur. Memorab. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

(93) After Alexander the Great was received into the city of Nyfa in his eastern conquests; he led his army to see the famous mountain there, consecrated to Bacchus: Ad spectaculum sacri montis, (says Justin,) duxit exercitum; naturalibus bonis, vite hederæque, non aliter vestiti, quam si manu cultus colentiumque industriâ exornatus esset. Lib. 12. c. 7. There is a fuller description of this mountain in Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. §. 33.

(94) Virgineâ puerum ducit per litora formâ.
Ille, mero somnoque gravis, titubare videtur;
Vixque sequi. — Ovid. Met. 3. 5. 609.

His whole appearance, in that story, is described as put on; till he breaks out, in his full majesty. See, *ibid.* 5. 630, 652, 666, &c.

(95) — Tollite barbarum
Morem; verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 27. 5. 4.

(96) Nos & profectis lucibus & sacris,
Inter jocos munera Liberi,
Cum prole matronisque nostris
Rite deos prius apprecati,
Virtute sanctos (more patrum) duces
Lydis remisso carmine tibiis,
Trojamque, & Anchisen, & almæ
Progeniem Veneris canemus.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 15. 5. ult.

(97) Querebar, applorans tibi;
Simul calentis inverecundas deus
Fervidiore mero
Arcana promoritur loco.
Id. Epod. 11. 5. 21.

(98) At Phœbus, comitesque novem, vitisque repertor,
Hoc faciunt. — Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 3. 5. 12.
O ita Phœbe velis! Ita vos, pia numina vatum
Insignis cornu Bacche novemque deæ!
Id. de Art. Am. 3. 5. 348.
— Coryciâ quicquid modò Phœbus in umbrâ,
Quicquid ab Iſmaris monstrabat collibus Evan,
Dedidici. — Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. 5. 7.

Et te, Phœbe, choris; & te demittimus, Evan.
Id. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. 5. 3.
— Nec fit te pectore vates
Accipiam, Cyrrha velim secreta moventem
Sollicitare

and the Roman poets of old seem to have worn their (99) ivy crowns, in respect to Bacchus; even much more frequently, than their laurel crowns in respect to Apollo.

FROM what I have been saying, one might explain some relieve's I have seen of Bacchus attended by the whole choir of the muses, much better than I have ever heard them explained. The muses are the (100) proper attendants of Bacchus, under this character; and (as Horace intimates in one of his odes,) are as justly attached to him, as Cupid is to Venus.

Pl. XX.
Fig. 3.

THE statue here to the right of Bacchus, you may see by his look, his habit, and his serpent, is Esculapius. This god was brought to Rome, (by the order of Apollo (101), when a pestilence raged very much in that city;) in the times of the republic: and was ever after considered there as their preserver, and one of the chief among their made-gods. He stole from his old worshippers; and came to them, under the shape of a serpent: and has a larger serpent than ordinary always by his figures; perhaps, to distinguish it from the other serpents, which are the common attribute of all the deities that preside over health. The serpent was the signal of those deities, because the ancient physicians made such (102) frequent use of serpents in their prescriptions. Esculapius is dressed here in the

Sollicitare deum Bacchumque avertere Nysâ:
Tu fatis ad vires Romana carmina dandas.
(Says Lucan, addressing Nero,) l. 7. 66.
Quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
Vexant; & dominis Cyrrha Nyfque feruntur
Pectora nostra duas non admittentia curas?

Juvenal. Sat. 7. 7. 65.

The reason, given above, why Bacchus was looked on as so great a patron of poets, is authorized by Ovid; who, when he speaks of him as such, calls him Vitis repertor; and by Horace, more strongly, in the following passage.

Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino;
"Nulla placere diu neque vivere carmina possunt
Quæ scribuntur aque potioribus, ut male fanos
Adscripsit Liber fatiris faunisque poetas."

Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 19. 7. 4.

(99) The ivy-crown is mentioned frequently by the ancients, as worn by the poets, in those days.

— Accipe iussis

Carmina cepta tuis; atque hanc sine tempora circum
Inter vitrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.

Virgil, (to Pollio,) Ecl. 8. 7. 13.

Pastores, hederâ crescentem ornate poetam!

Id. Ecl. 7. 7. 25.

— Seu condis amabile carmen,

Prima feres hederæ vitricis præmia.

Horat. (to Julius Florus,) Lib. 1. Ep. 3. 7. 25.

Ut dignus venias hederis & imagine macrâ.

Juvenal. Sat. 7. 7. 29.

— Pallidam Pyrenen

Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ sequaces.

Perfius, in Prol.

— Enthea vittis

Atque hederâ redimita cohors.

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. 7. 249.

Eannius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,

Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi:

Nunc hederæ sine honore jacent.

Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. 7. 411.

It is as plain from them, that the poets wore these ivy-crowns as signs of their being inspired by Bacchus.

Quid possunt hederæ Bacchi dare?—

Martial. Lib. 1. Ep. 77. 7. 7.

Si quis habes nostris similes in imagine vultus,
Deme meis hederas, Bacchica ferta, comis;
Ita decent letos felicia signa poetas.

Ovid. Trist. Lib. 1. El. 6. 7. 3.

Pliny, speaking of the white Hederæ, and afterwards of the black, says; Simili modo in nigrâ, alicui & semen nigrum, alii crocatum; cujus coronis poetæ utuntur: foliis minus nigris; quam quidam Nyfiam, alii Bacchicam vocant. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. c. 34.

The laurel-crown was, properly, the ornament of great warriors: (as Apollo says, in Ovid, when he makes the laurel his tree.)

Tu dulcibus Latius aderis cum læta triumphum
Vox canet, & longæ vident Capitolia pompæ.

Met. 1. 7. 561.

And was given perhaps sometimes to epic poets, and those of the higher class; because they celebrated great warriors and heroes. Thus Statius, (who had wrote epic poems, as well as odes,) speaks of his having both the laurel, and ivy-crowns.

— Fugere meos Parnassia crine

Vellera: funestamque hederis irreperere taxum

Extimui, trepidamque (nefas) ardescere laurum.

Statius, (speaking of the death of his father.)

Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. 7. 9.

And says of his father (who had carried the prize, in these different kinds of poetry too,) that he had both these crowns.

— Specieque comam subnexus utrâque.

Ibid. 7. 115.

(100) — Bacche, novemque dexæ!

Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. 7. 348.

Liberum & musas, Veneremque & illi

Semper hærentem puerum canebat.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 32. 7. 10.

(101) Ovid. Met. 15. and Livy's Epit. 111. 7. 1.

(102) Tunc, cum observatas augur descendit in herbas;

Ufus & auxilio est anguis ab angue dato.

Ovid. Fast. 6. 7. 752.

Dictamni florentis opem, quoque anguis abundat

Spumatu.

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 4. 7. 102.

Quin et ineffe ei (anguis) remedia multa creduntur;
& ideo Esculapio dicatur. Pliny. Nat. Hist. Lib. 29. c. 4. p. 204.

the habit used by the old (103) physicians : and has the mild look, which Ovid speaks of ; and which I think is remarkable to this day in several gentlemen I have seen of that profession. I have observed formerly to you that Esculapius's face has a great resemblance to that of the mild Jupiter ; and his hair and beard are not unlike that god's. As the physicians were surgeons too of old, his right arm is bare ; to be ready for any operation. In his left, he holds his stick, with the serpent twisted round it. All these (104) particulars are marked out by the poets ; and particularly by Ovid, in his account of the first introduction of this deity into Rome.

THE statue which answers this, on the other side of Hercules ; and which is so like a Mars, is Romulus : who was, you know, the son of Mars ; and is sometimes represented so like his father, that it is difficult enough to distinguish their figures asunder. I have often thought in particular that several of the figures called Mars Gradivus, with a trophy on the shoulder, may really belong rather to Romulus ; the inventor of trophies, among the Romans. He appears here you see, like Mars Gradivus ; with his spear in one hand, and holding the trophy on his shoulder with the other. The poets (105) speak of his shaking his arms, on his shoulder ; call him, armifer ; and say, he carries the glory of his father Mars, in the divine air of his countenance.

It is easy to see, how Romulus came to be placed in this high class of heroes by the Romans. They could not, they thought, pay too much honour to their founder. They therefore made him the son of a god ; and of that god in particular, who must have been one of the most respected among them, in the first military ages of their state. Their best authors however do not treat this as a (106) firm article of their creed : and indeed it seems to have made a part in their vulgar religion only ; and not in the religion of the wise.

THE whole story of Romulus's divine birth is represented on a relievo at the Villa Mellini, in Rome. It is divided into four compartments. The first shews you Mars, going to Rhea Sylvia ; who lies asleep, by the river Tiber. In the second, she is sitting with her twins in her lap : Amulius seems to be charging her with the infamy of the fact she has committed ; and she is looking up to heaven, as justifying her innocence. The third, is the exposing of the two infants on the bank of the Tiber : and the fourth, represents

(103) ——— Retorto
Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictus.
Virgil. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 402.
—— Rito se cingit uterque
Pæonio. ———
Statius. *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 4. *l.* 108.

(104) ——— Et festinantia sistens
Fata, salutifero mitis deus incubat angui.
Statius. *Lib.* 3. *Sylv.* 4. *l.* 25.
—— Deus in somnis opifer consistere visus ;
—— qualis in æde
Esse solet, baculumque tenens agreste sinistrâ :
Cæsariem longæ dextra deducere barbas,
Et placido tales emittere pestore voces.
“Pone metus : veniam ; simulacraque nostra relinquam :
Hunc modò serpentem, baculum qui nexibus ambit,
Perpice, & usque nota ; visa ut cognoscere possis :
Vertar in hunc ; sed major ero : tantusque videbor
In quantum verti cœlestia corpora debent.
Ovid. *Met.* 15. *l.* 662.

(105) Monstrabant acies, Mavors Actæque virgo ;
Flectere Cæsar equos ; humeris quater arma Quirinus.
Statius. *Lib.* 5. *Sylv.* 2. *l.* 129.
—— Armiferi gens sacra Quirini.
Silius Italicus. 16. *l.* 76.

—— Viden' ut geminæ stent vertice criste ;
Et pater ipse suo superum jam signet honore ?
Virgil, (of Romulus.) *Æn.* 6. *l.* 780.

(106) Livy speaks of the story of the divine origin of Romulus, with more indifference than one might have expected, in the entrance to his history. See *Lib.* 1. p. 8. from, Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem ; to, Haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine.

He says, just after ; Vi compressa vestalis quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpe honestior erat, Martem incertæ stirpis patrem nuncupat. *Ibid.*

In the close of his reign, he flings in an expression or two for the vulgar. Hæc fermit, Romulo regnante, domi militæque gesta ; quorum nil absonum fidei divinæ originis, divinitatisque post mortem creditur, fuit. *Id.* *Lib.* 1. c. 15.

Horace, (in his usual way,) gives a side stroke at this story. “When I have got a good easy cheap girl, (says he,) I am as well satisfied, as if it was the mistress of Mars, or Numa.” *Lib.* 1. *Sat.* 2. *l.* 126.— That it is a meer common drab, whom he would thus put on a footing with the mother of Romulus, appears from verse 121. *ibid.*

represents their being cherished by the wolf, and the surprise of the honest shepherd Faustulus, on finding them in that strange situation.

Pl. XX.
Fig. 5.

THE work of this relievo is but indifferent; and is thought, by some, to be of Aurelian's time. I have therefore got no copy of it here in my collection. However most of the points in it, are to be met with in other works of the better ages. The descent of Mars to Rhea, as I have had occasion to mention before, is not uncommon; and the infant Romulus and Remus, suckled by the wolf, is very common. You meet with it on medals and gems, as well as in statues and reliefs. In some of which you see the wolf in the same attitude (107) that Virgil gives her in his description of this affair; which, by the way, might be given as one instance out of many, of Virgil's borrowing strokes from the Roman poets of the first age; and which he did perhaps much more frequently, than is commonly imagined.

THIS story of Romulus's being received into heaven is well known from the Roman historians. Their poets say, that he was carried thither in (108) the chariot of Mars: and I doubt not but this his assumption was a common subject for paintings of old, tho' we have none such now remaining. The figures of Romulus as deified were of a (109) more august appearance. He was then clad in the *Trabea* (110), a robe of state which implied an ecclesiastical dignity, as well as a secular; and in consequence of the former character, sometimes held (111) his *Lituus*, or staff of augury, in his hand. This latter mark usually attends the heads of Julius Cæsar, in the old gems and medals; and when we find it so placed, seems to mean that he was high-priest and king, by the same right as Romulus was. All these particulars relating to the appearance of Romulus as deified, I ground solely on the poets: for I have never seen any figure of Romulus under this character, that I remember; tho' there may perhaps be some, which may have escaped my observation.

THE two heroes whom you see answering one another, below the steps on each side, are the two brothers, Castor and Pollux. They are not placed there as inferior to those we have been considering before; but merely because there was not space enough for them, and their horses, in the same line. Castor and Pollux were received into this distinguished class of heroes, among the (112) Greeks; from whom the Romans took the greater

(107) *Fecerat et viridi fretam Mavortis in antro
Procubuisse lupam; geminosque huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, & lambere matrem
Impavidos: illam, tereti cervice reflexam,
Mulcere alternos & corpora fingere lingua.*

Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 634.

Most of the strongest expressions, in this fine picture, are adapted to it from the elder poets, by Virgil;

— *Geminsque huic ubera circum*

Ludent pendentes pueri. —

Ennius. *An.* 1. 1.

Obstupum caput, & tereti cervice reflexum.

Cicero. *de Nat. Deor.* 1. 2. *§.* 42.

As Ovid seems to have copied him; in his account of this story.

Venit ad expositos (mirum) lupa freta gemellos:

Quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram?

Constitit; & caudâ teneris blanditur alumnis:

Et fingit linguâ corpora bina fuâ.

Marte factos scires; timor absuit: ubera ducunt.

Ovid. *Fast.* 2. *l.* 419.

(108) — *Quirinus*

Martis equis Acheronta fugit.

Horat. *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 3. *l.* 16.

Hinc tonat; hinc missis abruptum ignibus æther.

Fit fuga: rex patriis astra petebat equis.

Ovid. *Fast.* 2. *l.* 495.

The same poet repeats the same in *Met.* 14. *l.* 820. where he gives the fullest account of this story, that I know of.

(109) *Pulchra subit facies, & palvaribus altis
Dignior; & qualis trabeati forma Quirini.*

Ovid. *Met.* 14. *l.* 828.

Pulcher, & humano major, trabeaque decorus,

Romulus in mediâ visus adeste viâ.

Id. *Fast.* 2. *l.* 502.

(110) *Trabeatus Quirinus.*

Id. *Fast.* 1. *l.* 37.

(111) — *Lituus pulcher trabeaque Quirinus.*

Ibid. 6. *l.* 375.

Romuli lituus, id est incurvum & leviter a summo inflexum bacillum. Cicero *de Divin.* 1. *l.* 17. As Cicero calls this, *Romuli lituus*; so Virgil calls it, *Lituus Quirinalis.* *Æn.* 7. *l.* 187.

(112) This appears from a passage quoted before from Quintus Curtius. The flatterers of Alexander the Great, according to that author, were for equalling him, to these heroes received in the highest heavens, even in his life-time. *Hi tum cælum illi aperiebant: Herculemque, & Patrem Liberum, & cum Polluce Castorem, novo numini cessuros esse jactabant.* *Lib.* 8. *l.* 18.

greater part of their theology. Beside which, they had very particular obligations to these two deities; and were therefore, no doubt, the more willing to retain them in this high station. You must remember, how they assisted the Roman army (113) at the lake of Regillæ; and brought the news of the decisive victory of Paulus Æmilius to Rome, the very day that it was obtained. Their statues were very common in Rome of old; and they were placed in particular, before the (114) temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline hill; perhaps just in the same manner, as you see them stand here. The chief thing to be remarked in their figures is, that they are exactly alike. They have each a chlamys, and yet are almost wholly naked. Each has a star over his head. Each has his horse, of the same colour; and his spear, held in one and the same posture. In a word, each has the same make, look, and features. Never were any twins more alike, than these are represented to have been (115) by the poets: and yet they are not more alike in their descriptions of them, than they are in the old figures; and particularly on the Roman family-medals, where one meets with them extremely often.

Pl. XX.
Fig. 6, 7, 8.

I HAVE now done with the made-gods of the superior order, among the Romans; the few, whom they supposed to have been received by Jupiter into the highest heavens out of his (116) goodness and equity, for the virtues they had shewn here upon earth. The next time we come here, if you please, we will take a view of the virtues, which they practised so much and so steadily; and of some other imaginary beings, which were supposed to preside over the actions of men; or, at least, to be the givers of those things, which help to render human life more comfortable and agreeable.

(113) Minucius Felix laughs at these legends, where he says of them; Testes equestrum fratrum in lacu, sicut offenderant se, statue consecrate; qui anhelis spumantibus equis atque fumantibus, de Perse victoriam, eadem die quâ fecerant, nunciaverunt. Min. Fel. p. 43.

The stories are at large in Livy. Lib. 2. §. 20; & Lib. 45. §. 6.

Balbus, (the Stoic, in Cicero) disputing for the being of the gods, quotes the appearance of Castor and Pollux, at the lake of Regillæ, as a proof of it: for which he is ridiculed by Cotta, the Academic, when he comes to answer him. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. p. 27; and lib. 3. p. 62. Ed. Ald.

(114) Hæc Minerva, Pyrrhusque rex laudatur; & Castor & Pollux, ante ædem Jovis Tonantis. Piny, Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 388. Ed. Elz.

(115) Ambo conspicui, nive candidioribus, albis Vectabantur equis; ambo vibrata per auras

Haslarum tremulo quatiebant spicula moto;

Ovid. Met. 8. §. 375.

— Ambiguo visus errore læcessunt

Oebalidæ gemini. Chlamys huic, Chlamys ardet &

illi;

Ambo hastile gerunt; humeros exertis uterque,

Nudus uterque genas; simili coma fulgurat astro.

Statius. Theb. 5. §. 440.

Apollo, in Lucian, begs Mercury to give him some mark how to know which is Castor, and which Pollux; for, he says, they are so much alike, that he is always mistaking the one for the other: and seems much obliged to him, for telling him how to distinguish them apart. *Ἄνερος*, says he, *διδάξαι τα γνωρίσματα, ἀνὰ τα γὰρ ἅλλα πάντα ἰσὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἡμίτομον, καὶ ἀσὴρ ὑπερανῶ, καὶ ἀκροτέρω ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ ἵππος ἐκατέρω λευκός.* Tom. I. p. 236. Ed. Blacu.

(116) — Pauci, quos equus amavit

Jupiter, —

Æn. 6. §. 130.

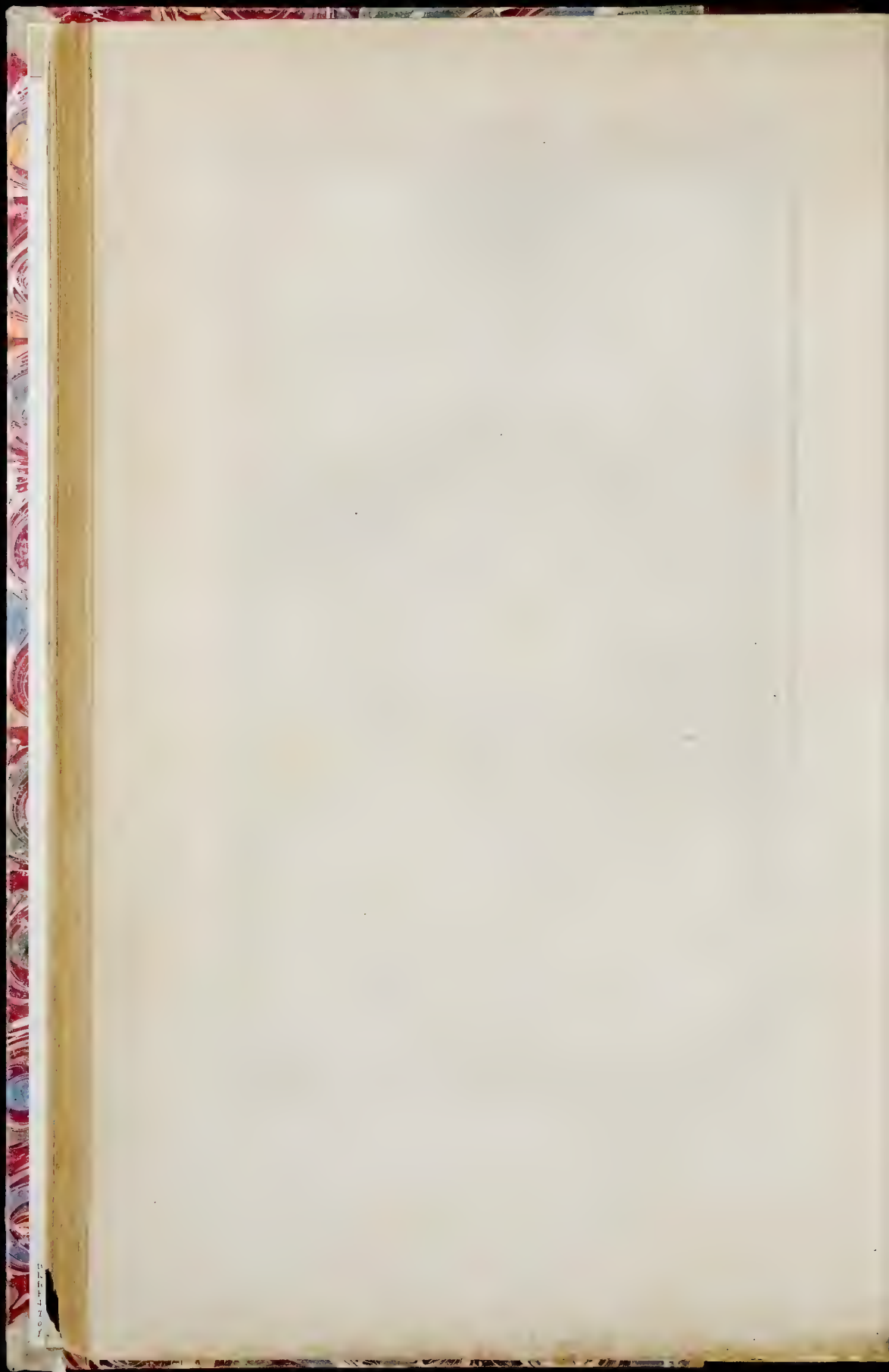


Castor & Pollux





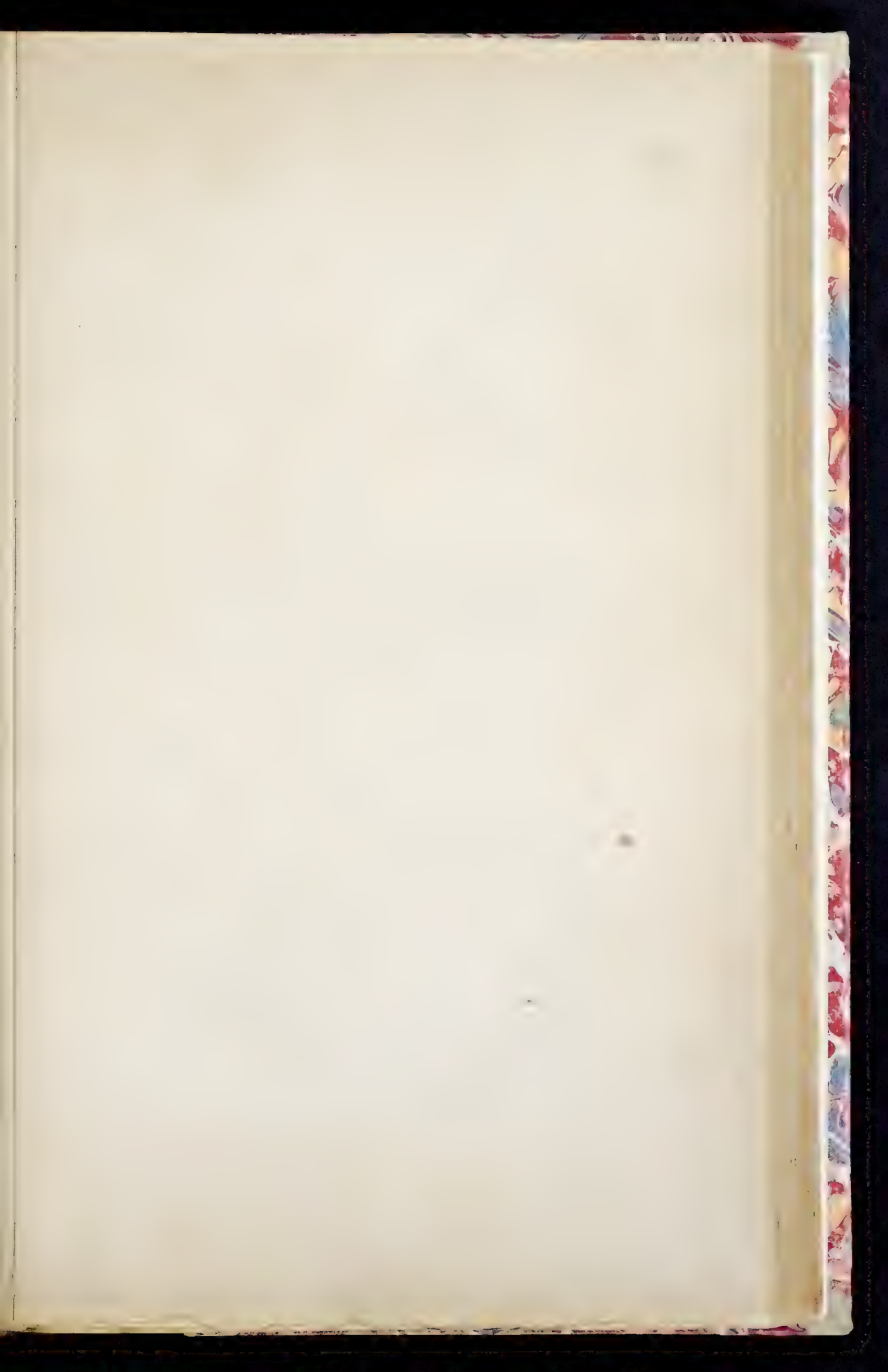
L. A. Boitard sculp.





J. P. Bouchard Sculp







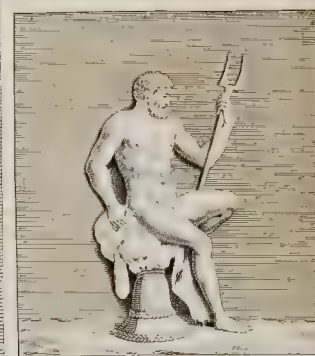
I



II



V



VI



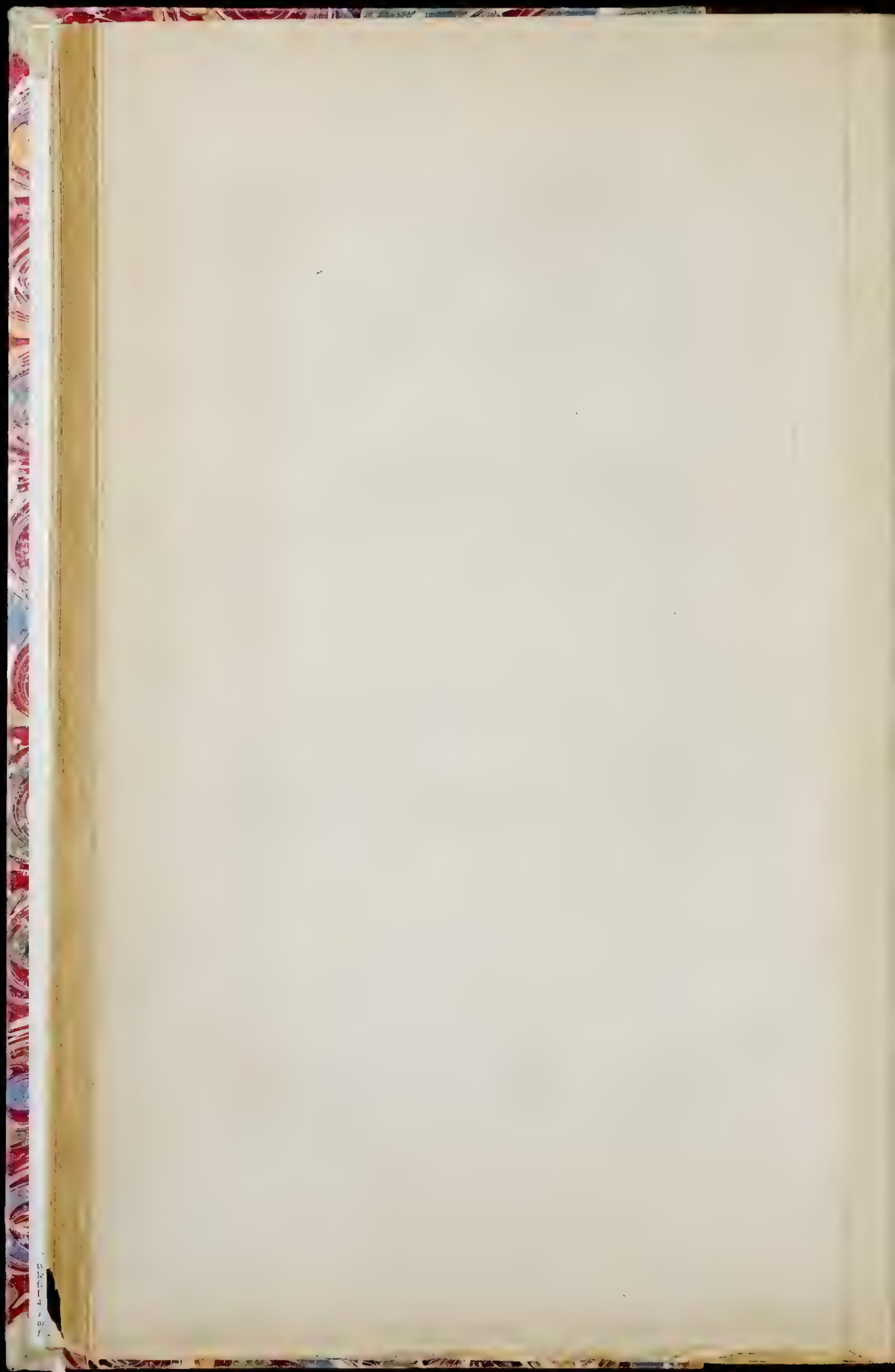
VII

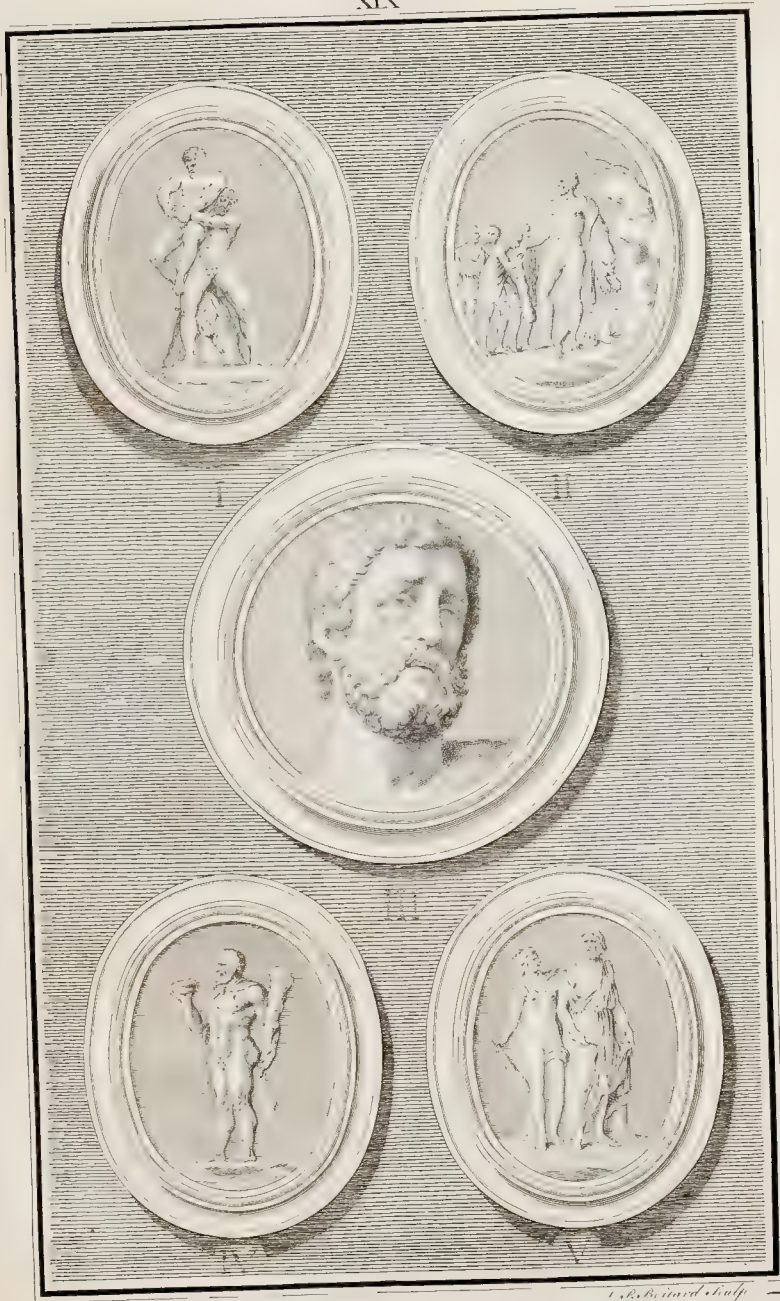


VIII

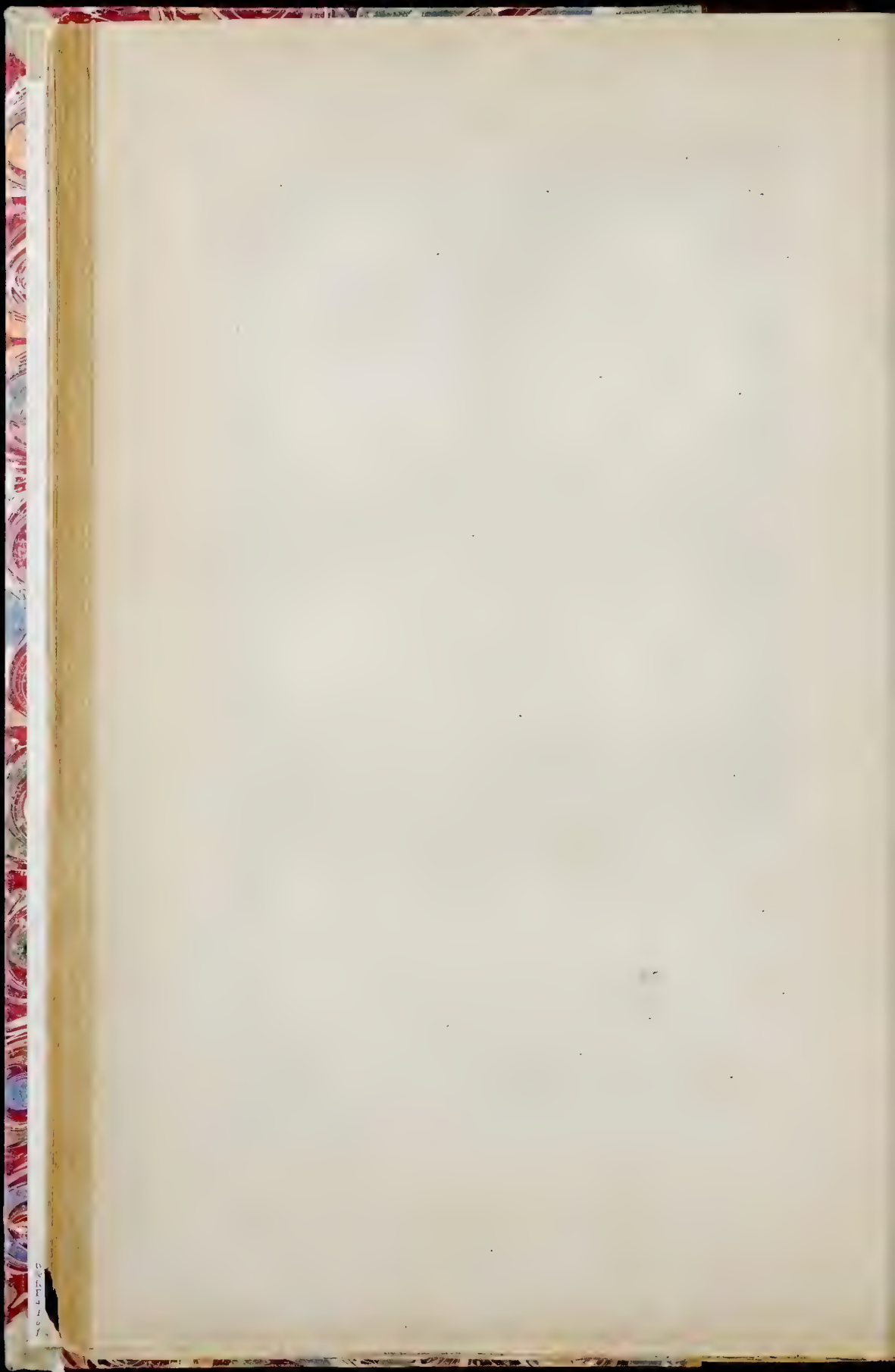


P. P. Bouchard's ulp





J. R. B. med. chulp.





I



II



III



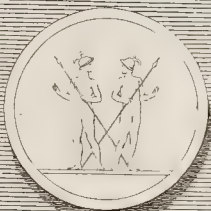
IV



V



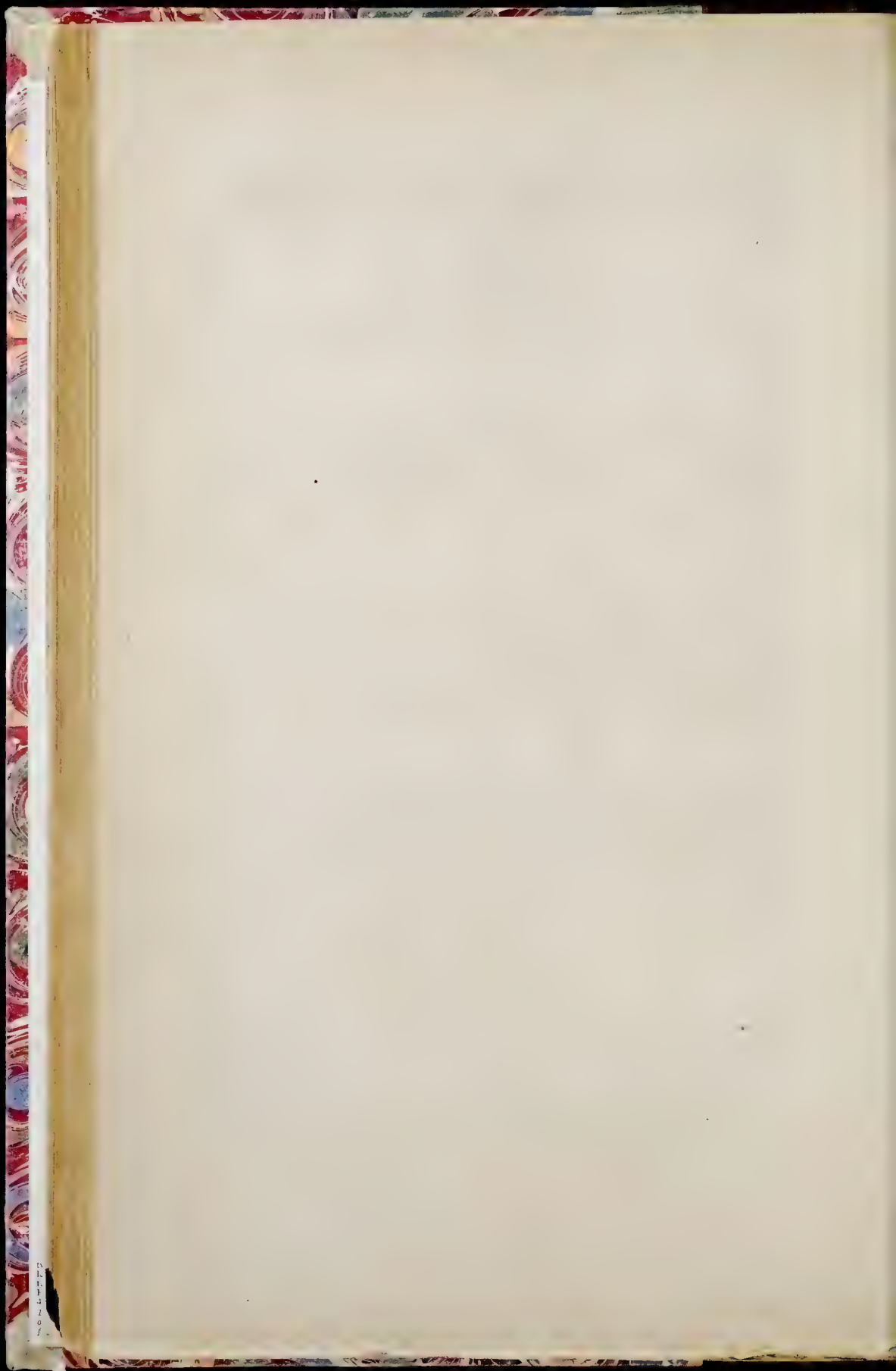
VI



VII



VIII



BOOK the Fourth.

DIAL. X.

Of the Moral DEITIES : or the Deities that presided over the
Virtues of Men ; and the Conduct of Human Life.

THE figures I am going to shew you, (says Polymetis, when he carried his friends the next morning, to take a round of the outside of his upper temple,) relate all to what we may call, the Moral Beings ; to such of the deities, as were supposed of old more immediately to inspire men with some particular virtue ; or to be the givers of those things, which tend to the glory or happiness of mankind : or to preside over the conduct and events of human life. It is observable, that the Roman poets say less of the best of these Moral Beings, than might be expected. The artists are much fuller on this head ; and one who would settle what appearances each of them made, should go to the medals of the Roman emperors. There is scarce a virtue, or blessing of life, which is not attributed to one or other of them, in the reverses of their medals : and you will often see some of the most considerable among them, thus attached to a Nero or a Domitian ; and distinguished generally by a particular * mark, to shew that it was a national piece of flattery ; and done by the order of the supreme council of the whole Roman empire. The poets, (in this one case,) were not so great flatterers, as the senate and the artists ; and you will therefore pardon me, if I shew you some figures in the round we are going to take, of which the poets say little or nothing at all.

THE first figure here, to begin on our right hand from the portico, is Philosophy ; or, to speak more properly, Moral Philosophy. Philosophy, originally among the Greeks, and among the Romans long after, was called by the name (1) of Wisdom. You see her here leaning on a column ; with a mild and serene air, much as she is described (2) by Lucian : and both by her look and attitude, seeming to be engaged in conversation with some one of her favourite disciples. It is indeed Socrates that she is speaking to : but whoever looks upon her, may imagine, if he pleases, that she is giving her instructions to him. There is a Sarcophagus, among the many fine pieces of antiquity preserved at present in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome, on which the nine Muses are represented in the front ; at one end, is Moral Philosophy conversing with Socrates : and on the other, Homer, (as great a philosopher (3) almost as Socrates,) conversing with his Muse. It is from this Sarcophagus that the figure before you was copied. She

Pl. XXI.
Fig. 1, 2.

looks

* S. C. for, Senatus Consulto.

(1) Cicero tells us that Philosophia was called Sapientia, till Pythagoras's time. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 4. p. 487. Ed. Blæu.

Nec quicquam Sophiam, Sapientia quai perhibetur,
In somneis vidit, prius quam 'amur' discere coipit.
Ennius, Annal. Lib. 1.

— Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclute Memmi,
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam, quæ
Nunc appellatur Sapientia; quique per attem
Flectibus et tantis vitam, tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillâ et tam clarâ luce locavit.

Lucretius. Lib. 5. §. 12.

Ratio perfecta nominatur rite, Sapientia. Cicero,
de Legibus, 1. §. 7.

Magna quidem sacris quæ dat præcepta libellis
Victrix fortunæ Sapientia ; dicimus autem
Hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitæ,
Nec jactare jugum, vitâ didicere magistra.

Juvenal. 13. §. 22.

(2) Εὐλαδία ἐν Κερμασίῳ ὑπομαρτυρεῖται αὐτῇ· ἡδὴ
ἡδὴ καὶ ἀριζήτως ἐπαίνωσιν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, ὡς περιπατη-
σιν ἢ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ· τὰς γὰρ ὁμιλεῖται εἰς τοὺς
αὐτὰς. — Μαλλον δὲ ἡδὴ πρᾶξις. — Οὕτως τῶν
καμνῶν τὴν αὐτὴν τε γνησιότητα ; τὴν ἐν πρᾶξιν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ,
τὴν ἐν συνίσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ ; Liliam, Tom. 1.
p. 397. Ed. Blæu.

(3) Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe ; quid utile, quid non ;
Plenius, ac melius, Chryippo & Crantore dicit.

Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 2. §. 4.

looks kindly, while she instructs; and her face very well becomes her true character; for there is nothing of the fullen, or severe, in it. You see she is here in a robe of grandeur and dignity: but I fancy, from a verse in one of the old poets, that she might possibly have been represented sometimes by the artists in a (4) meaner garb; in allusion perhaps to the poverty of the old philosophers, her professed followers. Another of the poets of the first age makes her the (5) daughter of Experience and Memory. What his authority may be for saying so, I know not; but whether he builds it on any authority or not, I am sure there is very good sense in it.

THE four figures, next in order after this, are the figures of the four Cardinal Virtues: Prudence; Justice; Fortitude; and Temperance.

PRUDENCE, (or Good Sense,) stands in the front of all the virtues, in (6) Cicero's catalogue of them, as well as here. The Romans seem to have called this indifferently by the name of Prudentia, or Providentia; the reason of which may be gathered from Cicero's (7) derivation of the word Prudentia. When they used Providentia for human prudence, it was generally (8) distinguished by the words annexed to it. I imagine that they sometimes used Mens, or Mens bona, for the same. The goddess of Prudence here, appears as she is represented on the reverse of a medal of one of the Roman emperors; and has a rule (or measure) in her hand, and a globe at her feet; to shew that that emperor by his prudence, kept the whole world in order. The same idea might be adapted too as easily to lower life, considering that it is by prudence that all the affairs of human life are regulated and disposed, as they ought to be. She was received (9), very early as a goddess among the Romans: and had temples dedicated to her; and one on the Capitoline hill, in particular. Petronius makes Poverty (10) her sister; and Ovid hints at a disgraceful picture of her (11), following the triumphal chariot of Cupid, with her hands tied behind her, as one of his slaves.

Pl. XXI.
Fig. 3.

Pl. XXI.
Fig. 4.

TRUE Justice, (or rather Equity, for the exactest execution of written laws may be the cause of very great injustice) is represented, by a person with a balance or pair of scales in her hand, held exactly even. Justice, according to the poets, was one of those celestial beings that condescended to inhabit our earth; in the first happy ages of the world: and was one of the last of them that quitted it, when it grew corrupt and vile. Virgil (12)

gives

(4) *Sæpe est etiam sub fordido palliolo Sapientia.*
Cæcilius.

(5) *Ufus me genuit; mater peperit Memoria:*
Σοφία, vocant me Graii; vos, Sapientiam.

Afranius, in Sellâ.

This is among his fragments: so that it does not appear from what part of the play it is taken: but it seems, by her addressing herself to the audience, that it was part of the prologue. If so, Philosophy probably appeared as a person, and spoke the prologue; as Plautus introduces Arcturus, to speak the prologue to one of his plays.

(6) *Cic. de Officiis. Lib. 1. c. 5.*

(7) *Sapientis est providere; ex quo sapientia est appellata prudentia.* Cic. in Orat.

(8) Thus, on medals: if the subject be Divine Providence, the usual inscription is, PROVIDENTIA DEORVM; if Human Prudence, PROVIDENTIA CAESARIS, PROVIDENTIA AVG. or PROVIDENTIA AVGG. for Augusti, and Augustorum.

(9) *Ex quo intelligitur prudentiam quoque & mentem à diis ad homines pervenisse: ob eamque causam,*

majorum institutis, Mens, Fides, Virtus, Concordia, consecratae & publicè dedicate sunt. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 42. Ed. Ald.

Ut Fides, ut Mens; quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus. Ibid. p. 38.

Ædes Veneri Erycinæ & Menti vovendas esse. Livy, Lib. 22. c. 9. This temple to Good-Sense, (or Prudence,) was built accordingly by Otacilius. Ibid. c. 10. And, (as he tells us in another place,) on the Capitoline hill. Id. Lib. 23. c. 31.

(10) *Nescio, inquam, quo modo Bonæ Mentis soror sit Paupertas.* p. 141. Ed. Lond.

(11) *Mens Bona ducetur, manibus post terga revinctis; Et Pudor; & castris quicquid Amoris obest.* Ovid. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 2. v. 32.

(12) — *At latis otia fundis; Speluncæ, vivique lacus: at frigida Tempe, Mugitusque bovm, mollesque sub arbore somni Non abstant. Illic saltus ac lustra ferarum; Et patiens operam parvoque assuetus juvenis: Sacra deum, sanctique patres. Extrema per illos Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.* Virg. Georg. 2. v. 474.

gives us one of his usual hints, that she first quitted courts and cities; and retired into the country: and in Aratus, you may read (13) a full account of the whole affair. I shall have but very little to say as to her figure, or to those of most of the moral beings in this circle; because, (as I mentioned before,) there is very little descriptive of their persons in the Roman poets. They speak of them often as persons; but they do not generally say much of their attributes, or dress, or the appearance they make. The only passage I can recollect at present in which there is any thing descriptive of this goddess in particular, is a description by contraries. It is in Petronius Arbiter (14); where he is speaking of the breaking out of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey: on which occasion he describes Peace, as hiding her head in a helmet; Honesty, with a dejected air; Justice, as discomposed, with her hair all loose and disordered; and Concord, with a sorrowful look, and her veil rent in two.

FORTITUDE, you may easily know by her erect air; and military dress; the spear she rests on with one hand, and the sword which she holds in the other. She has here a globe under her feet: I suppose to shew, that the Romans by the means of this virtue were to subdue the whole world: an idea, that it is well known they received very early; and encouraged very much, among the people. As this people was of so military a turn, they generally gave Fortitude the (15) name of Virtus, or the Virtue, by way of excellence: just as the same nation, now they are so debased and effeminated, call the love of the softer arts, Virtù. Virtus indeed, among the antient Romans, signified something more than military courage only; but it signified that principally, and most usually. In its larger sense, it included a (16) firmness of mind, and love of action; or to be a little more explicit, a steady readiness to do good, and a patient endurance of all evil. Our word, Courage, may be extended to both these meanings.

Pl. XXI.
FIG. 5.

VIRTUS is spoken of personally not only by the Roman poets, but by their (17) prose writers too. She had several temples dedicated to her at Rome; with representations of

(13) This is one of the finest digressions in Aratus.
Æt. p. 97, to 136.

(14) Mitis turba deùm terras exosa furentes
Deserit; atque hominum damnatum deserit agmen.
Pax prima, ante alios, niveos pulsat lacertos
Abfcondit galeæ victum caput; atque relicto
Orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum.
Huic comes it submissa Fides; & crine soluto
Justitia; ac mœrens lacerâ Concordia pallâ.
Petr. p. 253.

periculo & in labore ac dolore patiens, tum procul ab omni metu. Ibid. lib. 5. p. 501.

In the same treatise, he says, more particularly: Contemnendæ sunt humanæ res; negligenda mors est; patibiles & dolores & labores putandi. Hæc cum constituta sint judicio atque sententiâ, tum est robusta illa & stabilis Fortitudo. Ib. Lib. 4. p. 469.

It includes a love of action: thus Cotta the academicist's argument, against Velleius the epicurean, in Cicero. Virtus actiuosa; et vester deus nihil agens: expers virtutis igitur. De Nat. Deor. lib. 1. p. 23. Ed. Ald.—As Cicero says here, that Virtue consists in action; so Lucian says; Η μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐν ἐργασίᾳ δυνάμει οἷον ἐν τῷ δίκῳ καὶ παύσει, ἢ οὐκ ἐργασίᾳ. Tom. I. p. 565. Ed. Blæu.—The very statues of this goddess shewed her, as always ready for action. Solet virtutis simulachrum depingi succinctum. Lactantius, Lib. 10.

Horace expresses the character of this, very shortly and fully; (on a different occasion:) Quidvis & facere & pati. Lib. 3. Od. 24. 44; and, in another place; Multa tulit fecitque.—De Art. Poet. 413.

Tho' I have given here so many definitions of Virtus, from Cicero and others; I should be more inclined to go to the New Testament, for the best definition of it, that I know of. It is that of St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans; where he calls Virtue, "A patient continuance in well doing." Rom. ii. 7.

(17) Loquetur eorum voce Virtus ipsa tecum:
"Tune," &c. Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 2. p. 393. Ed. Blæu.

(15) The temper of a people, (as it has been often observed,) is sometimes discoverable from their usage of words. Thus the French call civility or polite behaviour, by the name of Honnêteté; the vulgar, in our own island, call a downright behaviour, by the name of Honesty; and the ladies among us, (from some old custom, I suppose,) still call chastity, by the name of Virtue.

(16) Cicero speaks of Virtus and Fortitudo as the same thing. Appellata est a viro, virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 2. p. 392. Ed. Blæu.

The definitions he gives of Fortitudo, agree with those above. As that from a Greek philosopher, (Chrysippus;) Fortitudo est scientia perferendarum rerum; vel affectio animi, in patiendi ac perferendo, summæ legi parens, sine timore. Ibid. lib. 4. p. 468. and that which he gives as his own; Quæ est enim alia Fortitudo, nisi animi affectio, cum in adeundo

of (18) her in them. Tho' these may be all lost, (for I do not remember ever to have met with any picture, or statue, of this goddess in Rome,) her figure is common on the medals of their emperors; and more common, I believe, than has been (19) usually imagined, in the reliefs relating to their emperors.

You see her in the latter, dressed like a woman; or rather, like an Amazon: for she is generally represented as a military lady. She is sometimes in a coat of mail, or a short succinct vest; with her legs and arms bare, as the Roman soldiers used to be. She has a manly face, and air; and generally grasps a sword, or spear, in her hand. Her dress shews her character, of readiness for action; and her look, a firmness and resolution, not to be conquered by any difficulties or dangers, that may meet her in her way.

THE many difficulties that attend the following the dictates of the goddess Virtus, as they called it of old, (or of a virtuous life, as we call it now,) were strongly expressed in that very just and very ancient emblem (20), of a person climbing up the side of a vast, steep, rocky mountain; often ready to fall, and meeting with many things to oppose him or divert him from his way; but, when he has once gained the summit, finding himself at once got into a delicious tract of country, with a purer air and a serene sky, and with every object about him pleasing and charming to his senses. This is what Pythagoras partly shadowed out, (in that short (21) hieroglyphical way, which he probably learned from the Egyptians,) by a single letter in the Greek alphabet of his time; and what Cebes has laid out, so much at large, in his most excellent picture of human life.

THERE can be no virtue without choice. Had all the labours of Hercules been as fated and necessary, as his twelve known ones, they could not so well have made him their great exemplar for virtue of old. Cicero in his very definition of Virtus inserts, that it is the going thorough all manner of difficulties and troubles, out of judgment and choice. And here you may observe that the ancients have done by Virtus, as I have said before they did by Minerva: they have made her character and appearance, rather

too

(18) *Solet Virtutis simulachrum depingi succinctum.* Lactantius, Lib. 10.

(Aristolai Pictoris) sunt Medea; Virtus; Theseus; imago Atticæ plebis; &c. Pliny, Lib. 35. c. 11. p. 448. Ed. Elz.—(Pinxit Parrhasius) Liberum Patrem, affante Virtute. Ib. c. 10. p. 432.—Fecit (Euphranor) Virtutem, et Græciam; utraque colossas. Id. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 388.

(19) Thus in the famous collection of reliefs by P. Bartoli, called the *Admiranda*, what he takes to be the genius of Rome, I should rather take to be the goddess Virtus. As where she is giving the globe to Marcus Aurelius, *Adm. Pl. 6.* and attending Balbinus, at the chace, *ib. Pl. 24.* So in the old triumphal arches, (published by the same author;) where she is guiding Titus's triumphal chariot, *Arc. Tri. Pl. 4.* and where she is conducting Trajan home, *ib. Pl. 28.*

(20) This the Roman poets often seem to allude to.

Magnum pauperies opprobrium, jubet
Quidvis & facere & pati;

Virtutisque viam deferit arduum.

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 24. v. 44.

Ardua molimur: sed nulla nisi ardua Virtus.

Ovid. de Art. Am. 2. v. 537.

Mille dolis restant; clivo sudamus in imo.

Id. Her. Ep. 20. v. 41. Acontius, Cyd.

— Nil sine magno

Vita labore dedit mortalibus. —

Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 9. v. 60. (Spoke by a bustling impertinent fellow, alluding to his great virtues.)

Castra mihi domus, & celsæ stant colle penates,

Ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo;

Aspera principio: (nec enim mihi fallere mos est.)

Prosequitur labor ad nitendum intrare volenti;

Nec bona confendunt, quæ fors infida dedisset,

Atque eadem rapuisse valet. Mox celsas, ab alto

Infra te cernes hominum genus. —

Spoke by Virtus, in *Sil. Ital.* 15. v. 107.

Lucian alludes very frequently to this sort of idea; but no where so fully, as in his *Περὶ τοῦ Διασκευαστοῦ*, Tom. II. p. 309, &c. Ed. Blæu. It was very fully described too, in the picture of Cebes; which we vulgarly call, Cebes's Table.

(21) Pythagoras used to point out the two different paths of life, to his disciples, in the make of the old Ypsilon. The generality, he said, took the broad easy road, to the left hand; and the virtuous, the narrow steep line to the right.

Haud tibi inexpertum curvos comprehendere mores,

Quæque docet sapiens braccatis illita Medis

Porticus; insomnis quibus & detonsa juventus

Invigilat, siliquis & grandi pasta polenta;

Et tibi, quæ Samios deduxit litera ramos,

Surgentem dextro monstravit tramite callem;

Steris adhuc? —

Perfius. 3. v. -5.

too (22) rigid and severe. They generally oppose Virtus, to Voluptas: and when they talk of the two different paths of life; this of the good, and that of the bad; they throw the latter with roses, and the former with thorns. In a word, they have made the ways of Virtue to appear at least like the ways of unpleasantness: and yet they always say, that she is to be chosen with all her difficulties and troubles. She is to be chosen for the end; (which is the chief thing always in determining one's choice:) for they describe (23) the path of virtue as leading thro' difficulties and troubles, to glory and happiness; and the path of pleasure, as leading thro' gaieties and enjoyments, to misery and dishonour.

As the determining this choice is the most important thing to every man that is born into the world, we find it shadowed out by the poets and moralists of all ages: in fables very different indeed, but all of them pointing to the same end.

SILIUS ITALICUS introduces a Choice into his poem, where he is speaking of Scipio Africanus; the greatest man perhaps that ever Rome produced, if we take his character all round. He speaks of him as very young; for it was just after his father and uncle had lost their lives in fighting against the Carthaginians. The senate debate, who shall be sent to head their armies in Spain: while they are debating, young Scipio retires in the depth of his concern into a solitary place, to consider with himself whether he should follow the example of his relations, and fling himself into the war; or whether he should retire, and save the poor remains of his family. Whilst he is ruminating and doubtful what to fix on (24), Virtus and Voluptas appear to him. Each makes a speech

to

(22) There is a head of Virtus, published by Fulvio Orsini, with the hair lank and rude; and entirely with the look of a common soldier.

We meet with several descriptions in the poets, which shew that they had much the same idea of her.

When Lucan describes Scæva, as all horrible with wounds; he says, that his companions looked upon him as an exact representation of this goddess.

Perdiderat vultum rabies; stetit imbre cruento
Informis facies.—Labentem turba suorum
Excipit, atque humeris defectum imponere gaudet:
Ac veluti inclumum perfoisso in pectore numen,
Et vivam magnæ speciem Virtutis adorant.

Pharf. 6. §. 254.

Virtus, coming from the throne of Jupiter, and changing herself into the shape of Manto, (to persuade Menæceus to sacrifice his life for his country;) is thus described by Statius.

— Abiit horrorque vigorque
Ex oculis: paulum decoris permansit; honosque
Mollior: et posito vatum gestamina ferro
Subdita: descendunt vestes, torvisque ligatur
Vitta comis; nam laurus erat. Tamen aspera produnt
Ora deam; nimirum gradus.—

Theb. 10. §. 646.

This author is full of these ideas; for he says, in another place:

Ridet Mars Pater, & cruenta Virtus.
Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. §. 62.
And, where he is describing the court of Mars,
Innumeri strepit aula Minis. Tristissima Virtus
Stat medio; lætisque Poror: vultuque cruento
Mors armata sedet.—

Theb. 7. §. 53.

(23) Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano;
Fortem polce animum & mortis terrore carentem,
Qui spatium vite extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ; qui ferre quæsit quoscumque labores;
Nesciat traici, cui nihil: & potiores
Herculis ærumas cedat sævoque labores,

Et Venere, & comis & plumis Sardanapalli.

Manstro quod ipse tibi possis dare. Semita certe

Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica viciæ.

Juvenal. Sat. 10. §. 364.

(24) Has lauri resedens juvenis viridante sub umbrâ,
Ædibus extremis, volvebat pectore curas;
Quum subito adsiluit dextrâ lævâque, per auras
Adlapsæ, haud paulum mortali major imago,
Hinc Virtus, illinc Virtuti inimica Voluptas.

Altera Achemenium spirabat vertice odorem,
Ambrosias diffusâ comas; & veste refulgens,
Oilum quæ fulvo Tyrium suffuderat auro;
Fronte decor quæsitæ acui; læscivæque crebras
Ancipiti motu jaciebant lumina flammæ.

Alterius dispar habitus. Frons hirta; nec unquam
Compositâ mutata comâ. Stans vultus: & ore
Incessuque viro propior; lætisque pudoris.
Celsa humeros niveæ fulgebant flamine pallæ.

Occupat inde prior, promissis sîs, Voluptas.
“ Qvis furor hic, non digne puer consumere bello
Florem ævi? Cannæ tibi, graviorque palude
Mæonius Stygiâ lacus excescere, Padusque?
Quem tandem ad finem bellando fata laceßes?
Tunc etiam tentare paras Atlantia regna,
Sidoniaque domos? Moneo, certare periculis
Define, & armifonæ caput objectare procellæ.
Ni fugis hos ritus, Virtus te sœva jubebit
Per medias volitare acies, medioque per ignes,
Hæc patrem patruumque tuos; hæc prodiga Paulum,
Hæc Decios, Stygias Erebi detrusit ad undas;
Dum cineri titulum memorandaque nomina bustis
Præterdit, nec sensuræ quid gesserit umbra.
At si me comitere, puer, non limite duro
Jam tibi decurret concessi temporis ætas:
Haud unquam trepidos abrumpet buccina somnos;
Non glaciem Arctoam, non experire furentis
Ardorem Cancris; nec mensas, sæpe cruento
Gramine compositas: aberunt fitis aspera, & haustus
Sub galeâ pulvis, partique timore labores:
Sed current albusque dies, horæque serene;
Et molli dabitur victu sperare senectam.

to draw him over to her party. He is determined by what *Virtus* says to him; hastes to the senate; demands to lead the army into Spain; and goes on in a continued course of great and good actions. I know not whether *Silius* might borrow any strokes in the descriptive part of this story, from any pictures of a (25) choice, at Rome in his time; but his description might certainly furnish a good painter now with all the ideas necessary to make a good picture on this subject. The place; the personages; their air, their looks, their robes, and the very colour of them, being all fixed by the poet; and only wanting a good hand, to transplant them on the canvas.

THIS story of *Scipio* in *Silius*, is evidently taken from that of *Hercules* in *Xenophon's* memoirs of *Socrates*. It was a lesson which that great philosopher gave his disciples; and one of the noblest lessons in all antiquity. He borrowed it from *Prodicus*; who he says, used to tell it in a much more ornamented manner than he has done; but perhaps we have not it the worse, for having it plainer. I have heard you say, *Philander*, that a particular friend of yours has turned it into verse, in our own language, from the Greek of *Xenophon*; and I think you promised me some time ago, that you would be so good as to shew it to me. I am so far from forgetting that promise, says *Philander*, that I brought it with me into the country, on purpose. I took it with me yesterday, when you was to consider the character of *Hercules*; and have it still about me. I would not interrupt you with it now; but when you have finished your round of the *Virtues* and *Deities* before us, if you will give me leave, I will have the pleasure of reading it to you.

WE shall be both obliged to you, says *Polymetis*; but before I go on with my other goddesses, I must beg leave to explain a thing, which I only hinted at before.

Quantas ipse deus latus generavit in usus
Res homini, plenâque dedit bona gaudia dextra?
Atque idem, exemplar lentis mortalibus ævi,
Imperturbat placidus tenet otia mente.
Illa ego sum, Anchise Venerem Simoentis ad undas
Quæ junxi; generis vobis unde editus auctor:
Illa ego sum, verti saperum qui sepe parentem,
Nunc avis in formam, nunc torvi in cornua tauri.
Huc advertite aures. Currit mortalibus ævum:
Nec nasci bis posse datur. Fugit hora; rapitque
Tartareus torrens: ac secum ferre sub umbras,
Si qua animo placere, negat. Qvis, luce supremâ,
Dimisisse meas serò non ingemit horas!
Postquam contigit, finisque est addita disis;
Tam *Virtus*. "Quasnam juvenem florentibus (inquit)
Pellicis in fraudes annis vitæque tenebras,
Cui ratio & magnæ cœlestia semina mentis
Munere sunt concessa deum? Mortalibus alti
Quantum Cœlicolæ, tantundem animalibus isti
Præcellunt cunctis: tribuit namque ipsa minores
Hos terribis natura deos; sed, fœdere certo,
Degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernis:
At queis ætherei servatur feminis ortus,
Cœli porta patet. Referam quid cuncta domantem
Amphitryoniadem? Quid, cui post Seras & Indos,
Captivo Liber quum signa referret ab Euro,
Caucasæ currum duxere per oppida tigres?
Quid suspiratos magno in discrimine nautis
Ledaos referam fratres, vestramque *Quirinum*?
Nonne vides, hominum ut celsos ad sidera vultus
Sustulerit deus, ac sublimia finxit ora;
Quum pecudes, volucrumque genus, formæ ferarum,
Sæpem atque obscenam passim stravisset in alvum?
Ad laudes genitum, capiat si munera divum,
Felix ad laudes hominum genus. Huc age, paulum
Adipice, (nec longè repetam,) modò Roma minanti
Impar Fidene, contentaque crescere asylo,
Quo sese exultet dextra! idem adipice, latè
Florentes quondam luxus quas verterit urbes!
Quippe nec ira deum tantum, nec tela; nec hostes;
Quantum sola nocet, animis illapsa, Voluptas!

Circa te semper volitans Infamia pennis:
Necum, Honor, & Laudes, & læto Gloria vultu;
Et Decus, & niveis *Victoris* concolor alis;
Me, cinctus lauro, perducit ad æstra Triumphus.
Casta mihi domos, & cello stant colle penates:
Ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo,
Aspera principio; (nec enim mihi fallere mos est!)
Prosequitur labor ad nitendum intrare volenti;
Nec bona censendum quæ fors infida dedisset,
Atque eadem rapuisse valet: mox celsus ab alto
Infra te cernes hominum genus. Omnia contra
Experienda manet, quàm sponder blanda Voluptas,
Stramine prociuss dero, patiæ sub altris
Infomnes noctes; frigusque famemque domabis.
Idem, iustitiæ cultor, quæcunque capissis
Tædæ saciorum hære arbitrare Divos,
Tunc, quoties patriz rerumque pericula poscent,
Arma ferēs primus; primus te in mœnia tolles
Hostica: nec ferro mentem vincere, nec auro.
Hinc tibi, non Tyrio vitatis murice vestes;
Nec donum, deformæ viro, flagrantis amoni:
Sed dabo, qui vellrum sævo nunc Marte fatigat
Imperium, superare manu; laurumque superham
In gremio Jovis excisis deponere laniis."

Quæ postquam cecinit sacro pectore *Virtus*,
Exemplis lætum, vultuque audita probantem,
Convertit juvenem. Sed enim indignata Voluptas
Non tenuit voces. "Nil vos jam demoror ultra,
Exclamat. Venient, venient mea tempora quondam!
Quum docilis nostris, magno certamine, Roma
Serviet imperiis; & honor mihi habebitur uni."
Sic, quassans caput, in nubes se sustulit atras.
At juvenis, plenus moniti, ingentia corde
Molitur; visque calet *Virtutis* amor.

Silius Ital. Lib. 15. v. 130.

(25) The choice of *Hercules*, in particular, was a subject for pictures of old. See *Philostratus* in *V. Apollonii. Lib. 6. c. 10. p. 239, 240, &c.* Ed. Lipl.

said that these choices were much more common in antiquity, than has been generally imagined. Thus, I suspect at least, that the story of Ulysses and Circe was something of this kind; the debate there was, whether he should give himself up to that goddess, or go on to seek Ithaca and the chaste partner of his bed. The trial of the same hero, when he resisted the bewitching music of the Sirens, is another dress for the same sort of moral; and, if I mistake not, Horace (26) alludes to both these stories of this hero, in a manner that may partly serve to justify this conjecture. The Choice, or (as it is more commonly called,) the Judgment of Paris, seems to me to be the Asiatic way of telling the same story; and it is formed on a larger plan, than any of the former. The goddesses of (27) Wisdom, the goddesses of Pleasure, and the goddesses of Power, appear to Paris in his youth. They each make him their offers. He prefers pleasure, to whatever the others could give him: and the consequence of this bad choice of his was, the loss of his own life, the sufferings of all his friends, and of his country; and finally, the overturning of the Asiatic monarchy. But what dignifies this matter in general more than any thing I have said, and more than any thing I could say, is; that one might give instances of some strokes resembling this method of instruction, from the sacred writers: as in the choice of Solomon, recorded in the Old Testament; and that of a greater than Solomon, in the New.

ONE word more on this subject; and I have done with it. The account of these Choices were so familiar and well known of old, that the Roman poets often allude to them, in other things beside fixing on a virtuous or vicious course of living. So Persius, (28) of chusing between two vices, Avaritia and Luxuria: and Ovid in his doubt (29), whether he should take to writing elegies or tragedies.

THE figure that you see next to Virtus, is placed here to represent Temperantia; who was supposed to inspire men with the resolution of (30) bridling in their desires and appetites; and it is therefore that you see her with a bit, in her right hand. I could never meet with any figure of Temperantia, on any Roman medal: and was therefore forced to steal this from a Grecian one; and to adapt it to my purpose: for, to say the truth, the artist meant it for a different goddess. What made me take this extraordinary licence,

was

(26) Hic, in reduciâ valles Caniculæ,
Vitabis ædus; & fide Teia
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelope, vitreamque Circe.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 17. §. 20.

Rursum quid Virtus & quod Sapiencia possit
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulysses;
Qui domitor Trojæ, multorum providus urbes
Et mores hominum insepexit: latumque per æquor
Dum sibi, dum focis reditum parat, aspera multa
Perulit; adversa rerum immerabilis undis.
Sirenum voces, & Circes pocula noli;
Que, si cum focis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub dominâ meretrice fuisset turpis & excors;
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto fus.

Ib. Lib. 1. Ep. 2. §. 26.

(27) ——— Venus, et cum Pallade Juno,
Graminibus teneros imposituere pedes. ———
Tantaque vincendi cura est, ingentibus ardent
Judicium donis sollicitare meum:
Regna Jovis conjux, virtutem filia jactat;
Ipse potens dabit, fortis an esse velim.
Dulce Venus ruit, ("Nec te, Pari, munera tangant;"
Utique suspensâ plena timoris, ait.)
"Nos dabimus quod ames; & pulchre filia Leda
Ibit in amplexus, pulchrior ipsa, tuos."
Dixit; & ex æquo donis formâque probatâ,
Virtutem cælo retulit illa pedem.

Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. §. 88. (Paris, Hel.)

6

Unaque cum regnum, belli daret altera laudem;
Tyndaridos corjux tertia dixit, eris. ———
Ergo ego sum Virtus? Ego tibi nobile regnum?
Id. Ibid. 17. §. 135. (Helena. Par.)

This whole story is told most fully, and in the most picturesque manner that can be, by Lucian. In him, Juno offers to make Paris king of all Asia; or, in other words, the greatest monarch then in the world: — Minerva promises to make him great in war, and always successful: — and Venus tempts him with the finest woman in the world. Tom. I. p. 224, & 225. Ed. Blacu.

(28) Sat. 5. §. 132—153.

(29) Lib. 3. El. 1. That whole elegy is on this subject; and sung into the manner of the ancient Choices. The place is the grove of Egeria; the person to determine, Ovid himself; the goddesses that appear to him, Elegeia and Tragedia. The character he has given to the former, resembles that of Desidia; as that of the latter, seems to answer Virtus. — Lucian has used much the same method in his choice between Eloquence and Sculpture. Tom. I. p. 4. Ed. Blacu.

(30) Temperantia, moderatio est cupiditatum, rationi obediens. Cicero, 2. §. 19. de Fin.

Pl. XXI.
Fig. II.

was my desire of completing my set of Cardinal Virtues. I could not find out any figure fitter for my purpose; and one may presume, from several expressions in the Roman writers (31), that the goddess Temperantia was represented among the Romans, in the same manner as the deity which you see before you. Cicero's definitions of Temperance say just the same thing, in words; that this bit or bridle does, in the figure. The same author, in his *Tusculan Questions*, speaks of all (32) the Cardinal Virtues, in a personal manner. The moderns too represent them all personally; as, particularly, in the celebrated paintings of them, in the Jesuits church at Rome: which, (as they were done by one of the very best, and most judicious, of all our modern painters,) may I think serve as a very fair instance, how much the ancient artists excel the moderns, in their manner of treating allegorical subjects. The ancients had more of simplicity in their designs: they express what they would mean in a shorter, and stronger manner, than the moderns. Thus, in the statues of the four Cardinal Virtues before you, the character of each is fully expressed by one single attribute. Prudence, who is to guide every thing, has the directing wand in her hand; Justice, who is to weigh every thing aright, her scales; Fortitude, who is to act, her sword; and Temperance, who is to restrain, a bit. On the contrary, in the paintings I was speaking of, Dominiquin, (who is as much to be admired for his correctness, as any of the moderns perhaps, except Raphael,) expresses less, by endeavouring to express too much. Prudence he paints as supported by Time, and holding a looking-glass in her hand; (I suppose, to shew that she is produced by Experience and Reflection:) and by her is a boy, holding a serpent and a dove; (in compliment, possibly, to the Jesuits who employed him; and to signify that they are wise as serpents, and innocent as doves.) Justice, in his painting, cannot hold the scales for the scepter, she has in her hand: there are three little angels (or Cupids) about her, with a crown, the scales, and the scales; and she is supported, (I do not well know why,) by Charity. Fortitude, is with a sword and shield; supported by a man with a dart in his hand, and a lion: on her right hand, is the motto of the Jesuits; and on her left, a column; not erect. Temperance, has a bit in her right hand, and a palm-branch in her left; a camel on one side, and two boys with pitchers, (perhaps as pouring water into wine,) on the other: she is supported by Chastity.—By comparing Dominiquin's manner of expressing these Virtues, with my figures of them here, you may form some idea of the superior excellence of the ancient artists, in things of this nature: and of that simplicity, which indeed runs generally thorough all their designs.

PL. XXI.
Fig. 7.

NEXT to the Cardinal Virtues, I have placed Piety. She is veiled, you see; and in the act of casting some frankincense, on the little altar that stands by her. The Romans, in their more solemn devotions, had their heads (33) covered with a long veil; and the Vestal

(31) Cicero's definitions of Temperantia, agree exactly with the idea of a bit or bridle, in the hand of that goddess. There is one, from his treatise de Finibus, quoted the note before this; we have another, in his Lib. de Inventione; Temperantia est rationis, in libidinem atque in alios non rectos impetus animi, firma & moderata dominatio: and a third, in his *Tusculan Questions*; Temperantia est moderatrix omnium commotionum.

The Roman writers seem to allude frequently to this idea; in speaking of the effects of Temperance. Thus, frenare animum, is used by Cicero; iras frenare, by the author of Medea; and, frenare spes, by Silius Italicus.—So, animum frenis compece, in Horace; and—pone iræ fræna modumque, in Juvenal.

In the same manner when they speak of any thing excessive, or intemperate; they use the words, effrenus, and effrenatus. Thus animus effrenatus, effrenata libido, cupiditas effrenata, furor effrenatus, violentia hominis effrenata; amor effrenus, & ju-

venta effrena; all occur in some or other of the best writers, in their best ages.

(32) Jam tibi aderit princeps Fortitudo; quæ te animo tanto esse coget, ut omnia quæ possint homini evenire contemnas, & pro nihil putes.—Aderit Temperantia; quæ te turpius & nequiter facere nihil patietur.—Justitia dicet, dupliciter esse te injustum; cum & alienum appetas qui mortalis natus conditionem postulas immortalium, & graviter feras te quod utendum acceperis reddidisse.—Prudentiæ verò quid respondebis? dicenti virtute se esse contentam, quo modo ad bene vivendum, sic ad beatè, Cicero, *Tusc. Quest.* Lib. 3. §. 36, & 37.

(33) Constitit; atque caput niveo velatus amictu, Jam bene diis notas sustulit ille manus.
Ovid. *Fal. L. 3. §. 364.* (Of Numa.)
Nec pietas ulla est, velatum siepe videre
Vertit ad lapidem; atque omnes accedere ad aras.
Lucretius. l. 5. §. 1158.

Vestal Virgins, as people that were to be almost always praying, went always veiled. The poets speak of the (34) serene face, and modest air of this goddess: they describe her (35) dress, in the same manner as you see it here: and add that her robes were white; the colour of innocence, and therefore the most proper for devotion. Statius invokes this goddess, to wipe away the (36) tears from the face of a good man, that is in great trouble: an idea of piety, which is very just; and which might give, I think, a very good hint for a painter now, who was to draw any son, or daughter, amidst their deepest concern for the loss of an affectionate parent.

Tho' piety is here represented only under the character of devotion; I must just observe to you, (for the honour of the ancient artists,) that they often represent her too as productive of the good and virtuous offices of life. Thus instead of an altar, she has sometimes a flock by her; and then signifies the dutiful actions of children toward their parents: as, at other times, she signifies the affectionate behaviour of parents toward their children. I have seen figures of her with one, two, and sometimes three children before her. In the latter case, she puts one in mind of our modern figures of Charity; and under this part of her character, may signify in general, that our love of God is best shown in our good deeds to one another.

Pl. XXI.
Fig. 8.

THE next figure here, is that of Honesty, or Fidelity. The Romans called her, *Fides*: and when they called her (37) *Sola Fides*, seem to mean the same as we do by the words, downright honesty. She is represented (38) with an erect open air; and with nothing but a thin robe on, so fine that one might see through it. Horace therefore calls her (39) thin-dressed, in one of his odes; and transparent, in another. This, in the language of the poets and statuary, is just the same as when we say, (in our professions of fidelity and honesty,) "I wish you could see into my breast;" or, "I wish that you could see thorough me." The poets call her (40) blameless, and not to be corrupted; and the (41) Companion, or Sister, of Justice: and represent her as (42) very old, and grey-headed; a particular which cannot appear in the figures of this goddess; as they are, I think, only to be met with on medals.

Pl. XXI.
Fig. 9.

WHEN they promised any thing of old, they gave their hand on it, (as we do now;) and

(34) *Aversâ cæli Pietas in parte sedebat:*
Non habitu quo nota prius, non ore sereno;
Sed vittis exuta comam. —
Statius. Theb. 1. 1. 460.
— *Vitantem aspectus etiam, pudibundaque longè*
Ora reducentem —

Id. Ibid. 494.

(38) Where Petronius is describing the Virtues, by contraries, he says;
Hæc comes it submissa Fides; & crine soluto
Justitia: ac morrens lacerâ Concordia pallâ.
P. 253.

(35) — *Dejectam in lumina pallam*
Diva trahit. —
Statius. Theb. 11. 496.

See the following note.

(36) *Summa deum, Pietas! cujus gratissima cælo*
Rara profanatas inspicant numina terras;
Huc vittata comam niveoque insignis amictu,
Qualis adhuc presens nullâque expulsa nocentum
Fraude rudes populos atque aurea regna colebas,
Mitibus exequiis ades! & lugentis Hetrusci
Cerne pios fletus, laudatæque lumina terge!
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 3. 7. (To Hetruscius, on the death of his father.)

(37) *Et Soli Fidei solenne instituit.* Livy, Lib. 1. §. 21. (of Numa.) Thus; *solâ innocentia vivere.* Id. Lib. 2. §. 3.

(39) *Te spes, & albo rara Fides colit*
Velata panno. —
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. 22.
Arcanæ Fides prodiga, pellucidior vitro.
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 18. 7. ult.

(40) *Incorrupta Fides.* —
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 24. 7.
Culpari metuit Fides. —
Ib. Lib. 4. Od. 5. 20.

(41) *Justitiæ consors.*
— *Pudor, & Justitiæ soror*
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 24. 7.

(42) *Ante Jovem generata, decus divumque hominumque.*
Silius Ital. 2. 484.
Cana Fides, & Vestis, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabunt. —
Virgil. Æn. 1. 293.

and therefore this goddess, is represented sometimes, on medals (43), as giving her hand; and sometimes, only by two hands joined together.

Pl. XXI.
FIG. 10.

THE following figure is that of Chastity; which chiefly signified, among the Romans, one species of fidelity, that to the marriage-bed. They called her, the goddess Pudicitia; and represented her like a Roman matron. You see, she has her veil on here; and is in the modest attitude of pulling it over part of her face. Juvenal speaks of her personally; and says humorously enough (44), "that he believes she was once upon our earth; in the reign of Saturn: but that she quitted it about the time, that Jupiter began to have a beard." Even their prose (45) writers speak personally of her too. The Romans made an odd distinction in relation to this goddess: there was one statue of her that was to be worshipped (46) only by the ladies of quality; and others, for the women of a lower rank.

Pl. XXI.
FIG. 11.

THIS goddess is Clemency; whose distinguishing character, both in her statues and in the poets, is the mildness of her countenance. She has an olive-branch in her hand, as a mark of her peaceful and gentle temper. The Romans were at first of so rough a turn, that I question whether she was admitted as a goddess among them in the earlier ages of the state. I do not remember that she is ever mentioned as such, by any poet of the two first ages; and the (47) fullest passage relating to her in one of the third, speaks of an altar to her indeed; but it is of an altar at Athens, and not at Rome. The Athenians as less warlike, were more compassionate: they made a goddess of (48) *Misericordia* too; who, perhaps, was never received as a goddess among the Romans, at all.

Pl. XXII.
FIG. 1.

THESE are all the Virtues that I have as yet in my collection: we come now to those Beings, who were supposed to be the givers of any of the comforts and blessings of human life. This first of them is Happiness: you see she has the Caduceus of Mercury in one hand, and a Cornucopia in the other. This in the language of the statuary seems to signify much the same with the old Latin proverb, *Quisque suæ fortunæ faber*; "that every one's own good sense is the maker of his good fortune, or happiness in the world." Or the Caduceus may signify peace, and the Cornucopia plenty; which are two of the principal ingredients of happiness. The medalists call her, *Felicitas*; and it is the same goddess, (or some very near relation of hers,) that Horace speaks of (49), personally, by the name of *Faustitas*; where, by the way, he seems to hint, that she chuses rather to dwell in the country, than in cities.—Health stands next to her here; who is distinguished (as *Esculapius*, and the medicinal *Apollo*,) by her serpent. The Roman poets scarce say any thing of her; perhaps because they gave up so large a part of her honour, and

Pl. XXII.
FIG. 2.

(43) *Hujus imagine ante oculos posita, venerabile Fidei numen dexteram suam, certissimum salutis humanæ pignus, ostendat. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. de Fide publicâ.*

(44) *Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris, visamque diis: &c. —
— Et sub Jove; sed Jove nondum
Barbato —————
Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 15.*

(45) *Unde te, virorum pariter ac feminarum firmamentum, Pudicitia, invocem? Tu enim prisca religione consecratos Vestæ focos incolis: tu Capitolinæ Junonis pulvinaribus incubas: tu, Palatii columnæ, augustos penates, sanctissimumque Juliæ gentis genitalem thorum, assiduâ statione celebras. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 6. Cap. 1.*

(46) *In sacello Pudicitie Patriciæ, quæ in Foro Bo-*

ario est, ad ædem rotundam Herculis. Livy, Lib. 10. §. 23. — Ara Pudicitie Plebæ. Ibid.

(47) *Urbe fuit mediâ nulli concessa potentum
Ara deum: mitis posuit Clementia sedem;
Et miseri fecere sacrum. —
— Non thurea flamma, nec altus
Accipitur sanguis. Lachrymis altaria sudant;
Mœlarumque super libamina fersa comarum
Pendent, & vestes mutâ sorte relicte.
Mite nemo circa, cultuque insigne verendo;
Vittatæ laurus, & supplicis arbor olivæ.
Statius. Theb. 12. v. 492.*

(48) *Si Misericordiam commendabo judici, nihil proderit, quod prudentissima civitas Atheniensium non eam pro affectu, sed pro numine, accipit? Quintilian. Instit. Orat. Lib. 5. c. 12. p. 400. Ed. Hack.*

(49) *Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas,
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 5. v. 13.*

and office, to their great favourite, Esculapius.—Liberty you may easily know, by her cap and wand: both of which refer to the customs used among the Romans in setting their slaves free. The poets allude to these (50) badges of liberty; but never describe the goddess herself, that I know of.

Pl. XXII.
Fig. 3.

In this range of the Moral Beings relating to Happiness, I should have done very wrong had I omitted the three that follow next in order; Serenity of Mind, Cheerfulness, and Jollity; (which last I think had better have been called Joviality.) The Romans call them, Tranquillitas, Hilaritas, and Lætitia. As their poets are silent about them, I shall say but very little as to each of them. Serenity of Mind might very well have been placed a little higher, with Health: but these three deities hit one another so well, and there is such a regular gradation in their characters, that I chose to set them together.—Serenity, looks firm and easy; she rests on a column, with one hand; and holds a scepter, in the other. It is she that rules the mind, in the steadiest and best manner.—Cheerfulness has a sprig of myrtle, (the plant of Venus, or the goddess of gaiety,) for her distinguishing mark; and a Cornucopia. We may be easy, under want; but it is a sufficiency, or plenty, that makes us cheerful. I have seen this goddess often on medals with a palm-branch, (the token of peace,) sometimes with two or three children about her; and sometimes without any. The former I suppose is meant to signify the happy state of married men; and the other, that of bachelors.—Joviality, is distinguished, by the wreath of flowers in her hand: a thing, generally made use of among the Romans, in their festivals, and treats: and, indeed, the gaiety and short duration of such pleasures, were very morally and strongly pointed out to them, by the roses which they wore on their heads, and scattered all about their couches and tables on those occasions.

Pl. XXII.
Fig. 4, 5, 6.

THE next figure to these three, is that of Spes, or the goddess of Hope. Hope is the great softener of the various distresses of life; and was left, you know, at the bottom of Pandora's box, as the only refuge against all the evils she let loose into the world. Like the spring, she is still promising something blooming and pleasing, after all the chillness and gloominess of the winter. She is therefore very well represented with a bud, just opening, in her hand. This, I think, is as pretty an imagination, as any I have met with among the works of the old artists; and I wonder the poets have touched upon it only so (51) lightly, as they seem to have done. It is as just too, as it is pretty. Had the flower been full blown, it would have been too much for this goddess to hold in her hand; and were the bud quite closed up, it would not be enough. It is therefore only opening; like a morning rose, that promises to display more of its beauties gradually, as the sun gets higher and higher.—The fitting figure by her is Security; she rests her head against her hand, in an easy and careless posture. I believe she was sometimes represented too, as leaning against a column: an attribute of this goddess, which Horace seems to (52) allude to; tho' neither he, nor I believe any of the Roman poets describe the goddess herself.—The two next deities who are so like one another, are Concord, and Peace: one, the giver of amity and good-will, between the people under the same prince: and the other, between them, and the nations under different princes. They are both of a mild countenance; and they are sometimes both crowned with laurel, in their

Pl. XXII.
Fig. 7.

Pl. XXII.
Fig. 8.

Pl. XXII.
Fig. 9, 10.

(50) — Donatum jam rude, queris
Mæcenas iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. 7. 3.
Hæc mera libertas; hæc nobis pilea donant.
Persius, Sat. 5. 7. 82.

This latter was the mark of liberty, used of old on all occasions. Flaminini de Philippo rege triumphantis curram—duo millia civium Romanorum pileata comitata sunt; quæ Punicis bellis intercepta & in Græciâ servientia,—in pristinum gradum restituerat. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 5. Cap. 2.—

In modum vexilli pileum servituti, ad arma capiendâ, ostentatum erat. Ibid. Lib. 8. Cap. 6.

(51) Only, by the way; and in a manner of speaking borrowed, perhaps, from the representations of this goddess: as Horace's, Spem mentita læges; and Ovid's, In spe vitæ erat.

(52) Injuriolo ne pede prorsus
Stantem columenam.—

Horace; (in his prayer to Fortune, for the continuance of the Roman state.) Lib. 1. Od. 35. 8. 14.

their figures; as they are described too (53) by the poets. Concord, you see, holds two Cornucopia's together, in one of her hands; a thing, which I do not remember to have seen in any other figure but hers: and as agreement often doubles the advantages we receive in the world, they seem to be given her with more propriety, than perhaps they could be to any other. Peace is distinguished by her olive branch and Caduceus, held together: which the Romans formerly used as the joint emblems of peace, with any of their neighbours. She is sometimes represented too with corn in her hand, and several sorts of fruits in her lap: as on a medal given us by Mr. Addison (54); and in the description of this goddess (55), quoted by the same author, from Tibullus. Part of that description shews, that she was dressed in white robes; as indeed most of the good Moral Beings seem to have been. The author of one of the Latin tragedies gives a sketch for a picture of this goddess (56) tying Mars his hands behind him. I have never met with it on any relieve. There was indeed a representation of War, or Discord, in the temple of Janus at Rome of old; and a statue of Peace, in the same temple: and the meaning of shutting the gates of that temple in time of peace, seems to have been as much (57) to keep this goddess from flying away; as it was to hinder the god of war from breaking loose, and flinging the world into confusion.—Next to Peace and Concord, you have the goddesses of Plenty. She is most usually called by the name of Copia in the poets, and that of Abundantia on medals; for these two names, as I take it, signify exactly the same goddesses. We meet indeed with another goddess of this sort on medals, who is called Annona; and differs from the former as she had a less district, and presided over one season only; for, (as the word seems to signify,) she was looked on as the giver of plenty of provision, for the current year: whereas Abundantia was the giver of other things, as well as provision, and that at all times, and in all places. You see Abundantia here is seated on a chair, not unlike the common Roman chairs in its make in general, only its two sides are wrought into the shape of Cornucopia's (58), to denote the character of this goddess: as Annona has corn in her hand, and the beak of a ship by her; to shew some temporary supply of corn, which was probably brought by sea to Rome, by the emperor's

Pl. XXII.
FIG. 11.

Pl. XXII.
FIG. 12.

(53) Frondibus Aëtiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax ades, & toto mitis in orbe mane!
Ovid. Fast. 1. 5. 712.
Venit Apollineâ longas Concordiâ lauro
Nexa comas. ———
Ibid. 6. 5. 92.

(54) Treatise on medals, p. 39.

(55) At nobis Pax alma veni, spicamque teneto;
Perfluat & pomis candidus ante sinus.
Tibullus, Lib. 1. El. 10. 5. 70.

(56) ——— Asperi
Martis fanguineas quæ cohibet manus;
Quæ dat belligeris fœdera gentibus,
Et cornu retinet divite copiam;
Donetur tenerâ mitior hostiâ.
Medea. Act. 1. Chor. 5. 66.

(57) Pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit.
Says Janus, in Ovid. Fast. 1. 5. 281.

(58) ——— Apparet beata pleno
Copia cornu.
Horat. Carm. Sæc. 5. 60.
——— Aurea fruges
Italia: pleno diffudit copia cornu.
Id. Lib. 1. Ep. 12. 5. 29.
——— Hinc tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 17. 5. 16.

Lac dabat illa deo; sed fregit in arbore cornu,
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat. (*Amalthea)
Sustulit hoc Nympha; cinctumque recentibus herbis,
Et plenum pomis, ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille (ubi res cœli tenuit folioque paterno
Sedit, & invicto nil Jove majus erat)
Sidera nutricem; nutricis, fertile cornu
Fecit: quod dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.
Fast. 5. 5. 128.

——— Rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dum tenet, infregit; truncaque a fronte revellit.
Nâides hoc, pomis & odore flore repletum,
Sacrarunt; divæque meo bona copia cornu est
(Says Achelous,) Met. 9. 5. 88.

If Plenty be ever represented with two Cornucopia's, (as Concord sometimes is,) one might account for both of them from these two differing passages, in Ovid.—I do not love critical conjectures; but beg leave just to offer one here.—If Ovid, in the last line, had wrote originally; divæque meo quoque Copia cornu est; it would have agreed very well with this account, that the goddesses of Plenty had first Amalthea's horn; and then a second, from Achelous: and yet an editor, who had never heard of the two stories, might think, quoque, a strange word there; and might therefore according to custom, at his own (and the author's) peril, put in, bona. I question whether that epithet be ever applied to this goddess, in any ancient author; and believe it is not: because Copia is never used in a bad sense; and therefore never wants this epithet, to distinguish her. Venus indeed is sometimes called, Bona; but that is because there was a Venus Improbata too.

emperor's order; when they were in great want of it. My figure of her here was borrowed from the reverse of a medal struck in honour of that good emperor, Antoninus Pius.

As this class of Moral Beings make the blessings of those who live in a lower sphere of life; the two first, in the following class, have (either from the caprice, or folly, of mankind,) been most usually supposed to belong only to such as have made a noise and bustle in the world. This winged deity, almost in the attitude of flying, and with her robe as carried back with the wind, is the goddess of Victory. She holds a laurel-crown in her hand; the peculiar (59) reward of successful generals and great conquerors, of old. We learn from the poets, that her wings were (60) white, and her robe of the same colour. They sometimes describe her hovering between two armies engaged in battle (61), as doubtful which side she shall choose; and sometimes standing (62) fixed by one she is resolved to favour; as you often see her on the medals of the Roman emperors.

THIS goddess is very frequently represented in a chariot, drawn rapidly along by two horses; and particularly in numbers of the Roman family-medals, which had their name from her (63); as we learn from Pliny. The same author speaks of her being at Rome, in which she was ascending to heaven, in a chariot with four (64) horses; as she appears on the Antonine pillar, carrying some heroic thither; and with a (65) palm-branch in her hand. This, and the crown of laurel, were her general attributes; and a third was a trophy; and sometimes two, one on each side of her. This was a proper mark for this goddess at Rome, than any where else; for, of old, one could not have walked through that city, without seeing one or more trophies before the house of every officer, that had (66) ever gained any advantage over their enemies.

VICTORY is one of the attendants of Virtus; and so is Glory, or Honos: the only male in this circle of Moral Beings. He holds a spear in his right hand, and treads on a globe: probably, for the same reason that I gave you, when we were considering the figure of Virtus, just now. He is called Honos on a medal too, where you see him joined with Virtus; and they perhaps generally made a male of this deity, and called him by the name of Honos, rather than Gloria; because the latter was (67) sometimes used in a bad sense,

XXVII.
Fig. 1.

Pr. XXIII.
Fig. 2.

(59) *Illum non labor isthmium
Clarabit pugilem; non equus impiger
Curra ducet Achaico
Victorem: neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Offendet Capitolio.*
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 3. v. 9.

— Palma nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.
Lib. 1. Od. 1. v. 6.

(60) — Niveis Victoria concolor alis.
Silius Ital. 15. v. 99.

(61) *Inter utrumque volat dubilis Victoria pennis.*
Ovid. Met. 8. v. 13.

(62) — Victoria tecum
Stabit; eris magni victor in arce Jovis.
Id. de Art. Am. 2. v. 540.

(66) *Alia foris, & circa limina, animorum ingen-
tium imagines erant; affixis quoque pennis, &
nec emptori refringere liceret: triumphabantque,
etiam dominis mutatis, ipsæ domus.* Pliny, Lib. 35.
c. 2. p. 415. Ed. Elz.

(67) I have never observed any figure of Gloria, among the antiques I have met with. The Roman poets speak of her sometimes in a good, and sometimes in a bad sense.

Thus Horace, in a bad sense:
Quem tollit ad scenam ventoso Gloria carru.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1. v. 178.

And Silius, in a good:
Mecum Honor, & Laudes, & leto Gloria vultu.
(Says Virtus.) Lib. 15. v. 98.

So, Cicero. Virtus, noctes atque dies animum Gloriæ stimulis concitat atque admonet. Pro Archia.
Flaccus gives us a fine image of this goddess, encouraging and calling Jason and his companions to their famous expedition for the golden fleece.

— Tu sola animos mentemque peraris,
Gloria! Te viridem videt immunemque fenestæ,
Phædis in ripâ stantem, juvenescique vocantem.
Argon. 1. v. 78.

(63) *Nota argenti fuere bigæ, atque quadrigæ; & inde Bigati Quadrigatique dicti.—Qui nunc Victo-
riatus appellatur, lege Clodia percussus est; antea enim hic nummus ex Illyrico advectus mercis loco ha-
bebatur; est autem signatus Victoria, & inde nomen.* Pliny, Lib. 33. c. 3. p. 340. Ed. Elz.

(64) *Ibid. c. 10. p. 441.*

(65) Horace may, possibly, allude to some such representation of Victory as this, where he says;

sense, (for Vain-Glory,) among them. The artists give Honos a grave steddly look, perhaps on much the same account; for if his face was too much elevated or affected, he might seem too much like Vain-Glory: and so cease to deserve a place, in the rank of Virtues, or the good Moral Beings.

WE are now got to the last figure in this round, which is that of Providentia, or divine Providence: the giver and dispenser of all the Virtues and Blessings we have been considering. She therefore closes the round of them, tho' there are the drawings of some other deities, in the base, under her feet: which I placed there as subject to her, and as not deserving to appear ranged on an equality with the other figures in this circle.

PL. XXIII.
FIG. 3.

PROVIDENCE, you see, is represented here, as resting on her scepter with one hand; and pointing with the other, to a globe at her feet. This signifies that she governs all things here below. The globe indeed might stand for the whole universe; but by her pointing downwards, I rather believe that it was meant of our world only. For tho' the antient Romans supposed Providence to preside over (68) the universe; they seem generally to have followed that great and excellent rule, of reasoning only from what they knew. They experienced the influence of Providence in the station allotted to them; and therefore represented her with the globe of the earth at her feet. I have seen another representation of Providence, which pleased me better than this; but which could not serve for a statue. It is on the reverse of a medal of Pertinax. The goddess stands in an erect noble posture; with her hands lifted upwards, as if she had just flung the globe on the earth, (which you there see above her,) into the air; and as if she was saying, either "Remain thou fixed in that point;" or, "Take the settled course that I have appointed you." For if this idea among the artists was of the highest antiquity, it might as well signify the latter as the former. Might not one carry this idea yet farther? For as Pythagoras, and perhaps many of the philosophers before him, are said to have believed the motion of the earth, and its settled course thro' so many ages; it is not impossible but they had a notion too, of what we call the Projectile force; of which this I think would be as strong a representation, as any our artists could possibly invent; even since that doctrine has been restored, or discovered, call it which you please.

PL. XXIII.
FIG. 4.

I do not know that any of the Roman poets, of the three good ages, have ever described, or even spoke of Providence, personally. With them, I fear, some of the deities I have here placed under her feet, ran away with the honours and acknowledgments that were due rather to herself. I have observed to you before, that Providentia and Prudentia had much the same signification, and were used indifferently for one another, among the Romans. Providentia indeed was so unlucky a word for verse, that it could not have a place in the writers of either of the sorts that was most usual among them: it is disqualified from appearing in any of their heroic or elegiac compositions: but this does not help them to any excuse; because Prudentia, (which signifies the same thing,) might have served very well in either: and I do not remember any description of this deity in them under that name, any more than the other. I once imagined that she was spoken of by Juvenal, under the name of Prudentia; in a line that would contain a very great sentiment, if this might be allowed of: but from the force of the context, I am now persuaded, that she is not meant even (69) there.

THE

(68) Providentiâ decorum mundus administratur.
Cicero, de Divin. 1. §. 51.

(69) This passage of Juvenal is read differently.
By some;

Nullem nomen abest, si sit Prudentia; sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam; cœloque locamus.

Sat. 10. v. 366.

I some time thought Juvenal's meaning in this place, was; "We have no need of all our multitude of gods, if we only allow a Providence presiding over all things: but instead of discarding our old gods, we make new ones: we make a deity of Fortune, who antiently was not supposed to be of the number; and give her a seat in heaven, which she never deserved."

THE deities I have placed here, under the feet of Providence, are such as have been supposed, (from the different sorts of ignorance, that have prevailed in different ages,) to direct the world, and guide the actions of man; such as Necessity, the Destinies, Genius's, and Fortune.

In the old heathen scheme, (at least as high up as the days of Homer) every thing was supposed to be fixed from the beginning: not only all the happy or unfortunate events in life; but even all the good and bad actions of men. Homer, in the very proposition to his *Iliad*, says that both the misbehaviour of Achilles, and the destruction it brought on the Grecians, were only the fulfilling of the decrees of Jupiter. These eternal decrees, of what every one was to do and suffer, were represented among the ancients by orders written on tablets of brass; kept by the *Parcæ* or Destinies: one of which, and sometimes all three, were also supposed to spin out the thread of each man's life, chequered unequally with two colours; with more of white, or more of black, according as each man was to have a greater share of happiness or unhappiness. This was the notion among the Greeks; and was borrowed from them by the Romans: tho' it was an idea capable of undermining all the Virtues, and in particular their great favourite, Industry: but it was the idea received among them; and I have nothing to do with their ways of reasoning, but only with facts. I do not well know whether there was any such personage as Fate, received among the Romans or not. I am rather inclined to think, that with them it included every thing that Jupiter had (70) said; and what therefore must be. If this be true, *fata* will signify only the words, or decrees, of Jupiter; and the persons to put these decrees in execution will be the *Parcæ*; or Destinies, as we call them: for according to the old theology, whatever was originally said (or decreed) by Jupiter, was necessarily to have its effect, in its proper time and place, by the ministry of these three deities.

WHETHER the Romans had any personal representation of Fate or not, it is certain that they made a person of this Necessity. Horace speaks of her as such; and among other of her attributes, mentions one which you may see in the drawing of her, which I have just taken out of the case before us. She holds, you see, in her right hand one of those vast nails (or pins) which were antiently made use of by the Romans, for fastening the beams of brass in some of their strongest buildings. I have seen one of them, which was formerly thus used in Agrippa's Portico to the Rotunda at Rome; and which is still kept as a curiosity in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence. It is itself of brass; and so large, that it weighs near fifty pounds. The firmness of a building depended so much upon these *Clavi trabales*, that they are used as an emblem of firmness, or stability: and perhaps

Pl. XXIII.
... 5.

The reading of this passage, according to others, is,

Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; sed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam cæloque locamus.

which, I should think, agrees best with the context.

Juvenal says, §. 356, that "the two things we should pray for, are good health, and good sense:—that we might be the authors of our own happiness, if we pleased; §. 363.—that virtue is the only way to true happiness; §. 364.—that if we ourselves are prudent, Fortune has no power over us;—and that in truth there is no goddess at all; and has only usurped a seat in heaven, from the folly of mankind." §. 366.

Agreeably to what is here said, it appears from Note

79, posth. that Fortune was not really looked upon as a deity by the old Romans; but was made so latterly, by the devotion and folly of the vulgar. By which, I would be understood to mean the great vulgar, as well as the small; for there were several of the emperors, who paid a very particular respect to this superstitious goddess.

(70) What was said, or spoken, by Jupiter; *fatum*.—*Fatum est, quod Dii fantur*. An old poet, quoted by Servius.—*Fatum dicunt esse, quod Dii fantur; vel quod Jupiter fatur*. *Isidorus*. Origin. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.—*Minutius Felix* has christianized this idea, where he says; *Quid aliud est fatum, quam quod de unoquoque nostrum Deus factus est?* *Min. Fel.* §. 36. p. 175. Ed. Davis.

perhaps all the other attributes of this goddess, mentioned with this by (71) Horace, had much the same signification.

PL. XXIII.
FIG. 6.

THE three Destinies, as I said before, were looked upon as the dispensers of the eternal decrees of Jupiter; and were, all of them, sometimes supposed to spin the particoloured thread of each man's life. Thus are they represented on this medal; each with a distaff in her hand. Martial calls them, (72) the Three Spinning Sisters: and several (73) of the Roman poets have expressions that refer to the same idea.

THE figures of these goddesses are very uncommon; I do not know that I ever met with them any where but on this medal: unless they are meant by the figures on a Sarcophagus, in that noble collection made by the late, and present Pope, in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome. The long slip in the front of the cover of this Sarcophagus is full worked; and the figures on it are divided into five compartments: which all relate to the death, and future state, of some old Roman and his wife. In the first compartment, you see them reclined on a tricliniar bed, as still alive; the usual way of representing persons departed on the old Roman sepulchres, and which (by the way) shewed their general belief of the immortality of the soul. In the second, is Mercury; the conductor of departed souls to the regions of misery or bliss. In the third, is Proserpine and Pluto; the deities that preside over those regions. In the fourth, is a spectre or departed soul: and in the fifth, three persons standing in the middle, with a woman kneeling on one side of them

(71) *Te semper anteit seva neccitas:*
Clavos trabales & cuneos manu
Gellans ahena; nec severus
Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. §. 20.

I used formerly to think, (as, I believe, it generally is thought,) that these were instruments of punishing criminals: but there are some things here that cannot be understood that way, and they may all be understood as signs of stability; and consequently are very proper attributes for Neccitas.

The *Clavi trabales* are so called because they were used to pin and fasten the great beams in their strongest buildings.—The *Cunei* were sometimes used to make things closer and firmer: and thence, *cuneo*, signifies “to fasten with a wedge or pin; to join or fasten in buildings, as one joint or stone is coquetted within another;” as the word is explained in the best vocabulary we have for the Latin tongue: see the word, *cuneo*, in Ainsworth.—The Romans used no cement in their noblest buildings. The stones were very large; and were often fastened together by cramping-irons, and lead poured into the interstices: as is to be seen in most of the noblest remains now at Rome; and particularly, in the Colosseum. This answers very well to the *uncus*, and *liquidum plumbum*, in this passage. The *uncus* may be called *severus*, because it was sometimes used in the executions of criminals. That might annex the idea of *severus* to it; and when it was so annexed to it, it may be used with it as a general character: or possibly *severus uncus*, in this place, may signify something equivalent to our term, cramping-iron, in English.

The expression of *manu ahena* here, has something that still wants to be explained. This ode of Horace is a hymn, addressed to the great goddess of Fortune, at Antium: and he seems, in this part of it, to allude to some of the processions antiently used in honour of that goddess. The statue of Necessity seems to have been carried before the figure of the goddess

herself. *Te semper anteit seva Neccitas*. This statue was probably of brass; the known emblem of stability or firmness, of old. The antient statues observed a certain propriety, even in the materials they worked upon, on such and such occasions; as might be proved from a number of instances in the statues still remaining to us.

Brass and Adamant were always used, as the expressions for the most durable things. The tablets, on which the eternal decrees were supposed to be engraved, were of brass; the statue of Neccitas might, for the same reason, be of the same metal: as Horace, in another place, where he speaks of the *clavi* of this goddess, says they were of adamant.

Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum & divitis Indix,
Cementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis & mare Ponticum;
Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Neccitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedit caput.

Lib. 3. Od. 24. §. 8.

Valerius Maximus seems to allude to the nail, which this goddess holds in her hand; and which is not unlike the style they wrote with formerly; in a passage, where he speaks very disrespectfully of her. *Non ergo Patrum Conscriptorum voluntas; sed tua, terribilis Neccitas, truculenta manus, illi consulto stylum impressit.* Memorab. Lib. 7. Cap. 6.

(72) *Lanificas nulli tres exorare sorores*
Contigit.

Lib. 4. Ep. 54.

(73) *Talia fecia suis dixerunt, currite, fufis*
Concordes stabili fatorem nomine Parce.
Virgil. Ecl. 4. §. 47.
Hanc lucem celeri turbine Parca neat.
Ovid, (of his own death,) ad Liv. §. 164.
Septima lux venit, non exhibitura sequentem,
Et stabat vacua jam tibi Parca colo.
(On the death of a parrot,) Id. Lib. 2. El. 6. §. 46.

them, and a man on the other. These three deities, which they address themselves to, I imagine to be the three Destinies. She, in the midst of the three holds a balance even in her hand; and may signify the justice of the eternal decrees of heaven: another is reading to them out of a roll (74), (or volume,) that she holds in her hands; and may signify the declaration of their fate to them; (answerable to that expression in scripture, "In the volume of the book it is written:") and the third, who is spinning, may signify the execution of the divine decree; and the determination of their state, in the other life. I mention this only as a curiosity, and as an uncommon thing; for I have no passages in the poets to confront with it: and indeed the action of the last, with the sense I have given to it, attributes something farther to the Destinies, than seems to have been allowed them by the poets.

THE fullest and best description of the Destinies I have met with, in any of the poets, is (75) in Catullus. He represents them all as spinning; and at the same time singing, and foretelling the birth and fortunes of Achilles, at Peleus' wedding. His description is an absolute picture of them. They are extremely old; and dressed close in long robes, that reach down to their feet. Their robes, he says, are white; edged at the bottom, with purple. They have rose-coloured veils on their heads, fastened with white vittæ, or rubans. Catullus is not only so particular, as to their dress, but has given us too, the form of one of their songs. It is divided into several stanza's, with a chorus; so that one may suppose each of them to sing a stanza, by turns; and to join all in the concluding line of each stanza, which is always the same, and what I therefore before called the chorus.

BESIDES these great directors of the lives and fortunes of men; the old Romans had an idea of a sort of divinity, which constantly attended each single person, thro' the whole course of his life. These were certainly divinities of the lowest rank: each of them beginning to exist only at the same time that the persons they were to attend, were born into the world; and ceasing to exist, the moment they died. Those that attended women were females, and called Junones (76); as those which attended men were males, and called Genius's. They seem to be nothing else but the particular bent and temper of

(74) This, according to Lucian, should be Clotho: for he introduces her in one of his dialogues, with a written roll in her hand; and makes her say: Πρωτη μοι κτήλη, ὅπως ἀνέδρανοντες ἰαχῆς; Μαλλόν δ' εὐτυ, πρὸς τὰ γυναικίμνητα, νύκας στίχους ἔχουσιν.—Πολέμντας ἀνέδρανον ἐπὶ Ζῳῆς, ἐν Μυθῶ, τετραπλῆς ἐπὶ οὐδ' ἀκούοντα &c. Tom. I. p. 426. Ed. Blau.

Talia secula suis dicebant, currite, fusi
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parce.
Ecl. 4. v. 47.

(76) Quamobrem major cælitum populus quàm hominum intelligi potest; cum singuli quoque ex semetipsis totidem deos faciunt, Junones Geniosque adoptando sibi. Pliny, Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82. Ed. Elz.

The women swore by their Juno's, or presiding Genius's. Thus that pleasant oath in Petronius. Junonem meam iratam habeam, si me unquam virginem fuisse memini!

And the lovers swore sometimes by the same; as Tibullus to his mistress:

Nunc licet e cælo mittatur amica Tibullo;
Mittetur frustra deficietque Venus:
Hic per sancta tuæ Junonis numina juro!
Que sola ante alios est mihi magna deos.
Lib. 4. El. 13. v. 16.

This shews the force of that line in Juvenal:
Et per Junonem domini, jurante ministro.
Sat. 2. v. 98.

(75) Interea, infirmo quantientes corpora motu,
Veridicos Parce ceperunt edere cantus;
His corpus tremulum complexens undique vestis
Candida purpureâ talos incinxerat orâ;
At roseo niveæ refidebant vertice vittæ;
Æternumque manes carpebant rite laborem.
Læva colum molli lanâ retinebat amictum:
Dextra tum leviter deducens fila, supinis
Formabat digitis; tum, prono in pollice torquens,
Libratum tereti versabat turbine fufum.
Atque ita decerpens æquabat semper opus dens;
Lanceaque aridulis hærebant morfa labellis,
Que prius in leni fuerant extantia filo:
Ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanæ
Vellera virgati cultolabant calathifeci.

Catullus de Nupt. Pelei, 62. v. 319.
Their song follows in that poem; and the chorus-

line, is;
Currite decentes subtemina, currite fusi!
To which Virgil seems to allude, as to an old known verse; in his famous eclogue, to Pollio:

On which the old scholiast says: Servi illi jurant, quomodo folebant ancillæ Neronis, ipsi adulantes;
"Per Junonem tuam!"

of each person, made into a deity: and as every body's own temper is in a great measure the cause of his happiness, or misery; each of these were supposed to share, and have an equal feeling, in all the enjoyments and sufferings of the persons they attended. Hence, I imagine, come those expressions among the antients, of indulging or defrauding your (77) Genius: for, in their scheme, when you took any diversion, your Genius partook of the pleasure; and whenever you punished yourself, you must make him uneasy. A man's turn and temper is the chief cause and former of his good or bad fortune, said (78) the antients; and therefore this Genius may be said to preside over every man's life. These ideas, if well grounded, will go a great way toward explaining three lines in Horace (79), that I used to think as difficult as any in that author. He clothes them with saying that this deity had two very different airs in his face; that he looked sometimes white, and sometimes black upon you. Which may signify no more, than that your Genius looks pleased and cheerful, when things go well with you; and sad and gloomy, when they go ill: as Hanibal's Genius came smiling to him, when he is said to have appeared to that general, amidst his successes in Spain, to animate him to go into Italy; and as Brutus's Genius looked frowning on him, a little before the fatal battle of Philippi. I do not know that the poets say any thing as to the dress or attributes of these deities: but I have met with them in some antiques; and particularly on medals: from which we learn, that they were sometimes dressed just like the persons over whom they presided: for the Juno (or female Genius) of a Vestal, appears in the habit of that order of nuns. This medal shews you the appearance of the Genius of one of the Roman empresses: and as the artists were very great flatterers, she holds you see the emblem of Spes in one hand, and of Virtus in the other; to signify, that the Genius of this empress was the defence and hope of the empire. Their compliments indeed are not at all to be regarded; for they represent the Genius's of the vilest tyrants that ever were, (and in particular that of Nero,) with an altar, patera, and cornucopia; as marks of that emperor's signal piety, and of the general plenty and prosperity under his reign.

Pl. XXIII.
FIG. 7.

Pl. XXIII.
FIG. 8.

Pl. XXIII.
FIG. 9.

ONE would have thought, that all the events of human life might have been sufficiently accounted for, between these Destinies, and Genius's: but the Romans were not satisfied with this. They soon found out another deity for the same purposes; who, in time, came to be regarded by them more than either of the others. This was the goddess Fortune. She was looked on indeed by the wise as an usurper, rather than as a natural inhabitant of heaven (80). It was the populace, that first gave her that high station; which made them apply to her, at last, for every thing that they wanted: altho' their own writers all the while treated her, as a divinity that could not deserve much respect; for

(77) Indulge Genio; carpeamus dulcia. ———

Pet. Sat. 5. 8. 151.

Quod ille unciatim vix de demenso suo,

Suum defraudans Genium, comparat miser,

Terence, Phormio, Act. 1. Sc. 1.

(78) Sæpe quisque fortune faber.

(79) The whole passage is as follows.

Cur alter fratrum cessare & ludere &ungi,
Præferat Plerodis palmis pinguibus; alter
Dives & importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
Sylvæ tremæ flammis & ferro mitiget agrum;
"Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum:
Naturæ deus humanæ; mortalis in unum
Quodque caput; vultu mutabilis, albus & ater."

Horat. Lib. 2. Ep. 2. 8. 189.

(80) Nullum nomen habes, sed ut prudentia: sed te

No. scimus, Fortunæ, deam; colloque locamus.

Juvenal. Sat. 10. 8. ult.

Invenit inter has utraq; sententias, (that of one great God, and that of an infinity of lesser ones,) medium sibi ipsa mortalitas numen; quo minus etiam plana de deo conjectatio esset. Toto quippe mundo, & locis omnibus, omnibusque horis, omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur. Una nominatur, una accufatur; una agitur rea, una cogitur; sola laudatur, sola arguitur; & cum conviciis colitur. Volubilis à plerisque verò, & cæca etiam existimata; vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia, indignorum faustrix. Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta; & in totâ ratione mortalium, sola utramque paginam facit. Pliny, Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 84. Ed. Elz.

I have seen an antient gem, in which Cybele, (the mother of all the gods,) is represented as turning away her head, from Fortune; in an attitude of disowning and rejecting her. It is published by Goriæus, in his gems, 1. 142. and Montfaucon, in his Antiquities. Vol. I. Pl. 2. 8.

for they usually speak of her as blind (81); inconstant (82); unjust (83); and as (84) delighting in mischiefs.

I CAN recollect but one passage in the Roman poets, that speaks of Fortune as (85) standing on a wheel: and never saw her so represented in any work of the ancient artists. Indeed they sometimes represent her with wings, and a wheel by her; to shew her inconstancy; and sometimes without wings, and a wheel by her; to shew that she presided over the expeditions of their emperors into other countries, and their happy return home again: for where you see her thus on medals, she is generally called *Fortuna Redux*. Her most usual attributes are her *Cornucopia*, as the giver of all riches; and the Rudder in her hand, which is often rested on a globe; to shew that she is the directress of all worldly affairs.

THE incoherences in this goddess's character, obliged the Romans to make several distinctions; they had a (86) Good, and a Bad Fortune: a Constant, and an Inconstant one. It should seem from a (87) passage in Horace that the *Bona Fortuna* was dressed in a rich habit, and the *Mala Fortuna* in a mean one. The Constant Fortune, or *Fortuna Maris*, you see on this medal, is without wings; and sitting in a stiddy posture: she has a horse by her, as an animal noted for swiftness, which she holds still by the bridle. The Inconstant Fortune, is winged; as ready to take her flight. Horace speaks of both (88) in a passage which shews that he deserved the favour, of the former; and that he was above the power, of the latter.

Pl. XXIII.
FIG. 10.
Pl. XXIII.
FIG. 11.

It was common among the old Romans to talk of the statues of the deities they worshipped, as turning their faces toward them, if they assented to their prayers; and from them, if they dissented. No doubt, the priests of those days used many more practices of this kind, than we can well imagine: and had not only the art of making some of their statues move their heads, but could make them weep, or roll their eyes; and even speak too, upon some occasions. From this turning of her head, Fortune had one of her titles among the Romans: she was called *Fortuna Respiciens*. Statius uses this (89) word, of Fortune; and Virgil, in relation to the goddess of Liberty. I have seen the figure of the latter on a (90) medal, inscribed *Libertas Restituta*; just in the same attitude, that one would imagine the *Fortuna Respiciens* to have been represented. Livy speaks of a (91) *Fortuna Vertens*, or averse Fortune; whose figure turned its head from you, as this would toward you.

JUVENAL alludes to a (92) statue of Fortune, which represented her under a very good character; as the patroness of the poor infants, that were exposed by their parents in the streets.

(81) Quaque ruit, furibunda ruit: totumque per orbem
Fulminat, & cæcis cæca triumphat equis.
Ovid. ad Liv. 3. 374.

(82) — Hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna, cum stridore acuto,
Sullulit; hic posuisse gaudet.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 34. 26.

(83) — A justis Fortuna recederet aris.
Statius. Theb. 12. 505.

(84) Fortuna, sive læta negotio &
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 29. 51.

(85) — Per hos etiam Fortune injuria mores
Regnat; & incerta est hic quoque nixa rota.
Ovid, (speaking of good princes,) ad Lib. 3. 52.

(86) Bonæ Fortune simulacra in Capitolio. Pliny,
Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 471. Ed. Elz.—Ara & malæ
Fortune, Exquiliis. Id. Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82.

(87) Utrumque mutatâ potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. 24.

(88) Fortuna, sive læta negotio &
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores;
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, & meâ
Virtute me involvo; probamque
Pauperiem sine dota quaro.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 29. 56.

(89) — Fors æqua merentes
Respiciit. —
Statius. Theb. 1. 562.
Libertas, quæ fera tamen respexit inertem.
Virgil. Ecl. 1. 28.

(90) A gold medal, of Vitellius; in the Strozzi
collection at Rome.

(91) Livy, Lib. 9. §. 17.

(92) — Stat Fortuna improba noctu,
Arridens nudis infantibus. —
Sat. 6. 3. 605.
The

PL. XXIII.
FIG. 12.

streets. This Fortune was represented, holding a naked child tenderly in her arms; and looking kindly upon it. There is a figure of her, in a piece written by Senator Buonaroti; which I cannot shew you here, because it is taken from a Tuscan antiquity. This that I have is a copy from Agostini, who calls it *Dea Rumilia*: a goddess who, I think, we should see employed in a different (93) action, if we had any figure of her at all.

THE Fortune worshipped at Antium was probably of the most exalted character, of any among the Romans. Horace seems to allude to one of the great solemn processions that were made to her: for I doubt not but that the ancient Romans dealt almost as much in processions, as the modern. They carried the statues of their gods with a great deal of pomp, to some fixed place; and then back again to their shrines. In this procession to the honour of *Fortuna Antientis*, the statue of *Necessitas* (94) seems to have been carried before the goddess herself; and after her, the statues of *Hope* and *Fidelity*. This shews, that she was a *Fortuna* of a higher character than ordinary. Every thing she decrees is as fixed as fate; and she has two of the most considerable Virtues, as attendants in her train. What a treasure would it be for the virtuoso's, could one find any picture, or relievo, that represented this procession? When I was at Antium, I wanted very much to be digging, in search of such a treasure; but, to say the truth, I had not time enough there to carry on so noble a design.

PRÆNESTE was another place, where Fortune was highly worshipped. Statius speaks of several Fortunes there; and calls them, the (95) *Prænestinae Sorores*. Who these were, or what their distinguishing characters, I know no more than I do who (96) the three Fortunes are mentioned by Vitruvius. This is certain, that there were several different ones besides those I have had occasion to speak of already; as the *Fortis Fortuna*, the *Fortuna Romana*, the *Fortuna Virilis*, the *Fortuna Muliebris*; and many others.

ONE of these Fortunes, the *Fortuna Romana*, is mentioned by Lucan (97) in a verse from which we learn, either that the Romans had taken off the head of it, and put on that of Pompey in its place; or that the statue was made to resemble Pompey's air and features: which, in the statuary language, was just the same as saying, that the happiness of the Roman state depended wholly upon that general; or that he was their good Fortune. This sort of compliment grew so common afterwards, under the emperors; that a great number of the statues which pass for deities at present, are nothing else but emperors, or empresses, in masquerade: particularly under the characters of *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*, for the former; and those of *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Ceres*, for the latter.

I HAVE now done with this odd deity, at last; and with all that any way belong to this circle. I leave her with the more pleasure, because you, Philander, promised to read us
your

The distinction of the *Bona* and *Mala Fortuna* above, is very necessary to explain this passage. It is in Juvenal's Satire against the women; and where he is speaking of a lady of quality, who had never any children herself; but brought supposititious ones into the family, to heir a considerable estate. "She stands like Fortune, says he, in the streets; (not the Good Fortune, but a very bad one;) and gets up all the children she can, to intrude them into the family; and boast of them as her own." *¶* 600, to 608.

The commentators have generally taken *Improba* to be applied to Fortune herself, on this occasion; which is one of the very few, in which she deserved a good name rather than a bad one.

(93) Her proper character is that of suckling children. *Ruma*, in the older Latin, signified a breast;

whence the famous fig-tree, under which *Romulus* and *Remus* were suckled, might be called *Ficus Ruminalis*.

(94) *Te semper anteip sava Necessitas —
Te Spes, & albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno. —*

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. *¶* 22.

(95) Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. *¶* 80.

(96) *Tres Fortunae*: the three Fortunes, or temples to this goddess under three different characters. They seem to have stood together: somewhere near the *Porta Collina*: according to Vitruvius. Lib. 3. c. 1.

(97) *Hæc facie, Fortuna tibi Romana placebas.*

Lucan. 8. *¶* 686

your friend's poem, when I had finished my round. I long to hear it: and if you will follow me, I will find you out a place, just by here, where you may sit down and read it more at your ease. In saying this he rose; and led them to a little grove of laurel-trees, near the summit of the hill: that grew up irregularly; and formed a sort of arbour, which seemed to owe more to chance, than to art. As soon as they were all seated there, Philander took out his poem; and read it to them in a voice, which shewed he was very much affected with the good instructions in it himself; and which rendered it, yet the more apt to affect them.

THE
C H O I C E
O F
H E R C U L E S.

I.

NOW had the son of Jove mature, attain'd
The joyful prime: when youth, elate and gay,
Steps into life; and follows unrestrain'd
Where passion leads, or prudence points the way.
In the pure mind, at those ambiguous years,
Or vice, rank weed, first strikes her poisonous root;
Or haply virtue's opening bud appears
By just degrees; fair bloom, of fairest fruit:
Summer shall ripen what the Spring began;
Youth's generous fires will glow more constant in the man.

II.

As on a day, reflecting on his age
For highest deeds now ripe, Alcides fought
Retirement; nurse of contemplation sage;
Step following step, and thought succeeding thought,
Musing, with steady pace the youth puri'd
His walk; and lost in meditation stray'd
Far in a lonely vale, with solitude
Conversing; while intent his mind survey'd
The dubious path of life: before him lay
Here Virtue's rough ascent, there Pleasure's flow'ry way.

S F

III. Much

III.

Much did the view divide his wavering mind :
 Now glow'd his breast with generous thirst of fame ;
 Now love of ease to softer thought inclin'd
 His yielding soul, and quench'd the rising flame.
 When, lo ! far off two female forms he spies ;
 Direct to him their steps they seem to bear :
 Both large and tall, exceeding human size ;
 Both, far exceeding human beauty, fair.
 Graceful, yet each with different grace, they move :
 This, striking sacred awe ; that, softer, winning love.

IV.

The first, in native dignity surpass ;
 Artless and unadorn'd she pleas'd the more :
 Health, o'er her looks, a genuine lustre cast ;
 A vest, more white than new-fall'n snow she wore.
 August she trod, yet modest was her air ;
 Serene her eye, yet darting heav'nly fire.
 Still she drew near ; and nearer still more fair,
 More mild appear'd : yet such as might inspire
 Pleasure corrected with an awful fear ;
 Majestically sweet, and amiably severe.

V.

The other dame seem'd ev'n of fairer hue ;
 But bold her mien ; unguarded rov'd her eye :
 And her flush'd cheeks confess'd at nearer view
 The borrow'd blushes of an artful dye.
 All soft and delicate, with airy swim
 Lightly she danc'd along ; her robe betray'd
 Thro' the clear texture every tender limb,
 Height'ning the charms it only seem'd to shade :
 And as it flow'd adown, so loose and thin,
 Her stature shew'd more tall ; more snowy-white, her skin.

VI.

Oft with a smile she view'd herself askance ;
 Ev'n on her shade a conscious look she threw :
 Then all around her cast a careless glance,
 To mark what gazing eyes her beauty drew.
 As they came near, before that other maid
 Approaching decent, eagerly she prest
 With hasty step ; nor of repulse afraid
 The wond'ring youth with freedom bland address'd :
 With winning fondness on his neck she hung ;
 Sweet as the honey-dew flow'd her enchanting tongue.

XV.

"Hear'st thou, what monsters then thou must engage;
 (Abrupt says Sloth,) what toils she bids thee prove?
 What endless toils? Ill fit thy tender age
 Tumult and war; fit age, for joy and love.
 Turn, gentle youth, to me, to love and joy!
 To these I lead: no monsters here shall stay
 Thine easy course; no cares thy peace annoy:
 I lead to bliss a nearer, smoother way.
 Short is my way; fair, easy, smooth, and plain:
 Turn, gentle Youth! With me, eternal pleasures reign."

XVI.

"What pleasures, vain mistaken wretch, are thine!
 (Virtue with scorn reply'd:) who sleep'st in ease
 Insensate; whose soft limbs the toil decline
 That seasons bliss, and makes enjoyment please.
 Draining the copious bowl, ere thirst require;
 Feasting, ere hunger to the feast invite:
 Whose tasteless joys anticipate desire;
 Whom luxury supplies with appetite:
 Yet Nature loaths; and thou employ'st in vain
 Variety and art to conquer her disdain."

XVII.

The sparkling nectar, cool'd with summer snows;
 The dainty board, with choicest viands spread;
 To thee are tasteless all! Sincere repose
 Flies from thy flow'ry couch, and downy bed.
 For thou art only tir'd with indolence:
 Nor sleep with self-rewarding toil hast bought;
 Th' imperfect sleep, that lulls thy languid sense
 In dull oblivious interval of thought:
 That kindly steals th' inactive hours away
 From the long, ling'ring space, that lengthens out the day."

XVIII.

From bounteous nature's unexhausted stores
 Flows the pure fountain of sincere delights:
 Averse from her, you waste the joyless hours:
 Sleep drowns thy days, and riot rules thy nights.
 Immortal tho' thou art, indignant Jove
 Hurl'd thee from heaven, th' immortals blissful place;
 For ever banish'd from the realms above,
 To dwell on earth, with man's degenerate race:
 Fitter abode! On earth, alike disgrac'd;
 Rejected by the wise, and by the fool embrac'd."

T t

XIX. Fond

XIX.

Fond wretch, that vainly weeneſt all delight
 To gratify the ſenſe reſerv'd for thee !
 Yet the moſt pleaſing object to the ſight,
 Thine own fair action, never didſt thou ſee.
 Tho' lull'd with ſofter ſounds thou lieſt along ;
 Soft muſic, warbling voices, melting lays :
 Ne'er didſt thou hear, more ſweet than ſweeteſt ſong
 Charming the ſoul, thou ne'er didſt hear thy praiſe !
 No—to thy revels let the fool repair :
 To ſuch, go ſmooth thy ſpeech ; and ſpread thy tempting ſnare.

XX.

Vaſt happineſs enjoy thy gay allies !
 A youth, of follies ; an old-age, of cares :
 Young, yet enervate ; old, yet never wiſe ;
 Vice waſtes their vigour, and their mind impairs.
 Vain, idle, delicate, in thoughtleſs eaſe
 Reſerving woes for age their prime they ſpend ;
 All wretched, hopeleſs, in the evil days
 With ſorrow to the verge of life they tend.
 Griev'd with the preſent ; of the paſt aſham'd ;
 They live, and are deſpis'd : they die, nor more are nam'd.

XXI.

But with the gods, and godlike men, I dwell :
 Me, his ſupreme delight, th' almighty Sire
 Regards well-pleas'd : whatever works excel,
 All or divine or human, I inſpire.
 Counſel with ſtrength, and induſtry with art,
 In union meet conjoin'd, with me reſide :
 My dictates arm, inſtruct, and mend the heart ;
 The ſureſt policy, the wiſeſt guide.
 With me, true friendſhip dwells : ſhe deigns to bind
 Thoſe generous ſouls alone, whom I before have join'd.

XXII.

Nor need my friends the various coſtly feaſt ;
 Hunger to them th' effects of art ſupplies :
 Labour prepares their weary limbs to reſt ;
 Sweet is their ſleep : light, chearful, ſtrong they riſe.
 Thro' health, thro' joy, thro' pleaſure, and renown,
 They tread my paths ; and by a ſoft deſcent,
 At length to age all gently ſinking down,
 Look back with tranſport on a life well-ſpent :
 In which, no hour flew unimprov'd away ;
 In which, ſome generous deed diſtinguiſh'd every day.

XXIII. And

XXIII.

And when, the destin'd term at length compleat,
 Their ashes rest in peace; eternal fame
 Sounds wide their praise: triumphant over fate,
 In sacred song, for ever lives their name.
 This, Hercules, is happiness! Obey
 My voice; and live. Let thy celestial birth
 Lift, and enlarge thy thoughts. Behold the way
 That leads to fame; and raises thee from earth
 Immortal! Lo, I guide thy steps. Arise,
 Pursue the glorious path; and claim thy native skies."

XXIV.

Her words breathe fire celestial, and impart
 New vigour to his soul; that sudden caught
 The generous flame: with great intent his heart
 Swells full; and labours with exalted thought:
 The mist of error from his eyes dispell'd,
 Thro' all her fraudulent arts in clearest light
 Sloth in her native form he now beheld;
 Unveil'd she stood confest before his sight:
 False Siren!—All her vaunted charms, that shone
 So fresh erewhile, and fair; now wither'd, pale, and gone.

XXV.

No more, the rosy bloom in sweet disguise
 Masks her dissembled looks: each borrow'd grace
 Leaves her wan cheek; pale sickness clouds her eyes
 Livid and sunk, and passions dim her face.
 As when fair Iris has a while display'd
 Her watry arch, with gaudy painture gay;
 While yet we gaze, the glorious colours fade,
 And from our wonder gently steal away:
 Where shone the beauteous phantom erst so bright,
 Now lowers the low-hung cloud; all gloomy to the sight.

XXVI.

But Virtue more engaging all the while
 Disclos'd new charms; more lovely, more serene;
 Beaming sweet influence. A milder smile
 Soften'd the terrors of her lofty mien.
 "Lead, goddess, I am thine! (transported cry'd
 Alcides:) O propitious pow'r, thy way
 Teach me! possess my soul; be thou my guide:
 From thee, O never, never let me stray!"
 While ardent thus the youth his vows address;
 With all the goddess fill'd, already glow'd his breast.

XXVII.

The heav'nly maid, with strength divine endu'd
 His daring soul; there all her pow'rs combin'd:
 Firm constancy, undaunted fortitude,
 Enduring patience arm'd his mighty mind.
 Unmov'd in toils, in dangers undismay'd,
 By many a hardy deed and bold emprise,
 From fiercest monsters, thro' her pow'ful aid,
 He free'd the earth: thro' her, he gain'd the skies.
 'Twas Virtue plac'd him in the blest abode;
 Crown'd, with eternal youth: among the Gods, a God.



Engraved by J. Smith



III



IV



V



VI



VII



VIII



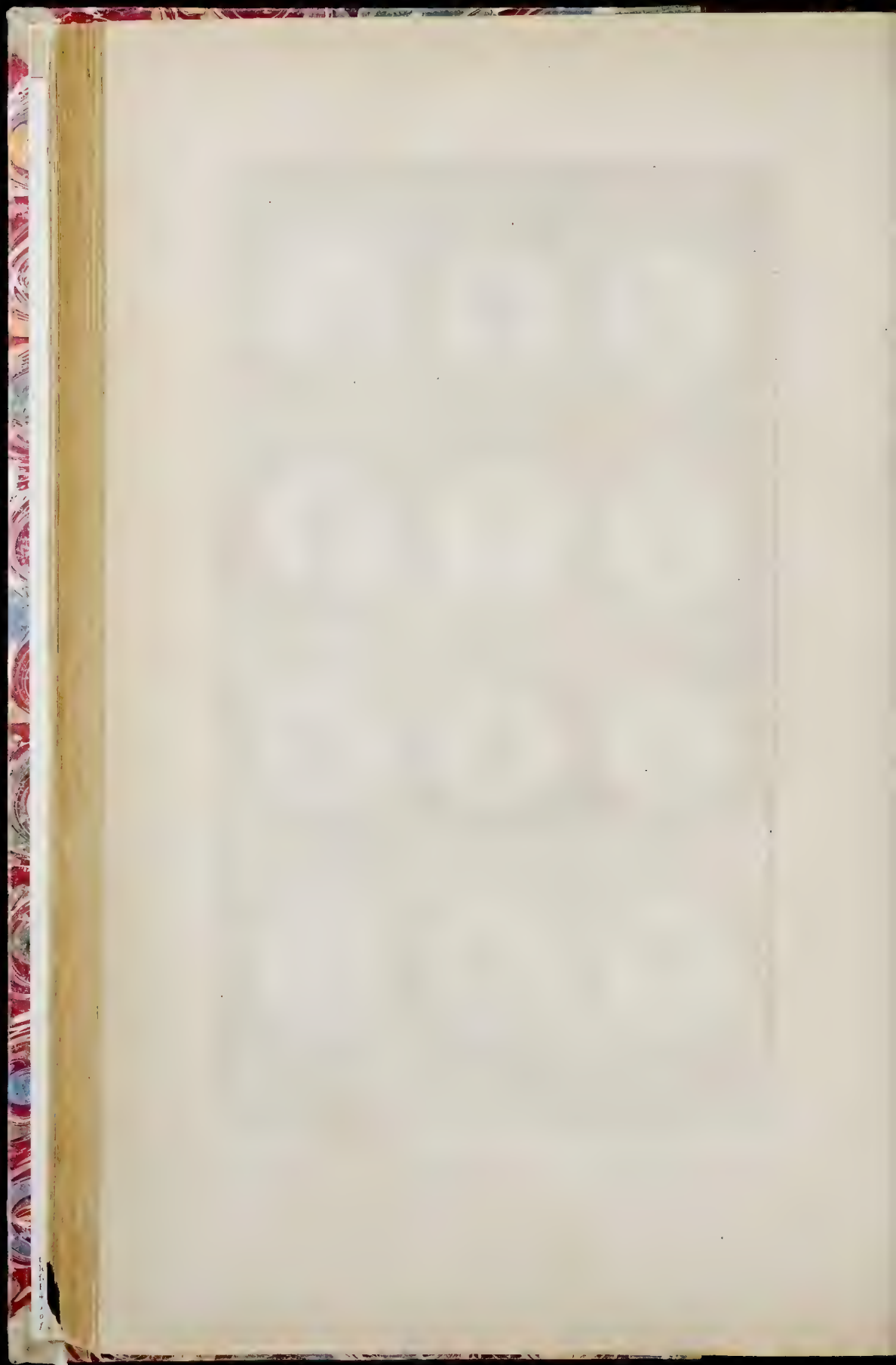
IX

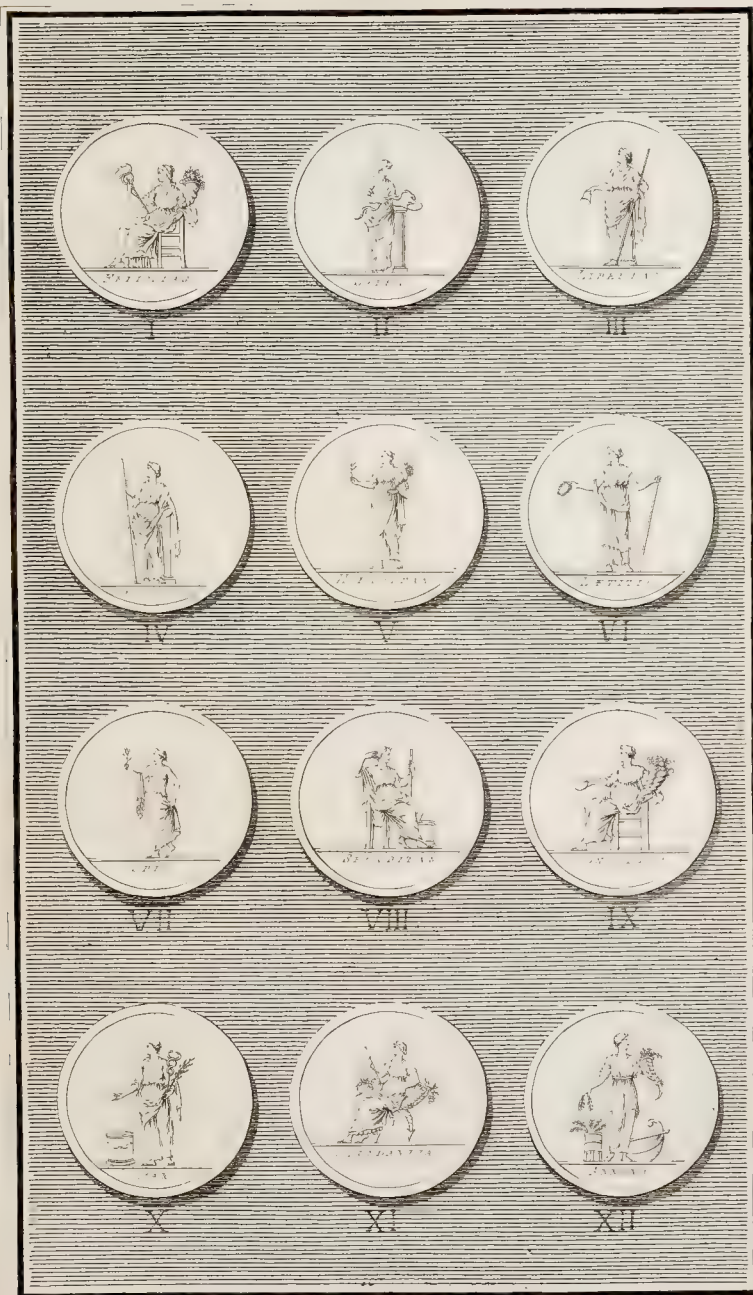


X



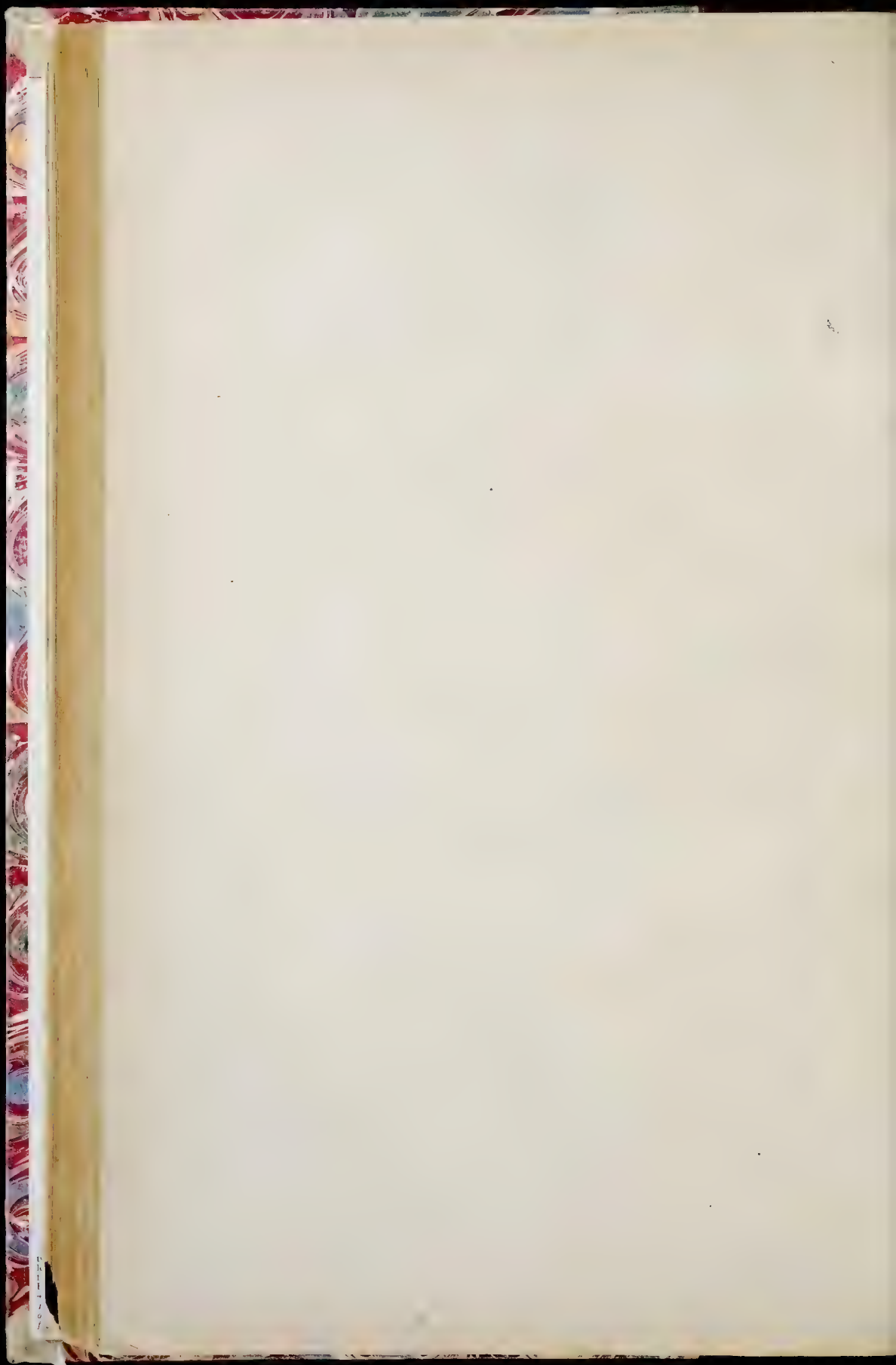
XI











BOOK the Fifth.

Of the Constellations; Planets: Times,
and Seasons.

D I A L. XI.

The Constellations.

AS they had now considered all the figures, both in the inside, and on the outside of the Rotunda; Polymetis, the next day, led his two friends to his temple of the Constellations, a little below it on the right hand. This was a round temple too, but without any Portico; and of the Corinthian order, as the other was of the Composite. As they entered it, they saw two statues, one on each side of the door; and a large Atlas, in the midst of it, supporting a globe of the heavens on his shoulders: and the walls were adorned with relievos, in proper places; relating to the same. Near the Atlas, was a table set out, with some books open upon it; and a few drawings. You see, says Polymetis, that I have got every thing in order for you. This statue with the globe, is a copy of that at the Farnese palace at Rome. It is perhaps the only Celestial Globe, with the figures upon it in the true antient manner, now in the world. These books are some of the good old authors that relate to it. This is Pliny; who speaks often of the stars; and particularly, in the second, and eighteenth books of his Natural History: and this Vitruvius; who has given us a catalogue of all the Constellations on the celestial globes in his times; that is, in the Augustan age.—If I do not mistake, says Mysagetes, the occasion Vitruvius has taken to treat of the stars is a little too Pindaric. He is instructing people how to make a sun-dial on their houses; to do that, a man must be something of an astronomer; and so he obliges us immediately, with a complete catalogue of all the stars. Indeed, answered Polymetis, I do not see what necessity he was under of giving us this catalogue; unless the sun-dials of old were much more scientific things, than ours are usually at present: but however he has given it; and let him answer for the occasion.—This is Avienus's paraphrase of Aratus; which I shall beg leave to cite, if there be any necessity for it: and this Manilius, who gives a catalogue, (that squares almost in every article with Vitruvius's,) in the first book of his Astronomics: and in the last, treats very particularly of the figures of the different Constellations; their bearings to one another; and the effects they have on the temper and fortunes of those, who are born under such or such a constellation. Even this part, as frivolous as it is in itself, will be of some use to me; because Manilius generally fits his predictions to the (1) figure, or air, of the constellation he is speaking of. These other books, are some of the Roman poets; who, tho' they do not treat of the constellations expressly, like Manilius; yet give us descriptions of several of them here and there, as occasion offers. Indeed Virgil in his Georgics, and Ovid in his Fasti, go rather farther: for they make it part of their (2) proposition, in each of those poems.

THE

(1) Thus, for instance, because Cepheus has a severe countenance; he says those who are born under Cepheus, will be rigid and censorious: and because Andromeda is chained, those born under her must be jail-keepers.

(2) *Tempora cum caulis Latium digesta per annum,
Laplasque sub terras ortaque signa canam.*
Ovid. Fast. 1. 3. 2.

Vertere

— Quo sidere terram

Virgil. Georg. 1. 3. 2.

And the same poet says afterwards:

— Tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
Hædorumque dies servandi, & lucidos Anguis;
Quam quibus in patriam ventosa per æquora vectis,
Pontus & oliviferi fauces tentantur Abydi.

Georg. 1. 3. 20.

U u

THE antients in general allude so often, and sometimes so particularly, to the figures on their globes, in their poems; that there is no understanding the latter, without having some acquaintance with the former. This goes so far, that Quintilian, (where he is giving instructions how to form his young orator,) after speaking of his reading the poets, says; that it is necessary for him to study astronomy (3), in order to understand them. This is become still more necessary, at present: for we have been used, not only to be unassisted by the figures of the constellations, as they were represented on the antient globes; but to be mis-led too by the figures of them, as they are represented on the modern. For tho' the constellations, in general, are pretty much the same in both; yet either their characters, or dress, or air, or attributes, have been somehow or other changed in almost every one of them; as will easily appear to any one who would take the trouble of comparing the figures on the Farnese globe, with those on any of the most received globes among the moderns. This has been so little regarded hitherto, that on asking some celebrated mathematicians of our own country, what were the principal differences between the figures of the constellations on the antient and the modern globes, (in order to inform myself as to some points, of which I doubted;) their constant answer has been, that they had always imagined, there was not any difference at all.

THE drawing I have in my hand, was taken from the Farnese globe. If you please, we will consider each figure in it; together with what the Roman poets may say, that is any way material, of any of them. You smile, Mysagetes, to see me, whom you know to be no astronomer, preparing to read you a lecture on the celestial globe. I do not pretend to talk of it scientifically; but only to consider the different shapes, airs, or attitudes, of the creatures and things delineated on it. The globe, in my hand, is as a picture-book in the hands of a child: he may divert himself with the figures, tho' he be ignorant even what language the book is wrote in. Or, to give the comparison a little more dignity, I may talk over the figures on the celestial globe, with as much justice as Cicero undertook to translate Aratus; when, (as he himself I think somewhere says,) he did not understand astronomy.

THO' the stars were looked on by the antients to be innumerable; yet the constellations on their globes were not so numerous, as they are on the modern. Their number then was under fifty: and we have increased them to upwards of sixty.

THE Farnese globe, tho' it has been so much injured, (partly by time, and partly I fear by the folly of those who have had the keeping of it;) has however preserved to us above forty of these old constellations. The principal lines are marked out on it. These two bending ones, you see, include the middle space; or the torrid zone (4): the next division on each side of this, are the two temperate zones; as the divisions at each end beyond them, are the two frigid ones. These lines, that run obliquely here across the torrid zone, is the Zodiac. To avoid the confusion that such a number of figures is apt to give one, we will if you please first consider all the Constellations that lie north of the Zodiac; then, those of the Zodiac itself; and lastly, those that lie to the south of it.

PL. XXIV.

THE Great Serpent, here by the northern pole, is not contented with one hemisphere. He spreads himself indeed chiefly in our hemisphere, where you see this chafin; but there is part of him which wanders too into the other. Had Statius only said, that he extended into

(3) Nec si rationem siderum ignoret, poetas intelligat; qui, ut alia mittam, toties ortu occasuque signorum in declarandis temporibus utuntur. Quintilian. Institut. Lib. 1. c. 4.

(4) Quinque tenent coelum Zonæ; quarum una corusco Semper sole rubens, & torrida semper ab igni:

Quam circum, extremæ dextrâ lævâque, trahuntur
Ceruleâ glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris:
Hæc inter medianque, dum mortalibus ægris
Munc concessæ divùm. Via facta per ambas
Obliquus quæ se signorum verteret ordo.

Virgil. Georg. 1. 239.

into (5) the other hemisphere; I think, he would have spoken more correctly than he has. This part of the Farnese globe is so much damaged, (by their having made a great hollow in the top of it,) that we cannot trace all his folds and windings. But according to Virgil, Ovid, and Manilius, he should roll (6) between the two Bears, as well as round them.

THE ARCTI are totally lost on the Farnese globe, by the accident just mentioned. Helice, or the greater Bear, had its tail (7) toward the head of Cynosura, or the lesser Bear. Before the discovery of the compass, these two Constellations were the great directors of navigation. The Greeks (8) always observed the former in their voyages; and the Tyrians and Carthaginians, as greater sailors, observed the latter.

BOÏTES, was behind the greater Bear; (or Charles's Wain, as we vulgarly call it, probably from the Roman name of (9) Plaustra;) and appears in the act of (10) driving it on. You see here, he is dressed in the habit of a countryman; (a short tunic girt about him, and with his arms and legs bare, as the labourers are usually represented in the paintings in the Vatican Virgil;) and with the Pedum Pastorale, in his right hand. The famous star, Arcturus, was on his (11) breast; which should be (at least) as far naked, as his back appears here.

JUST by the Pedum in Boïtes's right hand, you see a wreath of leaves and flowers, fastened with a riband. This is the Corona, or Ariadne's crown; which makes much such a (12) circular appearance in the heavens, as it does here; tho' we have turned it into a Gothic crown, in all our modern globes. Manilius, who generally draws his prognostications, from the forms or circumstances of the Constellations on the old globes; very plainly alludes to the materials of which this is formed: where he says, "that the persons born under Ariadne's crown (13), will delight in flower-gardens; and be makers of nosegays, and festoons."

THE

(5) *Quantus ab Arctois discriminat zethera plaustris
Anguis ad usque notos; alienumque exit in orbem.*
Statius. Theb. 5. §. 530.

(6) *Maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis
Circum perque duas, in morem fluminis, Arctos.*
Virgil. Georg. 1. §. 245.

— *Tantoque est corpore; quanto,
Si totum spectes, geminas qui separat Arctos.*

Ovid. Met. 3. §. 45.
*Has interfusos, circumque amplexus, utramque
Dividit & cingit stellis ardentibus Anguis.*

Manilius. 1. §. 307.

(7) See Aratus, §. 49—54. Manilius. 1. §. 303.

(8) *Esse duas Arctos: quarum Cynosura petatur
Sidonitis; Helicen Graia carina notat.*

Ovid. Fast. 3. §. 108.

*Majorem Helice major decernat arcum;
Septem illam stellæ certant lumine signant:*

*Quâ duce per fluctus Graia dant vela carinae.
Angusto Cynosura brevis torquetur in orbe,*

*Tam spatio quàm luce minor: sed iudice vincit
Majorem Tyrio; Pœnis hæc certior auctor*

Non apparentem pelago quærentibus orbem.

Manilius. 1. §. 302.

(9) — *Aufone eadem
Voce Feras, Ursaque, & Plaustra, vocare solemus;*

Fabula namque Uriss, species dat plaustra videri.

Avienus's Transl. of Aratus, §. 104.

(10) — *Licet instanti similis similisque minanti,
Terga Helices juxta premat arduus, haud tamen unquam
In picturate plaustrum procurrare matris
Fas datur —*

Id. §. 262.

— *Similis junctis instat, de more, juvenis.*

Manilius. 1. §. 317.

Henochusque memor cursûs, plaustrique Boïtes.

Id. 5. §. 207.

(11) *Arcturumque rapit medio sub pectore secum.*

Manilius. 1. §. 318.

— *Locus Arcturo—ascritur, illinc*

Aurea quâ summos adstringunt ciugala amictus.

Avienus. §. 271.

(12) — *Claro volat orbe Corona*

Luce micans variâ; nam stellâ vincitur unâ

Circulus in mediâ radians quæ proxima fronte,

Candidaque ardenti distinguit lumina flammâ:

Gnosia desertæ nœc fulgent monimenta puellæ.

Manilius. 1. §. 323.

— *Opem Liber tulit: utque perenni*

Sidere clara foret, suntam de fronte coronam

Immisit cælo. Tenuis volat illa per auras;

Dumque volat, gemmæ subitos vertuntur in ignes:

Consistuntque loco, specie remanente coronæ.

Ovid. Met. 8. §. 182.

Gemmæ, here, is a very unlucky word. It naturally signifies buds of flowers, or leaves; and by way of allusion, gems, or precious stones. — Cum vites incipiunt gemmare. Cic. — Turgent in palmite gemmæ. Virg. — Where this word is used by any of the antient writers, of this constellation; I think it should be understood, in its first and natural sense: tho' any modern reader would be more apt to take it, in the metaphorical one.

(13) *Ille colet nitidis gemmantem floribus hortam;*

Pallentes violas, & purpureos hyacinthos,

Liliæque, & Tyrias imitata papavera lutes,

Vernantique rose rubicundo sanguine flores;

Cæruleum foliis viridemque in gramine collem

Conferet; & veris depinget prata figuris;

Aut varios nectet flores, fertique locabit:

Virginis hoc anni poscant; Roseque Coronæ.

Manilius. 5. §. 269.

THE next figure had his name (14), both among the Greeks and Romans, from his kneeling; as you see he does here. The reason of his being in that posture, was (15) unknown in the times of Manilius; and even of Aratus: so that it seems to have been a mark of some very antient tradition; the use of which might be continued, after the intent of it was lost: as the Chinese are said still to retain their mystic characters, without understanding any thing of the mysteries antiently expressed by them. Avienus will have it, that this is Hercules: and that it represents him as almost fatigued with his long combat against the serpent, that guarded the golden fruit in the garden of the Hesperides. His foot, you see, stands exactly over the head of Anguis. Persons who delight in such sort of hints from the several stories relating to Hercules, as were mentioned when we were considering the character of that hero, would certainly make this one of them: and the rather, because Avienus says that Jupiter took Hercules himself up into the higher heavens, for his labours upon earth; that his figure was placed here amongst the Constellations, as a memorial of them; and that he should always appear there, with his heel (16) as bruising the great serpent's head.

THIS figure of Hercules, or whoever it was, is quite naked on the antient globe; and so is Ophiuchus, you see, who holds another long serpent in his hands. Manilius speaks of him and this serpent, as (17) fighting together; and says, they are so equal a match, that their combat must last for ever. If that was the case, our old globe is not so picturesque in this particular, as it should be: for the serpent in his hands, according to the position of its head here, (if it threatens at all,) seems rather to threaten Boötes, than the person who holds it.

THE figure of Lyra here, shews that the Lyra and Testudo of old was one and the same instrument; for they generally call it Lyra, and its appearance plainly determines it to be the Testudo; the bottom part of it consisting of the entire shell of a tortoise. There are but six strings to it on the Farnese globe; but there is a space for the seventh: which seems rather to have been defaced by some accident, than to have been omitted; or perhaps it was originally omitted, and that space left, in memory of the Pleiad that has disappeared; for it is said to have had seven strings at first (18), in allusion to the seven Pleiades. Manilius in one place alludes to the tortoise in this lyre, with a (19) stroke of that false sort of wit, which one meets with in him but too often; and in another, speaks of its (20) Cornua, (or horns,) which are very evident in this figure; and which I accounted for to you before (21), in speaking of Mercury's invention of the lyre.

JUST under this Constellation, you see Aquila; which I must own makes a very different appearance on this globe, from what I expected. The poets speak of him as (22) flying

(14) The Greeks called this figure, *Εργασίας*: the Romans, Nixus, Nixus genibus, and Ingeniculus.

(15) Proxima frigentes Arctos Boreamque rigentem,
Nixa venit species genibus; sibi conscia caussæ.
Manilius. l. 5. 315.

— Το μὲν τις σπικαίῃ ἀμφαδὸν ἵππῳ,
Οὐδ' αὖτις κρημάτων κείνης ποτὶ.
Aratus. 5. 65.

(16) Et manus ipsa Dei violenta in verbera pendens
Erigitur; dextreque dehinc impressio plantæ
Tempora deculcat maculosi prona Draconis.
Avienus. 5. 193.

(17) Serpentem magnis, Ophiuchus nomine, signis
Dividit; & toto mergentem corpore corpus
Explicat, & nodos sinuataque terga per orbes;
(Respicit ille tamen, molli cervice reflexus)
Et didit fufus per laxa volumina palmis:
Semper enim paribus bellum quia viribus æquant.

Manilius. l. 5. 336.

(18) — Septena putaris
Pleiadum numero fila dedisse lyrae.
Ovid. Fast. 5. 5. 106.

(19) Nunc surgente lyrà, testudinis enatat undis
Forma. — Manilius. 5. 5. 320.

(20) — Lyra diductis per cælum cornibus inter
Sidera conspicitur. — Id. l. 5. 325.

(21) See p. 107. & Pl. 15. Fig. 2.

(22) — Propter se Aquila ardentis cum corpore portat,
Igniferum mulgens tremebundis æthera pennis.
Fragment, of Cicero's transl. of Aratus.
Tunc oritur magni præpes adunca Jovis.
Ovid. Fast. 6. 5. 196.

— Magni Jovis ales fertur in altum
Assuetò volitans, gestet cœu fulmina mundi;
Digna Jove & cœlo, quod sacris instruit armis.
Manilius. l. 5. 345.
Nunc

flying; and as grasping the fulmen in his talons: whereas here, he is without the fulmen, and standing in a quiet posture. No doubt there was some difference, in the different globes used by the antients, as well as in the modern: and this is the greatest instance of it, I think, that I have met with. The head of Aquila, is in the other hemisphere, you see; near the Dolphin:

BOTH Manilius and Ovid speak of the figure of the Dolphin, as (23) very aptly marked out by the disposition of the stars included in that Constellation. From (24) an expression used by the former one may infer that, on the painted globes of the antients, the Dolphin was represented of a dark colour; on which ground the stars, (when represented there too,) must have appeared to much more advantage, than they could on several of the other constellations; and particularly on the Cygnus just by him, which was quite white.

CYGNUS is represented both here and by the poets (25), in the attitude of flying. You have often seen this Swan, (in other attitudes,) in marble; for according to Manilius, it is the very Swan under whose form Jupiter carried on his amour with Leda.

BEFORE the left wing of Cygnus, is a line, almost worn out on the Farnese globe; which I take to be, the Sagitta: both Manilius and Avienus mention this Constellation, as (26) just by Cygnus. There is not much room for description, in such a plain figure as this must be; and all they observe of it is, that it was very aptly marked out by the stars contained in it.

WE come now to a set of Constellations, that have all some relation to one another. This winged horse is Pegasus, who carried Perseus to deliver Andromeda: the person, just by it, with her arms extended, is Andromeda herself: and next to her is, her deliverer: this lady, seated on the Arctic Circle, is her mother, Cassiopea; and that severe looking old man, with his feet so near the Pole, is her father Cepheus.

MANILIUS speaks of Pegasus as (27) flying, and that rapidly, in the heavens; and so is he represented here, tho' we have but half his figure: all the hinder part (28) being omitted,

Nunc Aquilæ fidus referam: quæ parte sinistra
Rorantis juvenis, quem terris fustulit ipse,
Fertor; & extensis prædam circumvolat alis:
Fulmina missa refert, & cælo militat ales.
Id. 5. 3. 484.

(23) Cæruleus ponto cum se Delphinus in astra
Erigit, & squammam stellis imitantibus exit.
Manilius. 5. 3. 412.
— Cælatum stellis Delphina. —
Ovid. Fast. 2. 3. 79.

(24) The expression here meant is that of Cæruleus. 'Tho', I believe, there is no one thing in the whole language of the Romans that we are more at a loss about now, than their names of colours; it appears evidently enough, that Cæruleus was used by them, for some dark colour, or other. One might bring a number of instances to prove this; but one or two, from Virgil, will be sufficient.

— Sæpe videmus
Ipsius in vultu varios errare colores.
Cæruleus pluviam denuntiât.
Georg. 1. 3. 453.

Tum mihi cæruleus supra caput afflitit imber,
Noctem hiememque ferens; & inhorruit unda tenebris.
Æn. 3. 3. 195.

(25) Proxima foris Cynci, quem cælo Jupiter ipse
Imposuit: formæ pretium, quâ cepit amantem

Cum deus in niveum descendit versus olorem;
Tergaque fidenti subjecit plumæ Lædæ;
Nunc quoque diducas volitat stellatus in alas.
Manilius. 1. 3. 341.
Plumeus in cælum nitidis olor evolat alas.
Id. 5. 3. 25.
— Sidereis Cygnus fecat æthera pennis.
Avienus. 3. 635.
Cana pruinosas extendit colla sub arcus.
Id. 3. 692.

(26) Manilius after giving an account of Cygnus, immediately says;
Hinc imitata nitent cursumque habitumque sagittæ
Sidera. —
1. 3. 343.

And Avienus immediately after speaking of Sagittarius, says;
Quin norunt aliam Superum convexa sagittam:
Sed tamen hæc arcu tereti caret; inficia nervi,
Inficia nam domini est. Cælum super advolat ales,
Ales olor, sed Threicio conterminus axi.
3. 691.

(27) Quique volat stellatus Equus. —
Manilius. 5. 3. 24.
Quem * rapido conatus Equus comprehendere cursu
Festinat. —
* Delphinum. Id. 1. 3. 350.

(28) Non quadrupes cælo sustollitur, at tenuis alvo
Erigitur

omitted, to make room for Andromeda. Avienus describes his mane (29) very much in the same manner as it appears here; and just like those of the two fine horses, which gives its name to the Monte Cavallo at Rome.

THE poets describe the figure of Andromeda, as (30) chained to a rock, even in the heavens. They say too, that grief and fear were expressed in her face; and Cicero remarks that she turns (31) from her barbarous mother, as you see she does on the Farnese globe.

PERSEUS here holds his sword in one hand, and the head of Medusa in the other: which agrees very well with the poetical accounts (32) of the appearance Perseus made in the heavens: excepting only, that there should be a hook on his sword (33): which is either worn out on the Farnese globe: or may be so indistinct, as not to have been observed by the artist I employed to copy it.

CASSIOPEA is represented here with a (34) disturbed air, as Cepheus is with a (35) severe one. They retain the same character in the heavens which they had upon earth: tho' surely it was a very odd sort of deification, to place people in the heavens with all their passions, and even their afflictions, still about them.

WE are now got through all the northern Constellations, except two; one of which is the Deltoton, or Triangle. The lines of this Triangle are either worn off of the Farnese globe; or perhaps it was composed from an apt concurrence of the circles and lines on that globe. It appears from Manilius and Avienus, that this Constellation (36) lay in the space that is included between the figures of Andromeda, Perseus, and Aries: and in that space, there is such a concurrence of the lines on the Farnese globe, as might serve to mark out the figure we are speaking of. What is certain is, that it was not capable of any poetical description; and that therefore it is much the same to our purpose, whether it be lost on the Farnese globe, or whether it still subsists there.

THE

- Erigitur mediâ: jam cætera pone negantur;
Et quatit ætherias primis modò cruribus auras.
Avienus. *ſ.* 487.
- Abſciſſo ventre —
Id. *ſ.* 473.
- Finitur in Andromedâ —
Manilius. *l.* 1. *ſ.* 350.
- (29) — Ipſaque cervix, —
Quamvis procerò furgat juba maxima collo,
Languida marcenti vix eſt ſpectabilis igne.
Avienus. *ſ.* 481.
- (30) — Cepheûſque & Caſſiopæa,
In pœnas ſignata ſuas: juxtaque reliſſam
Andromedam, valloſ metuenteſ piſciſ hiatus,
Expoſitam ponto deſert ſcopuliſque reliſſam;
Ne veterum Perſeus cœlo quoque ſervet amoreſ.
Manilius. *l.* 1. *ſ.* 358.
Sed tamen hîc etiâ vivax eſt pœna dolenti:
Nam diducta ulnaſ magnas diſſendit in æthra;
Vinculaque in cœlo retinent quoque tenuia. —
Avienus. *ſ.* 467.
- (31) Andromeda, auſugienſ aſpectum moeſta parentiſ.
Cicero. de Nat. Deor. 2. *ſ.* 48. Ed. Ald.
- (32) — Penniſ ligat ille reſumtiſ,
Parte ab utrâque pedes, teloque accingitur unco.
Ovid. Met. 4. *ſ.* 665.
— Parrhaſiæ vixerunt Perſiæ pennæ —
— Phœbeon converſi juſſit ad ortuſ,
Gorgoniſ avertio ſulcantiſ regna volatu. —
Quoſ habuit vultuſ hamatuſ vulnere ferri
- Cœſa caput Gorgon? Quanto ſpiraffe veneno
Ora rear, quantumque oculiſ effundere mortiſ?
Lucan. 9. *ſ.* 680.
- (33) Viſtor & inviſe Perſeus cum falce Meduſæ.
Manilius. 5. *ſ.* 22.
- (34) In pœnas ſignata ſuas. —
Manilius. *l.* 1. *ſ.* 355.
He adds, that ſhe was ſtill concerned; and afraid,
that Perſeus ſhould carry off her daughter. Ib. 357,
&c.
- (35) — Facit ora ſevera:
Fronteſ ac vultuſ componit pondere mentiſ.
Manilius. 5. *ſ.* 446.
This is ſpoken of the influence on thoſe born under
this Conſtellation: but as the influenceſ in Maniliuſ
have a great deal of reſemblance to the figureſ them-
ſelveſ, this may ſerve as a proof that Cepheuſ had a
ſevere thinking look on the globe he made uſe of;
as he haſ alſo on the Farnſe globe.
- (36) — Locuſ olli
Poſt tergum Andromedæ. —
Avienus. *ſ.* 537.
— Quam Perſeuſ armiſ
Eripit & ſociat ſibi. Cui ſuccedit, iniquo
Diviſum ſpatio, — Deltoton nomine ſiduſ;
Ex ſimili diſtunt. —
Maniliuſ. *l.* 1. *ſ.* 354.
— Quæ ſubter in aſtro
Lanati marcent pecoriſ. —
Avienuſ. *ſ.* 534; (ſpeaking of ſome of the ſtarſ in the
Deltoton.)

THE last of these northern Constellations, is this of Eriſthionius; commonly called Auriga, or the Charioteer. He appears here without his chariot; tho' he is placed much in the ſame poſture (37), as if he was in one. It is probable, that in ſome of the antient globes his chariot was repreſented too; and one ſhould be apt to think, from ſome (38) expreſſions uſed of him by the poets, that this was moſt generally the caſe. When it was ſo, his figure, (I imagine,) was bent more forward, than it is in the drawing before us. In his right hand, he holds his whip; and in his left, were (39) the Hædi and Capella: which do not appear here, becauſe he held them before his breaſt; and his back, you ſee, is turned toward us, in the Farnefe globe.

WE may now conſider the Conſtellations of the Zodiac: and, if you pleaſe, we will begin here from Cancer; to follow my method of going from left hand to right with my drawing, rather than any more uſual order of the ſigns.

THERE is a paſſage in Manilius from which one would imagine that Cancer was repreſented (40) without eyes; and it is confirmed by him in another place: ſo that what we ſee in the Farnefe globe is only the ſockets for them; and if that globe was ever to be imitated in colours, they ſhould be drawn as empty, or at leaſt quite dark. The figures on the antient globes were repreſented more generally as alive and in action, than they are in the modern: for which reaſon Cancer, on the painted globes of the antients, was of a black (41) colour; tho' I think the moderns have boiled him, and turned him red in theirs.

LEO is deſcribed as (42) furious, and with his mouth open as roaring; which character of him is preſerved in his figure on the Farnefe globe. Manilius informs us, that this is the famous (43) Nemeæan Lion, that was killed by Hercules. It is probable that he was yet more furious on the globe uſed by Manilius, than he is in the drawing before you.

MANILIUS, in ſpeaking of Virgo, gives her that diſtinguiſhing attribute of a virgin (44), the Zone; and the ears of corn, in her hand: both which particulars are juſtified by this globe. He but juſt touches on (45) her leaving our earth after the golden age; of which Aratus has made the moſt pleaſing digreſſion in his whole poem. Manilius ſays her look is chaſte, and ſevere; but as ſhe turns her back upon us in the Farnefe globe, we can

(37) Heniochusque memor curſus, plauſtrique Boëtes.
Manilius. 5. v. 20.

(38) — Vicina ferens nixo veſtigia Tauro
Heniochus; ſtudio mundumque, & nomen, adeptus.
Id. 1. v. 362.

— Illi impiger autem
Polcher Eriſthionius curruſ & quatuor olim
Junxit equos: pronus qui non procul in Geminorum
Læva jacet; ſuſoque ſuper ſe corpore tendit
Plurimus, atque Helices caput inclinatur ab ore.
Avienus. v. 411.

(39) Ille quidem in ſpaciū membra explicat: at Capra
lævo
Fixa humero clare ſuſtollitur; ipſus autem
Fine manūs, parvas Hædorum ſuſpice flammæ.
Ibid. v. 414.

Avienus here ſpeaks of them as if they were re-
preſented only by ſingle ſtars; Manilius, ſpeaks of
them as figured.

Incipient Hædi tremulam producere mentum,
Hiſtaque tum demum terris promittere terga.
Lib. 1. v. 104.

(40) Quid ſi ſolerti circumſpicis omnia curâ
Fraudata invenies amiſſa ſidera membris:
Scorpius in Librâ conſumit brachia; Taurus
Succidit incurvo claudus pede; lumina Cancro
Deſunt; Centauro ſupereſt & queritur unum.
Manilius. 2. v. 260.

At niger obſcurâ Cancer cum nube feretur;
(Qui velut exutus Phœbeis ignibus ignis
Deſcit; & multa ſuſcit caligine ſidus):
Lumina deficient ortos; geminamque creatis
Mortem ſata dabunt. —
Id. 4. v. 534.

(41) — Niger Cancer —
Ibid. v. 530.

(42) — Violentique ora Leonis.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 81.
Si cui per ſummas avidos produxerit undas
Ora Leo, & ſcandat malis hiſcentibus orbem;
Ille patri matrique reus, &c.
Manilius. 4. v. 537.

(43) Cum verò in vaſto ſurgit Nemeus hiatus.
Id. 5. v. 206.

(44) At quibus Erigone dixit naſcentibus ævum;
Ore, magiſterio, nodoque coercita virgo;
Ad ſtudium ducit mores: &c. —
Id. 4. v. 191.
— Cum per decimam conſurgens horrida partem
Spica feret præ ſe ſquallentis corpus ariſtæ.
Id. 5. v. 271.

(45) Erigone ſurgens, quæ rexit ſæcula priſta
Juſtitia, ruſuſque eadem labentia fugit.
Id. 4. v. 542.

can see nothing of that there. I have some other drawings of the signs of the Zodiac (46), in which she turns her face towards us. Virgo is most usually represented with wings. Avienus speaks often of them (47); and we learn from the same writer, that the corn in her hand, and the painted globes of the antients, was coloured as (48) very ripe.

It is said that Libra, or the Balance, was originally represented as held up by Scorpius; who extended his claws for that purpose out of his own proper dominions: and that, under Augustus, or a little after his death, they made Scorpius contract his claws; and introduced a new personage, (most probably Augustus himself,) to hold the Balance. On the Farnese globe, it is held by Scorpius; (which, by the way, may perhaps shew that work to have been previous to the Augustan age:) in several of the gems and medals on which we have the signs of the Zodiac, it is held (49) by a man. This is said to be Augustus. You know, it was (50) a very common thing among the Roman poets to compliment their emperors with a place among the Constellations; and perhaps the Roman astronomers took the hint of placing Augustus there, and that in this very situation, from (51) Virgil's compliment of this kind to that emperor. To say the truth, there could scarce have been a place, or an employment, better chosen for Augustus. The astronomers originally were at a loss how to have the Balance supported: they were obliged, for this purpose, to make Scorpius take up the space of two signs in the Zodiac; which was quite irregular: and to be sure they would be ready to lay hold of any fair occasion of reducing him to his due bounds again. On the other hand, it was quite as proper for Augustus, as it was improper for Scorpius, to hold it: for beside its being a compliment to him for his justice, or for his holding the balance of the affairs of the world, (if they talked of princes then, in the style we have been so much used to of late;) Libra was the very sign that was said to preside over (52) Italy: and so Augustus in holding that, would be supposed to be the guardian angel of his country after his decease; as he had been so formally declared to be the father and protector of it, in his life-time. Upon the whole, I do not see how any thought of this kind could have been carried on with more propriety, than this seems to have been; by the admirers, or flatterers of that emperor.

THE language of Manilius is very agreeable to these two different representations of Libra. He alludes, in two or three places (53), to its being held by Scorpius; and in one, expressly

(46) See Pl. 25, N° 2, & 3.

(47) — Alite procurfu —
Avienus. *§.* 335.
— Pernicibus alis.
Id. *§.* 286, & 348.

(48) — Tibi flagrat arista,
Et ceu Siraço torretur spica calore.
Id. *§.* 285.

(49) See Pl. 25, N° 3.

(50) — Te quum statione peractâ
Astra petes serus, prælati regia cæli
Excipiet, gaudente polo. Seu sceptrâ tenere;
Seu te flammiferos Phœbi transcendere currus,
Telluremque nihil mutato sole timentem
Igne vago lustrare juvat. —
Ætheris immensi partem si præferis unam
Sentiet axis onus: librati pondera cæli
Orbe tene medio. —
Lucan. Phars. 1. *§.* 58. (of Nero.)
— Licet arctior omnes
Limes agat stellas; & te plaga lucida cæli,
Pleiadum Boreæque & hiulci fulminis experts,
Sollicitet; licet ignipedum frænator equorum
Ipse tuis altè radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat, aut magni cedat tibi Jupiter æquæ

Parte poli; maneat hominum contentus habenis,
Undarum terræque potens, & fœdera dones.
Statius. Theb. 1. *§.* 31. (of Domitian.)
— Cum jam genitor lucebis ab omni
Parte poli; neque enim in Tyrias Cynosura carinas
Certior, aut Graiis Helice servanda magistris:
Seu tu signa dabis, seu te duce Græcia mittet,
Et Sidon Nilusque rates. —
Val. Flaccus. Arg. 1. *§.* 20. (of Vespasian.)

(51) Anne novum tardis fidus te mensibus addas;
Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelæque sequentes
Panditur: ipse tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpius, et cæli iustâ plus parte reliquit.
Virgil. Georg. 1. *§.* 35.

(52) Quod potius regat Italiam si feligis astrum,
Quàm quod cuncta regit; quod rerum pondera novit;
Designat summas, & iniquum separat æquo;
Tempora quo pendet; coeunt quo noxque diesque,
Hesperiam sua Libra tenet. Quâ condita Roma,
Et propriis frænâ pendentem nutibus Orbem.

Manilius. 4. *§.* 774.
(53) Chelaramque fides, iustæque examina Libræ.
Id. 3. *§.* 332.
Librantes nostem Chelæ cum tempore lucis.
Id. 4. *§.* 203.
Scorpius in Libra consumit brachia. —
5 Id. 2. *§.* 258.

expressly says that it was held by a (54) man. The former, was the idea of the astronomers before his time; and the latter, that which began to prevail, about the time he is said to have wrote in. The old poets agree in its being held up, (tho' the moderns usually represent it without any thing to support it;) and its being held up with both the scales (55) exactly even: which, among other views, had a reference to the equality of the day and night, on the sun's entering into this constellation.

You see Scorpius here: but you do not see him so strongly, as he was represented by the painters of old; or as he is described, by the poets. We learn from the latter, that in the antient paintings he was drawn (56) of a dark venomous colour, and a shade of green under it; with his claws stretched out; as they must have been, before that alteration was introduced in Libra: and with his tail pointed, and raised; as those of scorpions are, when they are enraged and prepared to strike. These descriptions of Scorpius in the poets agree with the figure of it on the Farnesé globe, as far as they can agree with the bare figure of a thing; and I suppose they have added the colourings to it with the same justness: they being probably as well acquainted with the works of the painters, as with those of the statuaries.

ARCITENENS, according to Eratosthenes, (an antient Greek writer (57), of very good authority,) was represented under the figure of a (58) satyr; as he is too in this drawing: tho' my designer, (I imagine by mistake,) has omitted his horns; which as they are generally small, might very easily escape his observation on the Farnesé globe. This was the very satyr, who assisted Jupiter so much, in his battle against the rebel giants; and put them into an unreasonable fear, (whence, by the way, all such fears have ever since been called Panic fears,) by the strange noise (59) that he made. He holds his bow as just ready to shoot it off; and the arrow in it seems to aim at the tail of Scorpius. The artists, in process of time, substituted the form of a Centaur, instead of that of a Satyr, for this sign of the Zodiac; as appears from several gems and medals (60) of good antiquity: and the Roman poets (61) seem to have followed this latter idea even about the Augustan age. Lucan calls him expressly by the name of Chiron: who, as I take it, presided over the Constellation, properly called Centaurus; not in the Zodiac. Manilius seems to have fallen into the same error; and speaks as if there was (62) some drapery about this figure: tho' on the Farnesé globe, Arcitenens and Chiron, are both quite naked. The latter of these poets however marks, very strongly, that (63) severity of his look; which is distinguishable

(54) Hamana est facies Libræ; diversa, Leonis.
Id. 2. ♄. 529.

(55) Pendula cœlestes Libra movebat aquas.
Ovid. Fast. 4. ♄. 384.
Libra Phœbeos tenet æqua currus.
Herc. Furens. Aët. 3. Chor.

See Note 53, anteh.

(56) Est locus, in geminis ubi brachia concavat arcus
Scorpius; et caudâ, flexisque utriusque laceris,
Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum.
Hunc puer ut nigri madidum fudore veneni,
Vulnera curvatâ minitantem cupide vidit;
Mentis inops, gelidâ formidine lora remisit.
Ovid. Met. 2. ♄. 200.
— Elata metuendus acumine caudæ
Scorpius in virides præcipitatur aquas.
Id. Fast. 4. ♄. 162.
Sævæque circuitu curvantem brachia longo
Scorpiion. —
Id. Met. 2. ♄. 83.
— Minax nodis, & recto verberare sævus.
Lucan. 9. ♄. 132.

(57) Eratosthenes, in omnium quidem literarum
subtilitate, & in hac utique præter cæteros solers,
quem cunctis probari video; &c. Pliny, Lib. 2.
c. 109.

(58) Οὗτος ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑλλησιν τῷ ἀργυραῖῳ ἔχει δὲ
ἄνθρωπο τὰ καὶ ὡς μῦθος, ἢ κεράτα ἐστὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Ερα-
τοσθένης de Sideribus, Art. 27. Παρ.

(59) Ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ συνῆν (τῷ Διὶ), ὅτε ἦν τὸς Τίτανες
σεραταύσαν' ἄσος δ' ἐς δόκον εὐρέν τῶν κοχλῶν ἐν ᾧ τὸς συμ-
μαχῆς καὶ θῶτλιν, δία το τὴν ἄλγῃ Πανικὸν καὶ μὲν, ο
οὐ Τίτανες σφρευγόν. Id. Ibid.

(60) See Pl. 25. N° 2, & 3.

(61) Teque, sexex Chiron, gelido qui fidere fulgens
Impetis Harmonio majorem Scorpion arcu.
Lucan. 6. ♄. 394.
In cujus caudam contentum dirigit arcum
Mixtus equo; volucrem missurus jamque sagittam.
Manilius. 1. ♄. 270.

(62) Nec non Arcitenens primâ cum veste resurgit,
Pectora clara dabit bello. —
Manilius. 4. ♄. 561.

(63) — Nimium indulgens rebus fortuna secundis,
Invidet in faciem, sævique asperima fronti:
Horrendus bello Trebiam Cannasque Lacumque
Ante fugam tali pensabat imagine victor.
Id. Ibid. ♄. 467.

distinguishable enough in the figure of Arcitenens, on the Farnese globe; and not at all on the face of the Chiron there; and says, that he looks as frowning and threatening, as Hannibal did; in the beginning of the battles of Trebia, Trasimene, and Cannæ.

ONLY the head of Capricorn appears here; all the under parts of him are hid by the Farnese globe's resting, in that part, on Atlas's shoulders. This is an inconvenience, that was not to be avoided: it must rest somewhere; and something must be lost by that means: but as it rests chiefly on the Antarctic circle, where the antients had no figures at all, the loss is much less than it would have been in a modern globe. However, as I was saying, all of Capricorn is lost, by this means, except the head. The rest of his figure might be supplied either from gems, or medals; and particularly from the reverse of a very common medal (64) of Augustus Cæsar: by which it appears that Capricorn was represented of old, as a creature of a (65) mixed nature; with the fore part like a goat, and ending in a fish. I must just observe to you, by the way, that this medal is one of the plainest proofs I know of, of that sort of hieroglyphical language, which I have often hinted to have been in use, among the better artists of old. On one side of it, is the head of Augustus; on the other is Capricorn, the sign (66) under which Augustus was born; and beneath that, is a rudder and a globe. The rudder was the constant mark of rule or government, among the Romans. So that this medal says, in the figures on it; (as distinctly, I think, as could have been said in so many words;) that "Augustus, was born, to govern, the world."

THIS figure next to Capricorn, is Aquarius; a beautiful, fine-shaped (67) youth; as he ought to be: for this, according to the old mythology, is Ganymedes, the cup-bearer of Jupiter. He (68) holds the cup, or little urn in his hand, inclined downwards; and is always (69) pouring out of it: as indeed he needs must, to be able from so small a source to form that river, which you see running from his feet, and making so large a tour over all this part of the globe. Every one of the particulars I have mentioned in relation to his figure, are marked out by some or other of the Roman poets.

THE river, which has its source from his urn, goes in some of its windings to Pisces; and it is therefore that Manilius talks of them as (70) plunged under water, even in the heavens. The poets mark both their (71) places very exactly, and their being turned different

(64) See Pl. 25. N° 4.

(65) It is hence that Manilius calls Capricorn, Ambiguus; 2. 232. and Biformis; 3. 257.

Cicero seems to allude to the same, where he says;

— Gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans

Corpore semifero Capricornus —

De Nat. Deor. p. 48. Ed. Ald.

(66) Tantam fiduciam fati habuit (Augustus, after consulting Theogenes the mathematician at Apollo-nia,) ut thema suum vulgaverit: nummumque argenteum notâ fideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percussit. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 94.

(67) Jam levis obliquâ subfedit Aquarius urnâ.

Ovid. Fast. 2. §. 455.

— Capricorno, Phœbe, relicto

Per juvenis curres signa regentis aquas.

Id. Ib. 1. §. 652.

— Juvenis nudo formatus mollior artu.

Manilius. 4. §. 797.

Troicus haurit aquas funditque ephebus ab urnâ.

Avienus. §. 549.

(68) Ille quoque inflexâ fontem qui projecit urnâ,

Cognatas tribuit juvenilis Aquarius artes:
Cernere sub terris undas, &c. —

Manilius. 4. §. 261.

(69) — Fundentis semper Aquarii.

Id. 2. §. 233.

Ad juvenem, eternas fundentem Piscibus undas.

Id. Ibid. §. 492.

After talking, for some time, of Aquarius and his influences, (Id. 4. §. 259, to 272.) he concludes the passage thus. Sic profuit urna: "And so the urn flows on." Which seems to have been a proverbial expression, among the antients, taken from the ceaseless flowing of this urn; and which might be not unapplicable now, when certain ladies are telling a story; or certain lawyers are pleading.

(70) Post hunc inflexam diffundit Aquarius urnam

Piscibus, assuetas avidè subeuntibus undas.

Manilius. 1. §. 273.

(71) — Sedes data quippe duobus

Piscibus, ingenti quâ celsam circulos æthram

Orbe secat; tendit quâ penna extrema sinistræ

Alæ Equus; mundo quâ pectora Laniger alto

Urget. —

Avienus. §. 545.

different (72) ways; and speak of them rather in a more picturesque manner, than they are expressed on the Farnese globe. Ovid gives a full and very pretty (73) account of the story, which occasioned their being received into the heavens.

NEXT to Pisces, you see, is Aries, or the Ram; turning his head backward: a (74) particular, which Manilius mentions of him, in several places; tho' Monsieur Huet, I know not why, is pleased to assert the contrary. We may learn, from the same poet, that the painters represented him all of a gold colour. This they did with more propriety, than you would, perhaps, at first imagine; for according to the fabulous history, this was the (75) very Ram so famous of old for his golden fleece: which was kept first at Colchis, and then fell into Jason's hands; whilst the memorial of it was preserved, in so distinguished a place, amidst the heavens.

As this was the ram that carried Helle on the sea, and gave a name to so celebrated a part of it; its neighbour here, the Bull, was at least as famous; for carrying Europa safe over the same element, and giving its name to our part of the world. The poets describe the figure of Taurus in much the same manner that you see him here: as having his head (76) averted from the course of the sun, and as rising backward; as represented (77) only in part; with his neck bending downward (78), and his knee yet more bent. On some gems you have his whole figure (79) in the act of butting with his head, and tearing up the ground with his feet; just like the bull (80) described by Virgil, or like any common bull you please; from which it is sometimes distinguished, by its having a star engraved over it. We find plainly from a passage in Virgil, (which in some other respects, is (81) difficult enough to be settled,) that Taurus was represented, on the coloured

- (72) Dissimile est illis iter, in contraria versis.
Manilius. 2. §. 164.
- (73) Terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione
(Tunc, cum pro cælo Jupiter arma tulit)
Venit ad Euphraten, comitata Cupidine parvo;
Inque Palestinae margine fedit aquæ.
Populus & cannæ riparum summa tenebant;
Spemque dabant falices hos quoque posse tegi.
Dum lateat, intonuit vento nemus. Illa timore
Pallet; & hostiles credit adesse manus.
Utque sinu natum tenuit: Succurrite, Nymphæ!
Et diis auxilium ferite duobus, ait:
Nec mora, profluit. Pisces subiere gemelli:
Pro quo nunc dignum sidera munus habent.
Ovid. Fast. 2. §. 472.
- Manilius mentions the same story, on the same account. Lib. 4. §. 579, &c.
- (74) — Ubi se summis Aries attollit ab undis,
Et cervicæ prior flexâ quàm cornibus ibit.
Manilius. 4. §. 506.
Et sua respiciens aurato vellere terga.
Id. 2. §. 212.
Aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens,
Respicit admirans aversum furgere Taurum.
Id. 1. §. 265.
- (75) Postquam vernus calidum Titana recepit,
Sidera respiciens, delapsæ portior Helles.
Lucan. 4. §. 57.
Utque fugam rapiant, aries nitidissimus auro
Traditur: ille vehit per freta longa duos.—
Litoribus tactis, aries fit sidus; at hujus
Pervenit in Colchas aurea lana domos.
Ovid. Fast. 3. §. 876.
- (76) — Aspice Taurum;
Cernis ut aversum redeundo fargat in arcum
Clunibus —
Manilius. 2. §. 199.
- Aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens
Respicit admirans aversum furgere Taurum.
Id. 1. §. 264.
- Taurus in averfos præcepit ut tollitur ortus
Sextâ parte fui, certantes lucis ad oras
Pleiades ducit —
Id. 5. §. 142.
Averfus venit in cœlum, divefque puellis;
Pleiadum parvo referens glomerabile sidus.
Id. 4. §. 522.
- (77) Vacca sit an taurus, non est cognoscere promtum;
Pars prior apparet, posteriora latent.
Ovid. Fast. 4. §. 162.
- (78) — Nisi poplite lapsò
Ultima curvati procederet ungula Tauri.
Lucan.
—— Taurus
Succidit incurvo claudus pede —
Manilius. 2. §. 259.
—— Vicina ferens nixo vestigia Tauri.
Id. 1. §. 361.
- (79) See Pl. 25. N° 1.
- (80) Qui cornu petat, & pedibus qui spargat arenam.
Virgil. Ecl. 3. §. 87.
- (81) There are two ways of reading, and understanding, the passage in Virgil here referred to. That which generally prevails at present, is as follows:
—— Miliò venit annua cura:
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus; & averfo cedens Canis occidit auro.
Georg. 1. §. 218.
- This is usually understood of the sun's entering into Taurus; and of the dog-star's setting heliacally: that is, from about the middle of April, to about the end

coloured globes of old, with gilded horns; and all the rest of him white: agreeably to the poetical descriptions of the bull which carried Europa; and entirely like the bulls in the highest esteem among the Romans, those which they sacrificed to their best and greatest Jupiter.

THE Gemini (or Twins) are described by Manilius as (82) naked, young and beautiful: and he is so particular too, as to mention that (83) interweaving of their arms; which is so evident in the drawing before you. Ovid makes them to be (84) Castor and Pollux; but as we see these always both together, I know not how that can be reconciled with the old story of those two brothers; unless these were looked upon only as appearances, or memorials; whilst the real Castor and Pollux, (like the real Hercules,) took their place alternately, in the higher heavens.

As we have now gone through the whole line of the Zodiacal figures, we will begin once more if you please from the left; with the Ship, which you see here. It is represented indeed only (85) in part, that it might not take up too much room on the globe; but tho' it is only part of a ship, it is represented as (86) sailing on: for the antients endeavoured to put every thing in action on their celestial globes, as much as they possibly could. It is the famous Argo; the first ship, according to them, that ever was made. We have here no figures on it, but a Victory and a Triton; so that Flaccus's fine descriptions (87) of the marriage-feast of Peleus and Thetis, as painted on one side of it; and of the combat between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, on the other; was only a sport of his own imagination: and indeed there would have been a terrible anachronism in

end of the same month. In this case, Canis is used nominatively; and astro is understood of Taurus.

It is certain, that *averfum astrum* is used several times by Manilius, in speaking of Taurus; and that Macrobius took the whole passage in this sense, appears from his treatise, on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. See his *Saturnal*. Lib. 1. Cap. 18. p. 86. Ed. Gryph. 1556.

A gentleman, I have long known, (and who seems to me to understand Virgil in the most masterly manner, of any man I ever did know,) reads the passage thus:

— Milio venit aenea cura :
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, & adverso cedens Canis occidit astro.

My friend takes Canis here to be the genitive case; and understands, *adverso astro*, of that Constellation; and not of Taurus. His sense therefore of it, is: "Sow millet; from the year's opening under Taurus, to the setting of that Constellation." This period reaches from the beginning, to about the middle of April.

The reading of *adverso*, was the true original reading; according to the oldest and best manuscripts: and is used in particular by Macrobius himself in that very passage, which is usually brought as the chief support of the other opinion. — The year, in respect to agriculture, began with the month of April among the Romans; which thence, probably, had its very name *Aprilis*; quasi *aperilis*, ab *aperiendo*. — The expressions seem in this sense to be more poetical than in the other; and more agreeable to the position and appearance of these Constellations on the globe, at the time spoken of. — Lastly, Columella (who lived in the same country with Virgil, and in the same age,) speaks of the time for sowing millet; and says, "it should be finished by the middle of April." *Milii & Panici hæc prima satio est; quæ*

peragi debet, circa idus Aprilis. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. The ides of April, was the 13th.

If these arguments are stronger than those on the other side, the old reading ought to be restored: which, (to say the truth,) seems to me to have been altered, by some old critic, to adapt the passage the more to Macrobius's meaning; and to have been afterwards turned into an argument for it, by some of the more modern critics: who, perhaps, did not know any thing of this alteration.

(82) ——— *Geminos nudatis aspicie membris.*
Manilius. 2. v. 162.
— *Et geminos Juvencos* ——— Id. Ib. v. 661.
— *Formosos Geminos* ——— Ibid. v. 440.

(83) *His conjuncta manent alterno brachia nexu.*
Ibid. v. 163.

(84) *In Geminos ex quo tempore Phœbus eat.*
Ovid. Fast. 5. v. 694.
Tyndaridæ fratres. ——— Id. Ibid. v. 700.
For the story. See *ibid.* 715, to 720.

(85) — *Argo rutilam tantum inter sidera puppim*
Ducitur; occultat rigido tenuis altera malo.
Avienus. v. 765.

(86) This you see by the oars, in the figure of it on the Farnese globe; and so it is described by the poets.
Ratis Heroum, quæ nunc quoque navigat altis.
Manilius. 5. v. 13.
Nunc quoque vicinam puppim, cœa naviget, Argo
A dextris lateris ducit regione per astra.
Id. Ibid. 37.

(87) Flaccus, *Argon.* 1. 129, to 148.

in it, had it been so represented; for Pelcus was not married, till after this ship was made.

NEAR (88) Argo is Hydrus, or the Water-serpent; which Manilius says was very well marked out with stars. We cannot verify that here; because the Farnese globe (which is the only antient celestial globe I know of,) has only the figures of the constellations wrought on it; and not the particular stars which were contained in them. The situation of this Constellation in the heavens is described by Avienus (89), exactly as you see it in the drawing before us.

CRATER is placed on a sort of pedestal which rests on the back of this Serpent, toward the middle part of it; or, "in the (90) midst of its windings," as Avienus expresses it. It is shaped like the common bowls, or little urns, that the antients used to drink out of; and particularly like those you have seen in the hand of Bacchus, in some statues and reliefs. It is observed, that this Constellation too was very properly (91) delineated by the stars it contained.

NEAR (92) the Crater, is Corvus: perched on the (93) tail of Anguis; and bending down, as pecking at it. The poets have observed these particulars; and say nothing more of it that is any way remarkable, that I know of.

JUST under the tail of the Serpent, is Centaurus. His look is mild; for this is a philosophical Centaur: Chiron, a great master of the rules of (94) equity and justice; and the instructor of Hercules, as well as Achilles. The poets observe of his figure, (what is chiefly to be observed in all good figures of Centaurs, and particularly in those two fine ones, from the Villa Adriani, at Rome,) that the upward or human part is roughened by degrees; and is united extremely well (95) with the equine part, a little below his breast. This cannot so well be justified from the Farnese globe; because in that his back is turned toward us. He is represented as coming from the chase; with a young lioness in his hand: which is held by him, (as (96) a sacrifice,) toward the altar just before him.

ACCORDING to Manilius's account, I think that the Ara should be represented, in any coloured globe (97), with lighted coals upon it, and the frankincense as flaming up: tho' there is nothing of this kind appears on the Farnese globe. There is another particularity, relating to this constellation, which is extremely observable, tho' not much to

(88) — Cui proximus Anguis
Squamæa dispositis imitatur lmina flammis.
Manilius. i. §. 406.

(89) Desuper ingenti sese agmine porrigit Hydra:
Quæ prolata sâlo longe latus explicat æthrâ,
In Cancræ protenta caput; caudamque feroci
Centauro inclinat. —
Avienus. §. 890.

(90) Spirarum media gestat Cratera coruscum.
Id. §. 898.

(91) Crater auratis furgit cœlatus ab astris.
Manilius. 5. §. 235.

(92) Et Phœbo acer ales, & unâ gratus Iaccho
Crater. —
Id. 1. §. 408.

(93) Ultima cœruleum sustentant agmina Corvum,
Ales ut intento fodiat vâga viscera rostris.
Avienus. §. 906.

(94) — Arbitræ æqui:
— Alcide legum post bella sagister.
Id. §. 889.

(95) — Duplici Centaurus imagine fulget:
Pars hominis; tergo pectus commissus equino.
Manilius. 1. 409.

— Signis subtexit membra duobus:
Nam quâ parte hominem quadrupes sustollit equino
Ventre superstantem, versatur Scorpius ingens;
At quâ cornipedem mediâ vir fundit ab alvo,
Curva venenati sunt tantum brachia signi.
Avienus. §. 883.

(96) Ille autem dextrâ protendere visus ad aram
Cœlicolûm, iustæ persolvit munera vitæ;
Agrestemque manu prædam gerit. —
Id. §. 886.

— Cum tu, iustissimè Chiron,
Bis septem stellis corpore cinctus eras.
Ovid. Fast. 5. §. 414.

(97) — Vixitrixque solutis
Ara nitet sacris. —
Manilius. 1. §. 411.
Ara, ferens thuris stellis imitantibus ignem.
Id. 5. §. 335.

Z z

to my purpose. It is in Manilius too; who says, that this is the altar (98), on which Jupiter offered sacrifice, for success in the war against the giants. Does not this shew that, originally in the heathen scheme, Jupiter himself was not supposed to be really the great Supreme Being, but only a substituted ruler; who in his dangers and difficulties applied for assistance to the real Supreme, that presided over him and all things in the universe?

THE next Constellation I can give no manner of account of. It is a wreath like the Corona Ariadnes; only a little larger, and not with so much riband as that. There is not any one of the ancient poets, or any one of their prose-writers I have consulted, that say a word of it; so that I am wholly at a loss, and without so much as a guess, how it comes to make its appearance on the Farnese globe.

As this seems to be a Constellation too much; so we have perhaps lost one, which should appear near it. What I mean is the Piscis Notius, or the Southern Fish. Its place should be somewhere here under Aquarius, and near Cetus (99): and so is lost to us on the Farnese globe, which rests, in that part on Atlas's shoulders.

CETUS, or the Sea-monster that was to have destroyed Andromeda, is well represented in this drawing; in the attitude of swimming along the water, that comes from Aquarius's urn; with great scales on his breast; with his mouth open and threatening, and his tail wreathed; just as he is (100) described by Manilius.

FLUMEN, (which was originally supposed to be the Nile, tho' the Romans (101) turned it into Eridanus,) wanders several different ways. It runs up north, you see, here, to one of the Pisces; and should certainly (102) go to the other, (and I think by Andromeda's head;) but the line in that part is defaced by time, or some accident or other, on the Farnese globe. Its chief course is by the Sea-monster, from which it goes to Orion's legs, in one stream; as it falls from it, in another very serpentine one, toward the Antarctic Pole. The chief thing to be observed of it in general is, that it is very (103) winding and irregular; and that is marked by the poets, as well as by the artist.

THIS

- (98) In qua devoti quondam cecidere Gigantes:
Nec prius armavit violento fulmine dextram
Jupiter, ante deos quem constitit ipse sacerdos.
Manilius. 5. 338.

Manilius, on this occasion, raises the priests of old, as much as he depresses Jupiter. Under this Constellation, (says he,) shall be born priests, or deputy-gods:

Quos potius finget partus, quam templa colentes,
Atque auctoratos in tertia jura ministros;
Divorumque sacra venerantes numina voce?
Pæne deos; & qui possunt ventura videre.
Ibid. 342.

- (99) Ultra ferosi rursus speciem Capricorni,
Cardinis immeris qua sunt Australia Sabra,
In pitrim horridam conversus viscera Pisces
Subvehitur: Notium vocat istum Græcia Piscem.

Avienus. 3. 823.

Tunc Notius Piscis, venti de nomine dictus,
Exurgit de parte Noti.

Manilius. 1. 3. 429.

- (100) Cetus convolvens squamea terga
Orbibus insurgit tortis, & fluctuat alvo;
Intentans morium, similis jam jamque tenenti:
Qualis ad exposita fatum Cepheidos undis
Expulit adveniens ultra sua litora pontum.

Manilius. 1. 3. 427.

6

— Cetus, squamis atque ore tremendo.

Id. 5. 3. 15.

- (101) — Pars æquoris esse
Credidit Ausonii; namque hunc dixere priores
Eridanum: —
— Pharium pars altera Nilum
Commemorat; largo segetes quod nutriat anni,
Arentisque locos undâ fecundat alumnâ.

Avienus. 3. 797.

- (102) — Inflexam diffundit Aquarius urnam
Piscibus, assuetas avidè subeuntibus undas.

Manilius. 1. 3. 273.

Ile pedem levem rutili subit Orionis:
Fusique quæ geminos astringunt vincula Pisces
Eridani coeunt anfractibus, ut procul ille
Tenditur effusi vi gurgitis.

Avienus. 3. 803.

Illa * memor longæ formidinis: illa † duorum
Inter signa tenax, horret squalentia monstri
Terga procul; pavidumque super caput inserit
undis.

Id. 3. 778.

* Andromeda. † Pisces.

- (103) Flexa per ingentes stellarum lumina gyros.
Manilius. 1. 3. 430.

Fluminaque errantes latè sinuantia cursus.

Id. 5. 3. 14.

THIS figure of a man kneeling on one knee, a little beyond the Sea-monster, is the famous Orion. His face is (104) in profile; he holds out his (105) arms; and, should, perhaps, grasp a sword in his right hand. That part is so indistinct on the Farnese globe, that one cannot be positive what is represented there; and the poets, I think, differ (106) as to this particular. There is something like a sword, or dagger, hanging down in a sheath by his left side, in the drawing before you; which agrees better with Manilius and Avienus's account of his sword, than it does with some expressions relating to it in Ovid.

ORION, you know, was a famous hunter; and here, just by him, is his dog; which is called, Procyon. This figure must have been quite lost, on the Farnese globe, by the hand of the Atlas which supports it; had not the artist placed it so hollow, that we may discern it, under the concave part of the hand. This Constellation rises before Sirius; both by his situation here, and by the (107) accounts given of him; and it is thence that he has the name of Procyon.

SIRIUS, or Canicula, (who has so terrible a character in the (108) old poets; and the whole period of whose influence is so particularly dreaded, to this day, at Rome,) was, I doubt not, represented by the ancient painters with a malign cast of his eyes; and a (109) dark look. As this could not be expressed on marble, the artist who made the Farnese globe has given him several odd rays about his head; as a mark of his being so particularly hot and fiery. Perhaps, he had better been represented, (as I believe (110), he sometimes was,) breathing flames, like the Chimæra. He is described as running on (111) vehemently, after Lepus; and it is therefore I suppose that Virgil gives him an epithet which I formerly used to think improper, because I did not understand it. Lepus appears here as running from him: and is therefore called (112) swift too, by the poets; even when they are speaking of him as a Constellation.

THUS have I gone through all the great Constellations: of which, we find every one of the two and forty in Eratosthenes's catalogue on the Farnese globe; except the two Bears by the northern Pole, and the Piscis Notius toward the southern: and have none but what are in his catalogue; except what I have called the Corona Australis, and an odd oblong figure just above Cancer: which I have not mentioned before, because I did not know what to make of it. It may possibly stand for the Plaustrum: but the ancient Romans called the Arcti by that name; and the figure of a Plaustrum is unknown to us: so that I would rather own my ignorance fairly, than pretend to offer this even as a conjecture that has any foundation.

You

- | | |
|--|---|
| (104) — Caput Orion excelso immerfus Olympo
Per tria subducto signatur lumina vultu.
Manilius. Id. 1. 5. 26. | Procyon, (or Προκυων,) rose on the 15th of July; and Canicula on the 26th; according to Columella. 11. 3. |
| (105) Cernere vicinum Geminis licet Oriona,
In magnam cœli tendentem brachia partem.
Ibid. 5. 378. | (108) See, particularly, Manilius 5. 208, to 217. and Avienus, 733, to 742. |
| (106) Ensiser Orion —
Ovid. Fast. 4. 5. 388.
— Nitidumque Orionis ensif.
Ovid. Met. 13. 5. 294.
— Strictumque Orionis ensif.
Id. 8. 5. 207.
Singula fulgentes humeros cui lumina signant;
Et tribus obliquis demissus ducitur ensif.
Manilius. 1. 5. 381.
Auratumque rubens dimittit batheus ensif.
Avienus. 5. 722. | (109) Frigida ceruleo contorquet lumina vultu.
Manilius. 1. 5. 399.
(110) From that expression in Manilius; Latratque Canicula flammis; see Note 107, anteh.
(111) Subsequitur rapido contenta Canicula cursu.
Manilius. 1. 5. 386.
Cum rapidus, torrens sitientes Sirius Indos,
Ardebat cœlo. —
Virgil. Georg. 4. 5. 426. |
| (107) Cum verò in vastos fargit Nemeus hiatus;
Exoriturque Canis: latratque Canicula flammis.
Manilius. 5. 5. 207. | (112) Tum Procyon, veloxque Lepus. —
Manilius. 1. 5. 402. |

You may wonder that I have said nothing all this while of the Hyades, Pleiades, and Arcturus. These, (tho' so famous in all antiquity; even as far back, as we can trace it;) were not generally looked on as primary Constellations; but as secondary ones, contained in others. Neither of them is represented in a personal character on the Farnese globe, any more than they are in our modern ones; in which Arcturus is only a single star in Boötes; and the Hyades, and Pleiades, each a stud of stars, in different parts of Taurus. It is possible indeed, that in some of the larger globes in ancient Rome, these might have been represented personally too; and what vast globes may they be supposed to have had in a city, where they certainly had an astronomical instrument, (the particular use of which has not yet been so well determined, as it might be;) of such extent, that one (113) of their largest Obelisks served only as a Gnomon to it?

THERE is more reason to think that the Pleiades were represented personally, on some of their globes; than either of the others. Aratus and Eratosthenes (114) seem to make it a distinct constellation by itself; near Taurus, but not in it: and Virgil mentions one of the Pleiads personally (115); where he is speaking in his astronomical style. Supposing they were all represented personally in Taurus; it might be done in a very little space: as Pyrrhus wore the nine Muses in a ring; and as one often meets with very small gems that have more figures, even than that; all expressed very fully and exactly.

I HAVE not acted so prudently perhaps in giving you the most doubtful points thus all together at last: however you may see by it, that I deal fairly with you. And what is it, after all, if in a subject where we have so many things clear and certain; there should be two or three points, about which one may raise some doubts?

WHAT I was thinking of, says Myfages, was a doubt of more importance. As the general aim you proposed to yourself in making your collection, seemed to me to be confined to the various divinities of the Romans, (by which I suppose you must mean intelligent beings,) I do not so well see, what you can have to do with all these strange figures before us: for allowing all your birds, and your beasts here, to be intelligences; I cannot conceive how you can look upon a fiddle, a ship, or an altar, as such. This would go beyond the follies of the Egyptian priests: for onions are vegetables, at least; and so are one step nearer to intelligent beings, than several of the things you have been talking of. As to that, says Polymetis, let every body answer for their own follies. The old Romans, no doubt, were guilty of many: but in the present case, I do not know whether they were so entirely ridiculous, as they appear at first sight to have been. Their idea of their most considerable men was, (like that of Plato and Socrates,) that after their decease, they were translated to some star or constellation. As we say of the

(113) Is obeliscus, quem Divus Augustus in Circo Magno statuit, 125 pedum & dodrantis; præter basim ejusdem lapidis. Is vero, qui in Campo Martio, novem pedibus minor.

Ei qui est in Campo, Divus Augustus addidit mirabilem usum; ad deprehendendas solis umbras, diurnæ ac nocturnæ magnitudines: strato lapide ad obelisci magnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra Romæ, confecto die, sexta horâ; paulatimque per regulas, quæ sunt ex ære inclusæ, singulis diebus decreveret, ac rursus aufereret. Pliny, Lib. 36. c. 9, & 10.

This is most usually supposed to have been a dial; tho' it seems more likely to have served for a meridian line; by the expressions used of it, in Pliny. See the whole 10th Chapter. Ibid.

(114) Ἀστὴρ δὲ οὗ ὅκασι πλεῖστοι ἀνδραπόδοι
Πλειάδες φασιν εἶναι —

Aratus. §. 255.

Επὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τοῦ Ταύρου, τῆς καλεωμένης Ραχίως, Πλειὰς εἶσι. Eratosthenes's Constellations, N^o 23.

(115) Bis gravidos cogant festus: duo tempora messis.

Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
Pleias, & Oceani spretos pede repulit amnes:
Aut eadem, fidus fugiens ubi Picis aquosi,
Tristior hybernæ cælo descendit in undas.

Virgil. Georg. 4. §. 234.

Flaccus speaks of all of them personally.

— Denique sequuntur

Pleiades; & madidis rorant e crinibus ignes.

Argon. 5. §. 416.

And Manilius may refer even to their being represented all, in miniature; as small, perhaps, as the figures on a ring.

Averſus venit in cælum, divesque puellis;
Pleiadum parvo referens glomerabile fidus.

(Speaking of Taurus.) Astron. 4. §. 222.

the departed; "He was a good man, and is gone to heaven:" they used to say; "He was a great man, and is made a (116) star of." The ancients had some notion of these stars being very large: a sort of worlds, spread about the great expanse. Arcturus, with them, was the intelligence of one of these worlds: as Perseus was supposed to preside over several of them. Each of the other Constellations had its presiding intelligence: and what signified it, whether this intelligence, (and much less whether his district or domain,) was of this, or that particular figure? It might as well be round, as square or oblong; of the shape of an altar, as well as of the shape of a human body. Its being bounded by lines that make the figure of a lyre or a ship, is no manner of objection to its being an intelligence; or rather to its being governed and directed by one. Cicero (117) teaches us that the constellations were looked on as high intelligences, and gods: and Plautus has a fancy about the stars; which, however odd, may at least serve to shew how early and general this opinion had obtained among the Romans. He introduces Arcturus to speak the prologue to one of his best comedies, the *Rudens*. Arcturus says in it, "that he is one of the inhabitants of the wide expanse, or rather: a citizen, of the great city of celestial beings: that he, and all the constellations, remain there by night: and that, by day, they descend upon our earth; observe the actions of men; and carry an exact detail of them to the governor of the universe: that he enters all the good and bad actions they relate to him, in two different books; and punishes, or rewards, each man according to the excess of good, or bad, at the bottom of his account." If a single star, as Arcturus was, could be supposed to be employed every day in so important an errand; what must they have thought of the greater commanding constellations, such as Argo or Lyra, which you treated just now as so senseless and so insignificant?

As I have told you that the Roman philosophers looked on their constellations, as so many gods; I think I ought not to conceal, that their poets sometimes treat them, like so many beasts. This, indeed, arises too from the figures several of them are represented under; and their supposing them all, of old, to be animated. One meets with some strange (118) oppositions of this kind, in Virgil and Ovid in particular: and some odd expressions in some other of the Roman poets: which I think are not rightly to be understood without this idea of the stars being (119) animals, or animated beings; as Cicero expressly calls them.

ALL

(116) *Inter sidera relatus*, was a common expression among the Romans. They believed that Perseus, and Chiron, and several other heroes, were actually placed there: and it was a common compliment of the poets to their emperors, to say; that they would have a place there, when they departed this life. This sort of compliment was grown so common, even in Horace's time, that he ridicules it in his *Epode* to Canidia.

— Sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari; tu pudica, tu proba,
Perambulabis astra fidus aureum.

Epod. 17. v. 41.

(117) *Ea quoque (sidera) rectissime, & animantia esse, & sentire atque intelligere dicantur.* Says Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero; de *Nat. Deor. 1. 2. p. 34.* Ed. Ald.

Probabile est, præstantem intelligentiam in sideribus esse. *Id. ibid.* And a little before; he had said; *Ex quo efficitur, in decorum numero astra esse duenda.*

(118) *Immiscue feræ sylvis, & sidera cælo.*

Virgil. *Georg. 2. v. 342.*
Neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba:

*Astra tenent cæleste solum, formæque decorum;—
Terra feras cepit.*——

Ovid. *Met. 1. v. 75.*

(119) Thus Statius calls the Sea-nymphs, the Constellations of the sea; (that is, the intelligent and divine inhabitants of the waters, as the other are of the heavens:)

— Antennæ gemino confidite cornu,
Oebalii fratres!——
Vos quoque caruleum, Divæ Nereides, agmen!
Dicere quæ magni fas sit mihi sidera ponti.

Lib. 3. *Sylv. 2. v. 15.*

The same poet represents Aurora, as driving the stars out of heaven, with a whip; like so many beasts.
*Tempus erat junctos cum jam foror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos, penitusque cavam sub luce paratâ
Oceani mugire domum: seseque vagantem
Colligit; & moto leviter fugat astra flagello.*

Théb. 8. v. 274.

Manilius uses the word, *Flock*, in speaking of a number of stars; and represents them going on like a flock of sheep, or any other animals.

— Cum secretis improvidus Hædus in aëstris,
Erranti similis, fratrum vestigia querit;
Postque gregem, longo producitur intervallo.

Astron. 5. v. 308.

ALL this, says Philander, runs on too romantic notions for me; I would much rather hear a little matter of fact: and in particular I should be very glad to know, what sort of globes the antients had; how far they exceeded, or fell short of ours: and as they had globes like us, whether they had any thing like our Orreries too. We cannot determine absolutely what sort of globes they might have, says Polymetis; because we have only this before us, that I know of. You see this is divided, as ours are, into five parts. The midst is the torrid Zone, marked out by the Zodiac's running across it: the partitions on each side of it, are the temperate Zones; and those at each extremity, are the two frigid ones. The four circles, which bound these partitions, are all on this globe; which with the Equator, the Meridian, and the Zodiac, are all the lines that appear on it. The antients, possibly, were not so exact and so particular, in parting the lesser divisions; as we are in our globes: but what may surprise you, as I am sure it did me when I had the first idea of it is, that (allowing for the difference of comparing a system out of fashion, with one that is in,) they seem to have had Orreries, that went farther, and were much more magnificent, than any we can boast of at present. They complimented the earth perhaps too much, in placing it in the center, and making the sun only an attendant planet to her; but then their works which represented the course of the sun, and of the other planets round the earth, seem to have been carried to a very great perfection. The celebrated sphere of Archimedes, (according to Claudian's known (120) epigram upon it,) was a work of this nature. Cicero speaks, more than once, of it (121); and of another made by his friend Posidonius, which by one turn shewed a day's motion of the sun, moon, and the five other planets, round the earth: but there is an Orrery (122) described by Valerius Flaccus, that seems to have far exceeded either of them; if that poet borrowed his thought from any work of this kind, that he had seen. He makes it serve for a lustre, in a temple of Phœbus. In the midst of the temple, he says, there stood a vast statue of Atlas: which statue supported a sphere of the heavens. The planets and constellations were represented on it, all in their proper courses; to enlighten the dome. Surely, there never was a temple more properly, or more nobly, illuminated!—The same planets make part of the furniture of my temple; but I cannot shew them to you, either in motion or with the magnificence he speaks of. However, if you can bear to see them as they are; we will come hither again, if you please, in the afternoon.

(120) I may insert Claudian's epigram here, as a proof of the fact in general; tho' his be no good authority, for any particular figure. It is as follows.

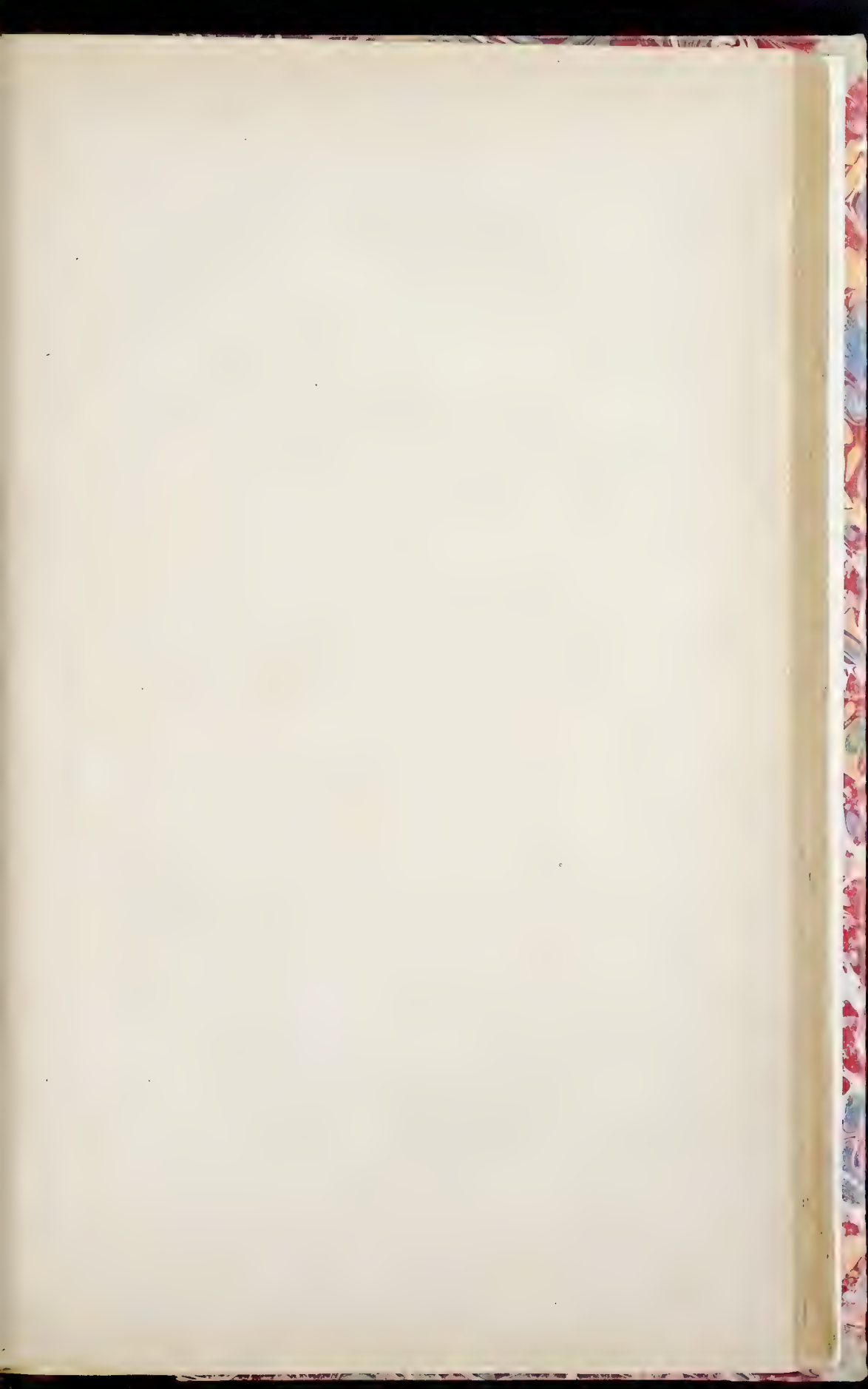
Jupiter in parvo cum cerneret aethra vitro,
Risit; & ad superos talia dicta dedit.
Hucce mortalis progressa potentia curæ?
Jam mens in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Jura Poli, rerumque fidem, legesque deorum,
Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.
Inclusus variis famulatur spiritus astris;
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus.
Percurrit proprium mentitus signifer annum;
Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
Jamque suum volvens auxilium industria mundum
Gaudet; & humanâ fideâ mente regit:

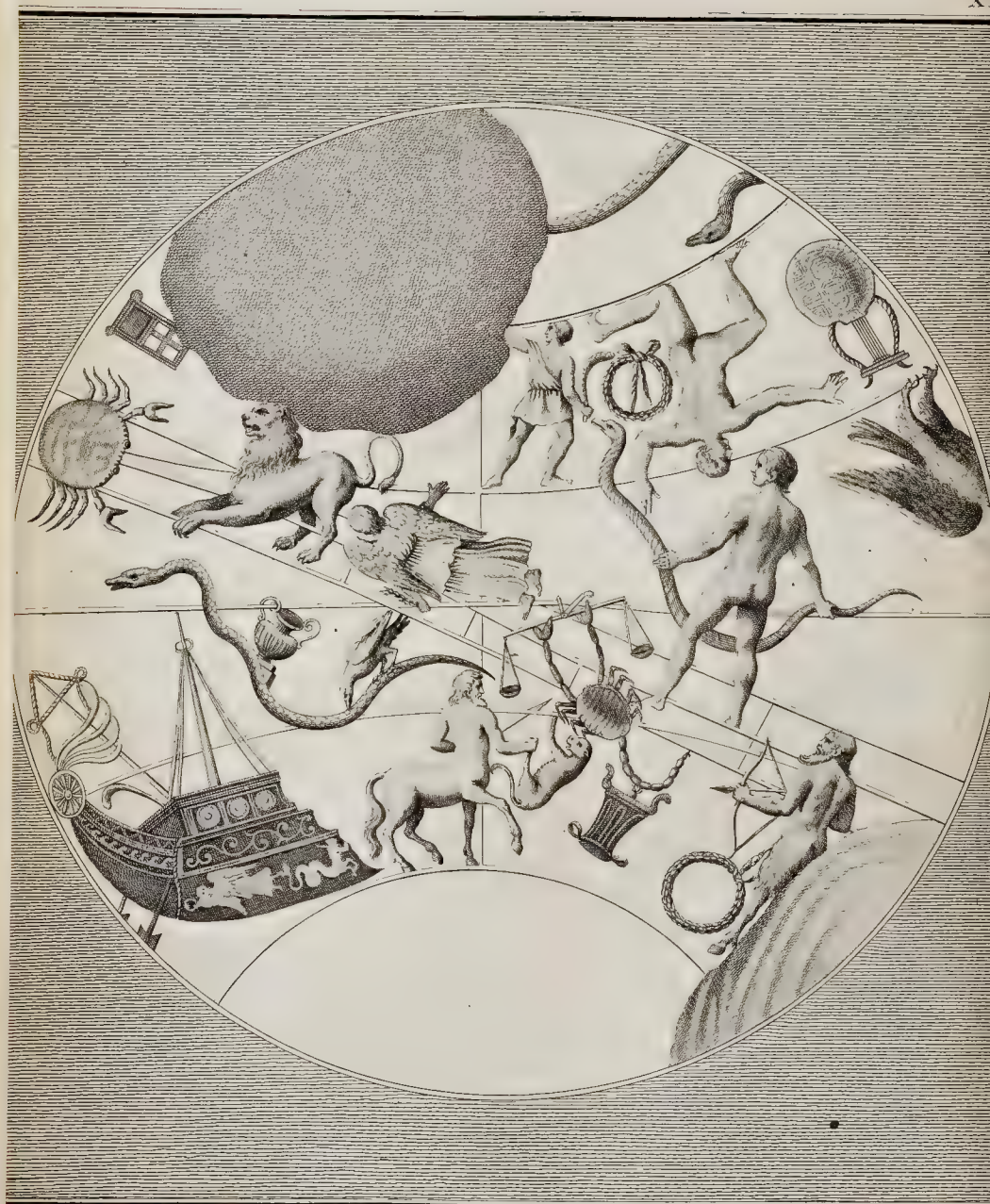
Quid falso infonem tonitru Salmoena miror?
Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus.

(121) Cicero de Natura Deorum. Lib. 2. p. 44.
Ed. Ald. See his Tusculan. Quæst. L. 1. p. 344. Ed. Blacu.

(122) — Illi properè monstrata capessunt
Limina; non aliter quàm fi radiantis adirent
Ora dei, verasque æterni luminis arces:
Tale jubar per tecta micat. Stat ferreus Atlas
Oceano; genibusque tumens infringitur unda:
At medii per terga senis, rapit ipse nitentes
Altus equos, curvoque diem subtexit Olympo.
Pone, rotâ brevior foror: densæque sequuntur
Pylades, & madidis rorant e crinibus ignes.

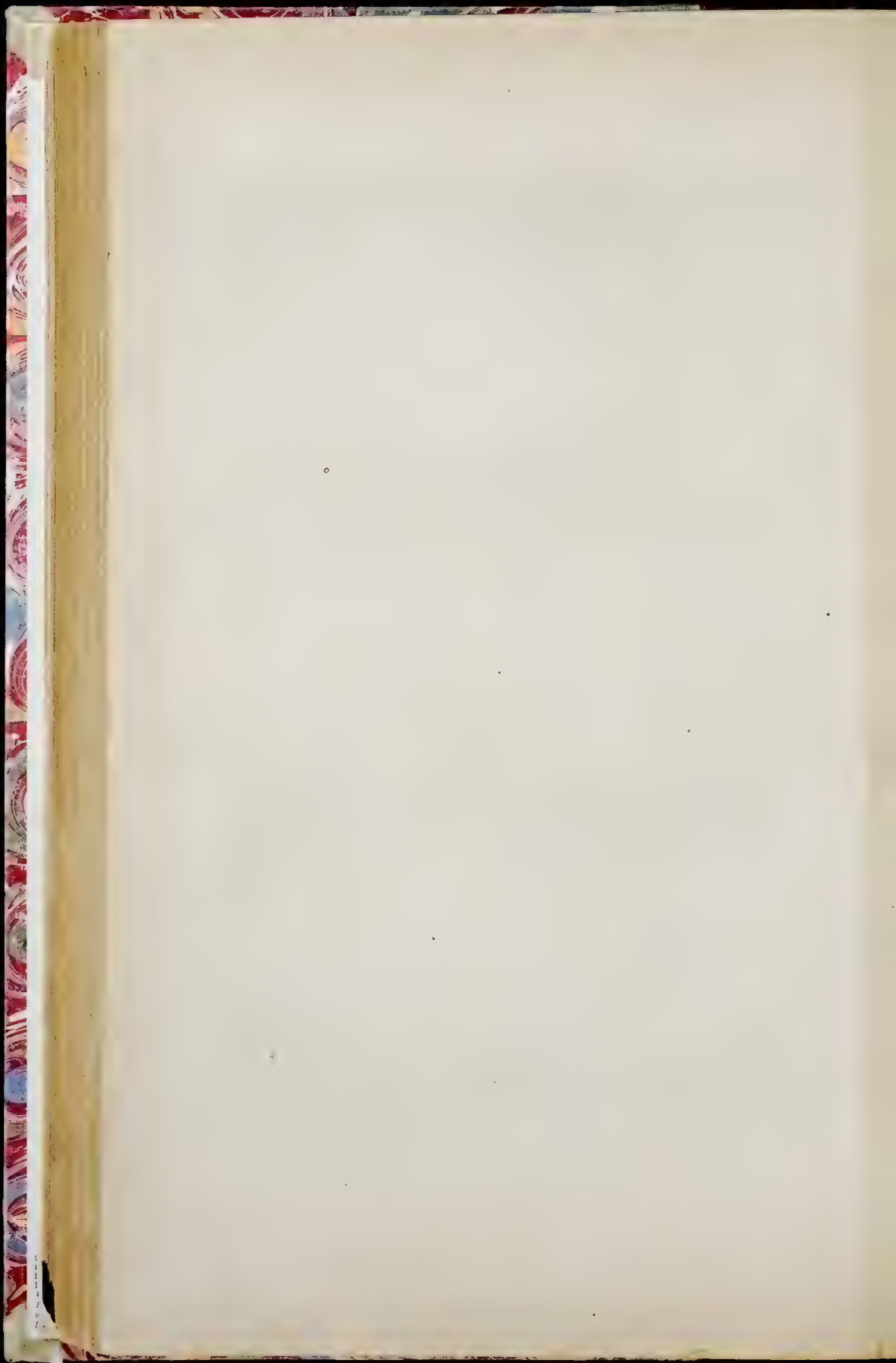
Arg. 5. §. 416.



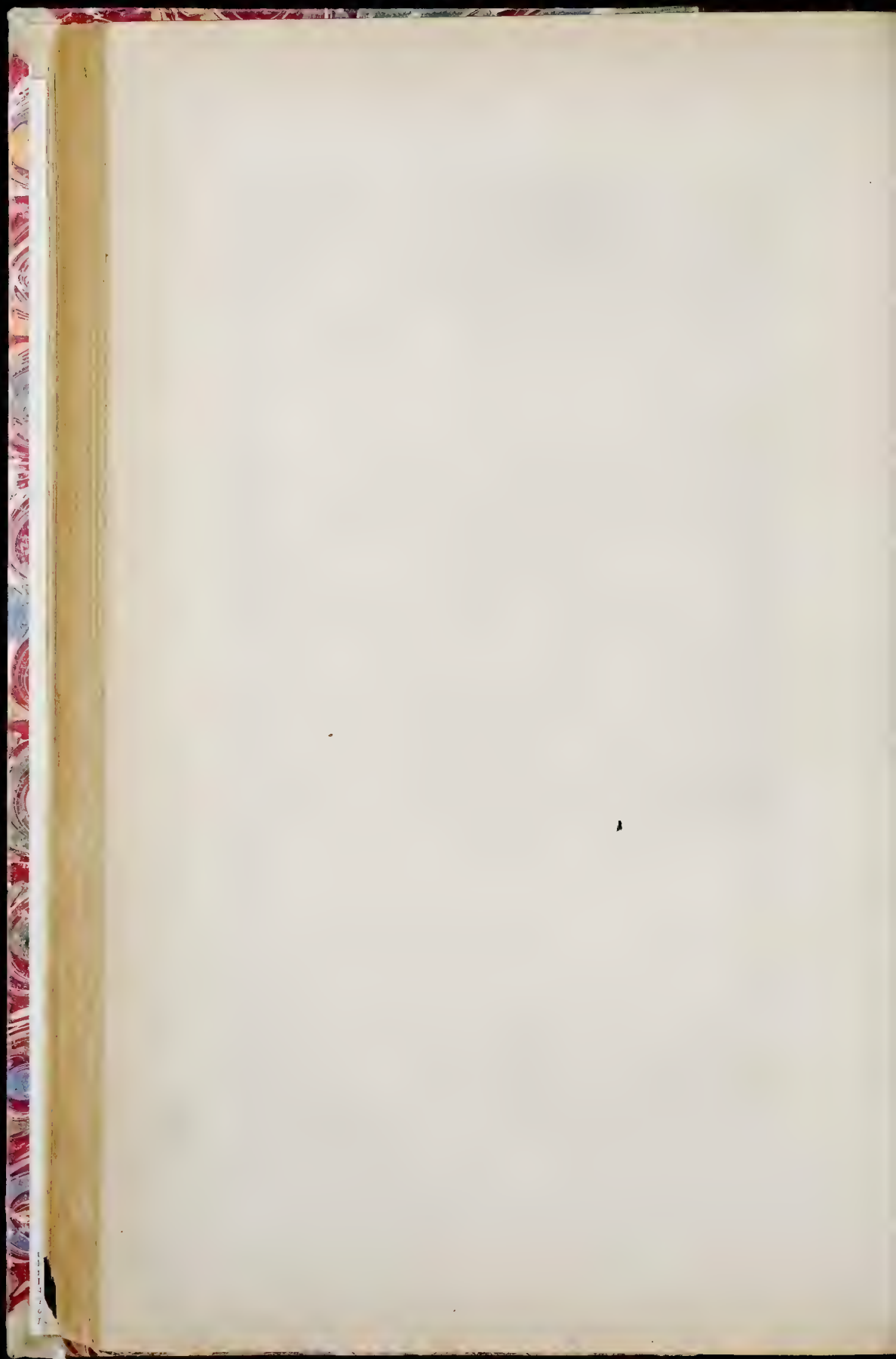




L. P. - Bostant - Sculpt







D I A L. XII.

Of the Planets; Times, and Seasons.

ON their return to the same temple in the afternoon, Polymetis took up a drawing that lay on the table; and after considering it a little, This (says he) will give you the figures of all the planets, under their personal characters; as you saw those of the constellations, in the morning. It was copied from a collection of drawings, from gems; made by a German nobleman, now residing at Florence: and the fullest collection, I believe, of the kind, that ever was made. This, in particular, is a very great curiosity; and may very well deserve your observation. In the outer round here, you see, we have the seven planets, according to the antient system; (that is, the sun as one of them, instead of the earth :) in the next round, are the twelve signs of the Zodiac: and in the center, is a person sitting, and playing on two pipes. This musical person, I suppose, is placed there to signify the regularity, and due proportions, in which all the heavenly bodies take their courses; or in other words, the harmony of the universe. This is what we vulgarly talk of, by the name of the Music of the spheres; without having any thing of that true and noble idea, that really belongs to it. The antients, (as high, at least, as Pythagoras's time,) had a notion of the distances of the planets being measured out, in a very regular proportion; as regular, as the (1) notes of music. How far these guesses of Pythagoras, or of his predecessors in philosophy, may bear a resemblance to the discovery of Kepler and the demonstrations of Sir Isaac Newton, in relation to the entire harmony that there is between the revolutions and distances of each of the planets, it is not our business here at all to enquire: all I have to do with the planets being to consider how they were represented by the antients, under personal characters. As to that, in the drawing before us, they are all, you see, in a sort of chariots. That of Saturn, is drawn by two serpents; that of Jupiter, by two eagles; Mars by two horses, and Sol by four. Venus is drawn by her two doves; Mercury, by two cocks; and Luna, by two stags. Five of these are very rarely represented by the artists, or spoken of by the poets, in their planetary characters; but Sol and Luna, (which make the noblest appearance in the heavens, and are the most considerable in regard to our globe,) are common enough in both. I never saw all of them together, but in the Florentine drawing. What a treasure would it be for the same gentleman, could he add the seven rings of Apollonius Thyaneus to his collection? which seem to have had the seven planets represented on them; and which, (we are told,) Apollonius used to wear (2) each, one day every week; according to the particular planet, that gave its name to the day.

PL. XXVI.
FIG. 1.

THE most remote of the planets, Saturn, was supposed to have been the first master of the universe; and some of the old poets call him, the (3) greatest of all the gods. Jupiter drove him (4) out of the highest heavens; and it is therefore that you did not meet with him,

(1) Pythagoras—ex musica ratione appellat tonum, quantum abijt à Terrâ Luna. Ab eâ ad Mercurium, spatij ejus dimidium: ab eo ad Venerem, fere tantundem: à quâ ad Solem, sesquiplum: à Sole ad Martem, tonum; (id est, quantum ad Lunam à terrâ:) ab eo ad Jovem, dimidium: & inde sesquiplum, ad Signiferum. Ita septem tonos efficit, quam diapason harmoniam vocant; hoc est, universitatem concentûs. In eâ Saturnum, Dorio moveri; Mercurium phthongo; Jovem Phrygio; & in reliquis familiâ. Pliny, Lib. 2. Cap. 22.

(2) Φινει δὲ ὁ Δαμῖος ἐν δακτυλῶνι ἑπτὰ τοὺς Ἰσάρχων τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίου δυνάμεις, τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπονομασθεῖσιν ὁσέων ἡ

φορὰν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων κατὰ ἑκάστην τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν. Philostratus, Lib. 3. Cap. 41.

(3) O genitor noster, Saturne, maxime Divum! Ennius.

(4) Sæpe aliquis folio quod tu, Saturne, tenebas Ausus de mediâ plebe federe Deus. Ovid. Fast. 5. v. 20. Saturnus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat. Id. Ibid. 3. v. 796.

Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato, Victori laudes concinuisse Jovi. Tibullus. Lib. 2. El. 5. v. 10.

him, in my first temple, among the Great Celestial Deities. I do not know that the Roman writers ever describe him, as driving a chariot: but what they say of his feet being usually (5) in fetters, may possibly have some relation to his planetary character (6); and to the slowness of his motion in the heavens. For he is longer, you know, in making his revolution, than any other of the planets; and above three hundred times as long as one of them. If you have a mind to see what sort of a figure he makes in shackles, you may consider that statue of him there by the door. You see he is very (7) old, and decrepid, as well as chained; and appears, in all respects, like one that must go on extremely slowly.

Pl. XXVI.
Fig. 2.

SATURN was usually represented, either with a pruning hook (8), or scythe in his hand. This relates to a piece of the Roman history, in their fabulous age: for they had one too as well as the Grecians; and perhaps it may reach much farther down towards us, than has been usually imagined. They pretended that Saturn, when he was dethroned by Jupiter, took refuge in Italy; and that he introduced several parts of agriculture there; particularly, the art of pruning, and managing their vines.

ANOTHER character of Saturn among the antients, (for I would willingly consider all his characters together, tho' this comes a little before its proper place,) was that of presiding over Time; with which the name given him by the Greeks more particularly agrees. It is on the account of this character of his, that Cicero thinks he was (9) represented in fetters. I take this figure, in particular, to relate to Saturn as the god of Time; because he has wings to his shoulders in it, as well as shackles to his feet; which may signify both the swiftness, and slowness of time: for time has the same sort of contrariety in its character; and seems either swift, or slow to each man, according to the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the ideas, that his mind is employed about. Our modern painters seem to have borrowed their idea of Time, from the ancient figures of Saturn: only perhaps, they have turned his pruning-hook into a scythe; or the particular sort of scythe, which he rests on in this figure, into a common one.

JUPITER, as the intelligence presiding over a single planet, is represented only in a chariot and a pair; on all other occasions, if represented in a chariot, he is always drawn by

(5) Vetus opinio Græciam opplevit, vinculum Saturnum à filio Jove. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 39. Ed. Ald.—So Minutius Felix, speaking of the representations of the Roman deities, says: Pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan unguatis, Saturnus compeditis. Cap. 21. p. 108.

They unfettered his statues on his great feast, the Saturnalia; about the time of our Christmas:

Saturnus mihi compede exolutus,
Et multo madidus mero December,
Et ridens Jocus, & Sales protervi,
Adiunt.

Stacius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. §. 7.

(6) Ου μὲν γὰρ τῶν Κρονὸν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰδέναι, καὶ ἐς Τάρταρον ἵεναι—ἀλλὰ φερέται γὰρ ὁ Κρονὸς τῇ εἰσῷ φερῇ, πολλὸν αὖτ' ἡμῶν: καὶ οἱ νῦν δὲ κινῶσι, καὶ κ' εἰδὼς πῶς ἀνθρώποις ἐρακεῖται. Διὸ δὲ μὴ ἔσται λεγέσθαι, ὅπως πεπεδημένον τὸ θεὸν καὶ πολλὸν τῶν περὶ Τάρταρον καλεῖται. Lucian. Tom. 1. p. 853. Ed. Blacoe.

(7) Saturnusque senex, Janique bifrontis imago.

Virgil. Æn. 7. §. 180.

(8) — Priusquam
Sumeret agrestem posito diadematæ falcem
Saturnus fugiens.

Juvenal. Sat. 13. §. 39.

6

— Curvo Saturni dente relisam
Prosequitur vitem.

Virgil. Georg. 2. §. 407.
Hence Ovid calls Saturn, Deus Falcis. Fast. 1. §. 234. And St. Cyprian says of the same deity, Rusticitatis hic cultor fuit: inde ferens falcem pingitur. Tract. 4. de Idoli. Vanitate.

The Roman authors call these two attributes of Saturn, indifferently, by the name of Falx; which is a very equivocal word; and seems to have signified any crooked sort of instrument whatever. Their writers on agriculture in particular, make use of it for a pruning-hook, bill, or sickle; Cæsar, in his Commentaries, for a crooked instrument of war; the poets, for the Harpe, or crooked sword of Mercury; and many of their authors, for a scythe: particularly Propertius, in the following passage; where he is speaking of Vertumnus, and the different characters that god used to take upon him:

Da falcem, & torto frontem mihi comprime frizno;
Jurabis nostrâ graminis secta manu.

Lib. 4. El. 2. §. 26.

(9) By Saturn, says Cicero, the Greeks understood Time; and therefore called him Χρονος:—vinculus est autem à Jove, ne immoderatos cursus haberet; atque ut eum fyderum vinculis alligaret. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 39. Ed. Ald.

by four horses. It is possible, that the poets might look on this planetary character of his as derogatory to his honour; for there is not any one of them, I believe, who speaks of Jupiter, as drawn only by two horses; and indeed they very seldom say any thing of his presiding over a planet, at all. Perhaps they looked upon it as a prophane thing; and as demeaning Jupiter too much, to consider him in a view, in which he must evidently appear inferior to Sol.

It is otherwise as to Mars. The poets speak distinctly of him as guiding a planet; and of his being (10) drawn by two horses. His appearance under this character is represented by them, much like his appearance as the god of war. They speak of his star, as red and fiery; and of the god himself, as impetuous in his course. Venus is as mild, as the former is outrageous; and is drawn here, by doves: as she is represented too, most commonly (11), by the poets; in their descriptions of this goddess.

As the star of Venus had such a variety of (12) names and offices assigned to it, so there is a great deal of difference in the manners of representing it: so great, that it is sometimes represented even under the figure of a male, as well as that of a female. When considered as a planet, it is directed by Venus, in her chariot drawn by doves. But when it is considered as the morning, or the evening-star, it is directed by a boy or young man: who is sometimes called Lucifer, under both those characters; but more generally Lucifer (13) for the former, and Hesperus (14) for the latter. Others do not change the name, but satisfy themselves with (15) changing his horse; and giving him a white one for the morning, and a dark one for the evening. Tho' the poets mark the beauty of Lucifer, and call him (16) the brightest of all the host of heaven; yet they represent him as with a (17) gloomy aspect, on melancholy occasions. His office, was to (18) call Aurora; and he had the privilege of leaving the heavens the last of all the stars. From the poets being so particular in their descriptions of Lucifer, I doubt not but that the antient artists, and particularly the painters, represented him under all his characters as occasion served; tho' I have never yet met with him on either of his horses, that I remember, in any antique. Where I have seen him, he is always represented as a youth; (19) either before the chariot of the Sun, with a torch, as Lucifer; or before the chariot of the moon, without a torch, as Hesperus.

LUCAN,

(10) Jamque duæ noctes restant de mense secundo,
Marique citos junctis curribus urget equos.
Ovid. Fast. 2. 5. 856.

Mutato nocturnus equo: nec conscia fallit
Sidera; & alterno deprenditur unus in ortu.
Statius. Theb. 6. 5. 241.

(11) Per—leves auras, junctis invecia columbis.
Ovid. Met. 14. 5. 598.
—— Tum maximus heros
Maternas agnoscit aves. ———
Virgil. Æn. 6. 5. 193. (of two doves.)

(16) Lucifero genitore fatus; patriumque nitorem
Ore ferens Ceyx. ——— Ovid. Met. 11. 5. 272.
—— Cælo nitidissimus alto
Lucifer. ——— Ovid. Lib. 2. El. 11. 5. 56.

(12) This single star has four names among us, at present; and had almost twice as many, among the Romans of old. They called it, Venus; Phosphorus, Lucifer; Hesperus, Vesperus; Vesper, and Vesperugo. These names are all reducible to its three characters; as a planet, or as the morning and evening star.

(17) Lucifer obscurus, nec quem cognoscere posses,
Illâ nocte fuit. ——— Ovid. Met. 11. 5. 571.
Cæculus & vultum ferrugine Lucifer atrâ
Sparfus erat. ———
(Before Julius Cæsar's death) Id. Ibid. 15. 5. 790.

(13) ——— Cumque albo Lucifer exit
Clarus equo. ——— Ovid. Met. 15. 5. 190.

(18) ——— Dum Lucifer ignes
Evpctet Auroræ: ——— Ovid. Met. 4. 5. 629.
—— Dædalion, illo genitore creatus,
Qui vocat Auroram, cæloque novissimus exit.
Id. Ibid. 11. 5. 296.

(14) Hesperus & fuscis roscidis ibat equo.
Ovid. Fast. 2. 5. 312.

(15) Roscida jam novies cælo demiserat alba
Lucifer; & totidem Lunæ prævenerat ignes,

(19) See Pl. 26. Fig. 3, and 4.
B b b

LUCAN, in speaking of Mercury as the guiding intelligence of a planet, marks the (20) swiftness of his motion. I have observed, on a former occasion, that the make of Mercury in general, seemed to be all designed for lightness and dispatch. Perhaps, the ancients first borrowed this idea of Mercury from his planetary character; as they represented Saturn, the slowest of all the planets, chained and creeping on with difficulty. It is common to meet with Mercury in other antiques, as well as this, drawn by two cocks; which birds seem to have been assigned to him, because they were looked upon of old, as the mark of vigilance and alertness.

DIANA had different offices, you know, thro' almost all parts of the universe; in the heavens, upon earth, and in hell. It is she who is the intelligence you see represented here in her car, as directing the planet of the moon. Her figure under this character is frequently enough to be met with on reliefs, gems, and medals: on which she generally appears with a lunar (21) crown, or crescent, on her forehead: and is sometimes represented as drawn by stags; and sometimes by does: but more commonly than either, by horses. The poets speak (22) of her chariot, and her horses; they agree with the artists, in giving her but two; and shew that the painters of old, probably, drew them of a perfect white colour. There is a gem in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence, in which this goddess is drawn by two heifers; a particular that I do not remember to have been taken notice of by any one of the Roman poets, of the good ages.

It was this Diana, (or the intelligence, that was supposed to preside over the moon,) who was fabled to fall in love with Endymion; and if we consider the occasion of her love for him, according to the accounts the ancients give of that fable, it may appear perhaps to have been only a philosophical amour, or what we call Platonic love: and so may not interfere with this goddess's general character of chastity. However that be, the story is very common, in particular on old Sarcophagus's; and we see her on them; descending to a shepherd asleep, with a veil over her head: a particular, from which a line in (23) Valerius Flaccus, (that possibly has been sometimes thought obscure,) becomes not only very clear, but very descriptive too of her appearance. There is some reason to think, that this fable might have been meant originally of the (24) eclipses of the moon: and if it was so, her veil would be the most significant part of her dress, on this occasion.

APOLLO,

(20) — Summo si frigida cœlo
Stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes;
Deucalionis fudit Aquarius imbres,
Totaque diffuso latuisset in æquore tellus:
Si sævum radiis Nemenum, Phæbe, leonem
Nunc premeres; toto fluerent incendia mundo,
Succensuque suis flagrasset curribus æther.
Illi cessant ignes. Tu qui flagrante minacem
Scorpion incendis caudâ Chelæque peruris,
Quid tantum, Gradiæ, paras? Nam mitis in alto
Jupiter occasu premitur; Venerisque salubre
Sidus hebet; motuque celer Cyllenius heret;
Et cœlum Mars solus habet. —
Lucan. Pharf. 1. 5. 663.

(21) — Sideræ torta corona dem.
Propertius. Lib. 3. El. 20. 5. 13.
Hence Horace calls her: Siderum Regina bicornis.
Carm. Sec. 5. 35.

(22) Jamque per emeriti surgens consinia Phœbi
Titanis, latè mundo subvecta silenti
Roriferâ gelidum tenuaverat æra bigâ.
Statius. Theb. 1. 5. 338.
— Quæ cava cœli signitænentibus
Conscis bigis. —

Ennius, in Androm.

Sol quoque cum stellis, nullâ gravitate retentus:
Et vos, Lunares exsiluistis equi.

Ovid. Fast. 5. 5. 16.

Postera cum cœlo motis Pallantias astris
Fulserit; & niveos Luna levarit equos.

Id. Ibid. 4. 5. 372.

Ut solet, æquoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas;
Ut solet, in niveis Luna vehetur equis.

Id. Rem. Am. 1. 5. 258.

(23) Qualis adhuc sparvis comitum per lustrâ catervis,
Latius æstivâ retidet venator in umbrâ,
Dignus amore dæ; velatis cornibus & jam
Luna venit: roseo talis per nubila ductor
Implet honore nemus; talemque expectat amantem.
Flaccus. Argon. 8. 5. 31.

(24) Catullus, where he is commending Canon, the famous astronomer, says; that he knew the reasons of the eclipses of the sun; why stars are sometimes lost; and why the moon sometimes disappears in the midst of her course.

Flammeus ut rapidi Solis nitor obscuraret;
Ut cedant certis sidera temporibus;
Ut Triviam fartim sub Latmia faxa relegans
Dulcis amor gyro devocet æthero.

De comâ Ber. 64. 5. 6.

APOLLO, or rather Sol, (for that is the personal name which is most proper for him, as the intelligence of a planet,) is distinguished above all the rest of the planets, by his having a chariot and four, assigned to him; and the poets indeed speak of him more, than of all the rest put together. They are very distinct, and very full, as to every thing relating to his person; and to the course he was supposed to make daily, in the heavens. They describe his (25) face as shining; and mark that particular brightness (26) beaming from his eyes, which I have (27) formerly had occasion to mention to you. They often speak of the (28) Corona radiata, (or crown of twelve rays,) on his head. They represent him, as (29) standing in his chariot; sometimes (30) with a whip, and sometimes with a flambeau in his hand; as we find him represented with each, by the ancient sculptors. In their works he is for the most part naked; so that I am apt to suspect that the fine drefs which Flaccus assigns to this deity, in one of his descriptions of him, may be only an effect of the sporting of his own imagination. He gives him a Loricæ, or coat of mail (31), with the figures of the Zodiac wrought upon it; and tied round him, with a rainbow instead of a sash. It is true, Flaccus might copy this from some ancient painting: for which such an idea might be fitter, than for the works of the sculptors.

THE poets make frequent mention (32) of his chariot: and one may learn from them how (33) small it was; as you see it, in effect, always represented in the works of the ancient artists. The harness seems to have been rose-coloured; and studded with precious stones: and the chariot itself, chiefly of gold.

THEY

(25) Concutiens illustre caput. ———
(after laying aside his crown of rays.) Ovid. Met. 2. 5. 50.
In veram rediit faciem, solitumque nitorem.
Id. Ibid. 5. 231.

(26) ——— Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,
Forma colorque tibi, radiataque lumina profunt?
Id. Ib. 4. 5. 195.

(27) See p. 85, anteh.

(28) ——— Radiis frontem vallatus acutis.
Ovid. Ep. 4. 5. 159. (Phædra, Hip.)
Cui tempora circum
Aurati his fex radii fulgentia cingent;
Solis avi specimen. ———
Virgil. Æn. 12. 5. 164. (of Latinus.)
Deposuit radios ———
Ovid. Met. 2. 5. 41.
Per solis radios, Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat.
Juvenal. Sat. 13. 5. 78.
O decus mundi, radiate Titan!
Herc. Cœt. Act. 4. Chor.
Statius calls this crown of rays, Radiantem arcum.
Theb. 1. 5. 28.

(29) Cum tamen altus equis Titan radiantibus inflat.
Ovid. Ep. 8. 5. 105. (Herm. Or.)
So the same poet, of Phaeton:
Statque super; manibusque datas contingere habenas
Gaudet. ———
Met. 2. 5. 152.

——— Rapi ipse nitentes
Altus equos. ———
Val. Flaccus. (of Sol,) 5. 5. 414.

(30) ——— Stimuloque domans & verberare sœvit.
Ovid. Met. 2. 5. 399.
Exiit implicitum tenebris humentibus orbem
Oceano prolata dies; genitorque coruscæ

Lucis adhuc hebetem vicinâ nocte levabat,
Et nondum excusso rorantem lampada ponto.
Statius. Achil. 2. 5. 283.

(31) ——— Sol auricomus, cingentibus Horis,
Multifidum jubar & bisseño fidere textam
Loricam induit. Ligat hanc qui nubila contra
Bateus uodantem variat mortalibus arcum.
Val. Flaccus. 4. 5. 7;

(32) Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis & celas. ———
Horat. Carm. Sæc. 5. 10.
Jamque novum terris pariebat lumine primo
Egrediens Aurora diem: stabulifque subibant
Ad juga Solis equi; necdum ipse adscendat axem,
Sed prorupturis rutilabant æquora flammis.
Sil. Ital. 16. 5. 232.

Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 6. 5. 44.
——— Ad altos
Deducit juvenem, Vulcania munera, currus.
Aureus axis erat, temo aureus; aurea summe
Curvatura rotæ: radiorum argenteus ordo:
Per juga chrysolithi, positæque ex ordine gemmæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. 5. 110.

(33) Solverat Hesperii devexo margine ponti
Flagrantes Sol pronus equos; rutilamque lavabat
Oceanî sub fronte comam: cui turba profundi
Nereos, & rapidis occurrunt passibus Horæ.
Frænæque, & auratæ textum sublimè coronæ
Deripiunt: laxant roseis humentia loris
Pectora: pars meritis vertunt ad molle jugales
Gramen; & erecto currum temone supinant.
Statius. Theb. 3. 5. 414.

Pl. XXVI.
FIG. 4.

THEY are as distinct about his horses. They tell us the number (34), and, the names of them. Their (35) colour too is mentioned; but in words so general, or so little understood at present, (as indeed most of the Latin names for colours are very apt to be mistaken by us,) that I would not be positive, what colour they were painted of. His horses are described, as (36) full of life and fire: as (37) breathing quick, in their course; and as reeking, after it. His course they speak of, as lying between two (38) Metæ, or fixed points; the first half of it, all (39) up-hill, (as you see him in this drawing in particular;) and the other, all (40) down-hill. He sets out from the eastern (41) sea; and drives into (42) the western: where they generally supposed him to be received, for the nights, in the (43) palace of Oceanus. We at present cannot so well have an idea of his driving his chariot thus along the air; but it was an imagination commonly received among the ancients, that there was a great transparent arch in the heavens, (of crystal, or what you please,) over which he took his stated journey each day. This arch they so far supposed to be real and solid, that they talk of the tracks worn by his chariot-wheels on it; as if they were as plain and (44) visible, as any great road is upon our earth.

THE representations of Sol taking this journey, are almost as frequent in the works of the ancient artists, as the descriptions of it are in the poets; and agree entirely with them. You see him in them either labouring up a steep hill; or descending easily down it. Sometimes, you have the Zodiac represented over him: which falls in usually with the head of the deity; and I imagine that the point, where it falls in, is often chose with design: to mark the time of some action, or event, figured under it. It was for

(34) ——— Pyrois, & Eous, & Æthon,
Solis equi; quatuorque Phlegon. ———
Ovid. Met. 2. §. 154.

Ardua prima via est, & quæ vix mane recentes
Enitantur equi ———
Ovid. Met. 2. §. 64.

(35) ——— Nitentes equos.
Flaccus. 5. §. 413.
Gemmae purpureis cum juga demet equis.
Ovid. Fast. 2. §. 72.
Carmina sanguine deducunt cornua Lunæ,
Et revocent niveos Solis euntis equos.
Id. Lib. 2. El. 1. §. 24.

(40) Jam labor exiguus Phæbo refabat: equique
Pulsabant pedibus spatium declivis Olympi.
Ovid. Met. 6. §. 487.
Frangebat radios humili jam pronus Olympo
Phæbus; & Oceani penetrabile litus anhelis
Promittebat equis. ———
Statius. Achil. 2. §. 17.
Pronus erat Titan: inclinatioque tenebat
Hesperium temone fretum. ———
Ovid. Met. 11. §. 258.

What idea the Romans meant by the word *purpureus*, is not at all settled with us. They use that epithet of Fire, of Swans, and of Snow; so that *nivei* and *purpurei* here, may not differ so much, as they may seem to do at first.

(41) ——— Cum primùm alto se gurgite tollunt
Solis equi, lucemque elatis naribus efflant.
Virgil. Æn. 12. §. 115.

(36) Nec tibi quadrupes animosus ignibus illis
Quos in pectore habent, quos ore & naribus efflant,
In promptu regere est: vix me patiuntur, ut acres
Incaluere animi, cervixque repugnat habenis.
Ovid. Met. 2. §. 87.

(42) Deseret ante dies, & in alto Phæbus anhelos
Æquore tinget equos. ———
Ovid. Met. 15. §. 419.
Ni roseus fessos jam gurgite Phæbus libero
Tingat equos, noctemque die labente reducat.
Virgil. Æn. 11. §. 914.

He speaks of them again as breathing fire, *ib. §. 120.* in the same manner as Virgil describes his war-horse:

Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.
Georg. 3. §. 85.

(37) Convertit, Titan clare, anhelantes equos.
Herc. Oct. Act. 4. Sc. 1. §. 1.

(38) ——— Donec Sol annuus omnes
Conficere metas, ———
Statius. Achil. 1. §. 456.

(39) Sextus ubi e terrâ clivum scandet Olympum
Phæbus. ———
Ovid. Fast. 4. §. 372.
Nec cum in vestus equis altum petit æthera; nec cum
Præcipitem Oceani rubro lavit æquore currum.
6 Virgil. Georg. 3. §. 360.

(43) Statius calls this, *Domus Oceani*, Theb. 8. 273. and describes the reception of Sol in it; *ib. §. 407, &c.* as quoted Note 33, anteh.—One might form some idea of it, from Virgil's description of the palace of Cyrene, under water; in his 4th Georgic: or the grotto of the water-nymphs, in his first Æneid, §. 166.

(44) Nec tibi directos placeat via quinque per arcus;
Sectus in obliquum vasto curvamine limes:
Zonarumque trium contentus sine, polumque
Effugio Australem, junctamque Aquilonibus
Ardon.
Hæc fit iter. Manifesta rote vestigia cernes.
Ovid. Met. 2. §. 133.

for example, a very common compliment to their emperors, to place them in the Zodiac, and even in the chariot of Sol himself; and in some of the figures of this kind, I suppose they might mark out the time of the year when such an emperor died, by the particular part of the Zodiac with which they made him coincide. But this may be a good deal imaginary; and I mention it only as such. Where Phœbus's own head in any of these figures falls in with such a sign of the Zodiac, that probably was meant to mark out the (45) time of year: for that, in the language of the statuary, (which I have had so frequent occasion of mentioning to you,) is saying just the same, as when we say the sun is in Aries or Libra.

WHAT I have said may suffice as to the planets; and the two principal ones among them of old, the Sun and Moon: we will now, if you please, consider the Times and Seasons, which are directed and measured by them.

WHAT may seem a little strange to you is, that all the parts of duration, (from the very greatest, to almost the very least,) were represented as persons, by the artists of old; and spoken of personally, by the poets. If it was so, (says Mysagetes,) Eternity, I suppose, must have appeared as a vast giant; and a Minute much less than a pigmy. I do not say how little, or how great they were, answered Polymetis; I only say that they were all considered as persons. We at present are got very well acquainted with the Hours as persons; from a single picture of Guido: and, among the antients, not only the figures of the Hours, but those of the Morning and Evening;—of the Day, and of the Night;—of each Month;—of every Quarter of the Year;—of the Year itself;—of the four Stages of man's life;—of their Sæcula, or Centuries of years;—of the great Platonic Year;—of Time, in general; and of boundless Time, or Eternity; were probably, all much better, and more familiarly known, than the figures of the Hours are with us. The appearance, which several of them made, is still to be learned from the antiques that remain to us; and they are generally spoken of by the poets in a personal manner. I have got a few antiques, (or copies of antiques,) representing some of these beings, so little known among us: and have placed them in this temple, as they are a sort of lesser divinities, that attended on Sol; and seem to have been considered, and even placed (46) much in the same manner, by the antients themselves.

ON this medal, if you will please to regard it a little, you will see the figure of Eternity carrying the wife of that good emperor Marcus Aurelius up to heaven; on which occasion, she holds a lighted flambeau in her hand. Eternity appears just in the same manner, on a fine relievo (47) which belonged to the triumphal arch that stood formerly on part of the Corso, at Rome; and which was placed in the Capitol, when that arch was taken down. There is another very remarkable relievo, relating to the same subject; that on the base of Marcus Aurelius's column: which as you may remember, when we were at Rome, used to lie under a shed on Monte Citorio; but has been lately placed before that palace, by the order of the present Pope: who did not cease to keep a kindly eye on the more pleasing arts, even whilst the alarms of war were heard every day, all around the neighbourhood of Rome. In this relievo (48), there is one thing that is particular;

pl. xxviii.
fig. 1.

(45) This might mark out not only the month, but the particular part of the month; according to what part of any particular sign he is made to coincide with: so that these figures might express the time, as minutely as Ovid does, when he says:

Cum Sol Herculei terga Leonis adit.

De Art. Am. 1. §. 68.

Or,

Virginis ætheris cum caput ardet equis.

Ib. 3. §. 388.

(46)

—Purpureâ velatus veste sedebat
In folio Phœbus, claris lucente smaragdīs.

A dextrâ lævâque, Dies, & Mensis, & Annus,
Sæculaque; & postæ spatii æqualibus Horæ;
Verque novum stabat, cinctum florente coronâ;
Stabat nuda Æstas, & spicæ ferta gerebat;
Stabat & Autumnus, calcatis fœdibus uvis;
Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirsuta capillos.

Ovid. Met. 2. §. 30.

(47) See Col. Ant. Tav. 1. sub fin.

(48) See Ibid. Tav. 2.

ticular; tho' not without example. Eternity is represented as a male on it. It is a very noble figure; naked, and with his wings finely expanded. In his left hand, he holds a globe of the heavens; with a serpent winding itself about it: a very old, and very significant, emblem of eternity; especially when it had its tail brought round to its mouth: (a thing, frequent in antiques; whether Roman, Greek, or Egyptian.) His eyes are lifted up toward the heavens, whither he is carrying Marcus Aurelius and his consort: and on each side of them appears an eagle, as flying toward the east; the common symbol of deification, among the Romans. At the bottom on the right hand, is the Genius of the city of Rome, looking upwards; and holding up her hand, either as admiring or (49) praying: and on the left, is what I take to be (50) the Genius of Monte Citorio; more reclined, and resting his hand against an obelisk with a round ball on the top of it. The whole is finely imagined, and very well executed; and deserved to be distinguished by the regards of a prince, who seems thoroughly inclined to take the arts under his protection.

THERE are several other ways of representing Eternity, used by the old artists, beside those I have mentioned. Sometimes she has the head of Sol in one hand, and of Luna in the other; which seems to answer the scripture expression; "As long as the sun and moon endureth:" and sometimes she is sitting on a globe, which may possibly allude to the heathen notions of the eternity of the world. Sometimes she is represented by an elephant, or in a chariot drawn by elephants; as a very long-lived creature. Sometimes by a phoenix, or with a phoenix; as continually renewed, and reviving after each course of ages: and sometimes they give her two faces, like Janus; to signify that she looks as far backward as forward. I have seen her too with a veil over her face; to shew that she is impenetrable and inscrutable to us: and I question whether she be not meant in a gem (51), published by Maffei; where you see a fine naked, winged figure, endeavouring to lift up another which has its feet chained to a globe. This may signify, that eternity, (or the thoughts of eternity,) are the fittest to free the soul; and to elevate it, above all its low attachments to the things of this world.

WAS not the subject so great, and so concerning, you might think perhaps that I have dwelt too long on the various representations of this imaginary being among the antients; especially as I have nothing from the Roman poets of the better ages, to confront with them. Whether it may be occasioned by the unfitness of her name for the most common Latin verse, or for any other reason, I know not; but if you were to put me to it, I could not produce any one passage from them, in which they speak personally of her. Unless, (which might possibly be the case,) they meant this goddess under the name of Hebe; the idea of whom, among the Romans, seems to have been much the same (52) with

(49) She holds the palm of her hand open, towards heaven. This was an attitude used by the Romans of old, when they prayed; and is used among the Africans to this day. There are several passages, in the old Roman writers, relating to this; but it may be sufficient to quote two or three only, from Virgil.

— Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas

Æn. 1. *l.* 93. (of Æneas, praying.)

— Cælo palmas cum voce tendit.

l. 2. *l.* 688. (of Anchises.)

Ad cælum tendens ardentia lumina frustra:

Lumina; nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.

Ibid. *l.* 406. (of Cassandra.)

(50) The Genius's of mountains are generally represented either sitting, or leaning, on a little rock or rising ground. What I take to be the Genius of Monte Citorio, is thus represented on this relief: and the obelisk, standing near its feet, answers Pliny's account of the famous obelisk, which stood near the bottom of this hill of old: and which still lies there; tho' mostly under ground. Pliny mentions the

round ball on the top of it; *Lib.* 36. *Cap.* 10. a thing, necessary for the particular use this obelisk was applied to; and I should think improper for any obelisk, not put to such a use: which, perhaps, no other obelisk in the world ever was. So that this seems to be one of the most distinguishing characteristics of a place, or figure, that one can possibly meet with, in all antiquity.

(51) *Vol.* III. *Pl.* 20.

(52) *Æsra* tenes: *hausumque tibi succincta beati*
Nectaris, excluso melior Phryge, porrigit Hebe.
Statius. *Lib.* 3. *Sylv.* 1. *l.* 27.

— *Nectar*

Det mihi formosa nava Juventa manu.

Ovid. *ex Pont.* *Lib.* 2. *Ep.* 10. *l.* 12

Poetae—*nectar, ambrosiam, epulas comparant: et, aut Juventutem, aut Ganymedem, pocula ministrantem.* *Cicero.* *de Nat. Deor.* *Lib.* 1. *p.* 24. *Ed.* Ald.

with that of Eternal Youth; or, an immortality of bliss: agreeably to which, she is represented on a gem (53), in the Great Duke's collection at Florence, with a young airy look; and drinking out of a little bowl: or, (according to our Milton's expression,) "quaffing immortality and joy."

THE Magnus Annus, or great Platonic Year, is represented personally, on the reverse of a medal of Adrian. This was a period of several thousand years; (above four times as much (54), as the age of the world at present;) when all the heavenly bodies would be just in the same situation again, that they were in at the creation of the world; and when the antients believed, that all things on earth would of course have the same face, as they had then. The consequence of this would be, a restoration of the golden age; and therefore, when the Roman poets had a mind to compliment any of their emperors most highly, they said, "The great period would be completed under their reign." This Evolution of so many ages is represented with some of the attributes of Eternity itself. He appears with a fine look, and long loose robe about him. He holds his right hand upwards; and has the globe and phœnix, in his left. His whole figure is inclosed by an oval ring, to shew the great round of time over which he presides: had it been a complete circle, it would have been too equivocal; and indeed rather fitter for Eternity, than the Magnus Annus. The inscription of *Temporum Restauratio*, so frequent on medals; and that of *Sæculum Aureum*, on this; had much the same meaning with the fine compliments in Virgil's famous Eclogue to Pollio: of which I have now and then entertained some (55) conjectures, which would be too tedious, and too ill grounded, to be offered to you.

PL. XXVII.
FIG. 2.

THE Magnus Annus included several *Sæcula*, or Centuries, in it. These too seem to have been represented distinctly as persons, among the antients; and are mentioned sometimes personally by their poets; and particularly by Ovid (56): tho' I do not know that I have ever met with any representation of them.

THE

(53) Mus. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 39. Fig. 9.

(54) The great Platonic year is that period of time, in which all the stars and constellations return to their former places, with regard to the equinoxes. This period, according to Cassini, is 24800 years: according to Tycho Brahe, 25816: and according to Riccioli, 25920: the shortest of which computations exceeds the time mentioned above.

(55) The notion of a renovation of the world, after a certain period of time, was common among the ancient philosophers. This notion they seem to have had from some tradition, rather than from reasoning; because all of them, (and the Stoics and Platonists in particular,) asserted it always roundly, without giving any arguments for it. (See Burnet's Theory, Book 4. Chap. 3.)

However founded, it was commonly received by the Romans. The poets in their writings, and the senate itself on the medals struck by their order, often complimented such or such an emperor by saying that this restoration of the world, or the return of the golden age, would happen in their time; or under their auspicious influence.

This compliment so frequently used to emperors, seems too high to be used to any but an emperor; or one of the imperial family, at least. I therefore imagine Virgil's famous Eclogue, (which turns wholly on this sort of compliment,) to have been wrote by him in honour of Augustus; on his family's being increased, and strengthened, by the birth of a young prince in it.

The time when this young prince was born, must have been toward the beginning, or at least not considerably before the year 713. V. C. or the year of Pollio's consulate.

I long imagined, that if Marcellus was born about that time, this Eclogue might refer to his birth; and be meant as a compliment to Augustus, (the heir

of Julius,) and his heirs after him;—that the blessed state of mankind was to be restored by him, and his family;—and that this happiness was then actually commencing, under the consulate of Pollio.

That Marcellus was actually born about the very time in question, may be very clearly proved; in the following manner.

Velleius Paterculus in speaking of Marcellus's death, says that it was 50 years before the time of his writing his History. See his Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 93.

The time in which Paterculus wrote his History, (or, which is much the same, to which he usually refers in his dates,) was the Consulship of Vinicius; (See Ibid. Cap. 7, 36, & 130.) but exclusive of that year itself: (See Ib. Cap. 65.)

This Consulship of Vinicius was in the year 782. V. C. If therefore we take the 50 years at first mentioned by Paterculus from 781, it will give the year of Marcellus's death; 731, V. C.

Servius, (in his Note on *Æn.* 6. *l.* 862.) says that Marcellus was in his 18th year, when he died: which number taken from 731, gives the year of his birth; 713, V. C.

After all, this fine string of guess-work may only help to prove; "That a conjecture may be very probable, and yet very false." In the present case, I set out at first, (as I find some others have done,) on this mistake; that Pollio was a great friend to Augustus: but Mr. Lowth, in his incomparable *Treatise de sacrâ poetâ Hebræorum*, (a work which must do honour, not only to himself, but to the nation,) has since very distinctly and fully shewn; that, at the time when Virgil wrote this Eclogue, and for two or three years after, Pollio was attached to Antony, and opposed Augustus: which alone, I think with that most clear and excellent writer, must overthrow all the above conjectures; and all the seeming probability, that I long imagined to attend them. See Lowth's *Prælect.* p. 213. Note 2.

(56) See Note 46, antich.

PL. XXVII.
FIG. 3.

THE four different Ages, or Gradations of the life of man, I take to be represented in this drawing; from an antient piece of painting found at the Villa Corfini, near Rome. It is a thing of much curiosity; and seems to contain some of the greatest depths of the Platonic philosophy in it. Here, you see, is Tellus; in a reclined posture: and behind her, are four stalks of corn, growing gradually above one another; as I imagine, to symbolize the four ages of man; Infancy; Youth; Manhood; and Old-Age. Just by, you have the same represented as so many personages: the first, stooping toward Tellus; the second, with a shield and spear; the third, in a steady posture; and the fourth, bending a little downward. These are the figures for which, in particular, I introduced this drawing here; but there are others in it, which may very well deserve your observation. This person in the air, bending downward, and delivering a naked figure into the hands of Tellus, denotes the entrance of a soul into some elementary body; whether for the first time, or after many various transigrations, I shall not pretend to determine: but it is plainly delivered down to the Earth; and is to be clothed with some sort of body or other. This person sitting on the clouds toward the center, with a cup in her hand, and pointing upwards; may very well be that very Hebe, of whom I was speaking to you just now: and seems placed here to express the immortality of the soul. The Romans abounded in memorials of this kind, in their burying-places; and that common way of representing their departed friends on their sepulchres, as eating and drinking, had (I doubt not) a view to the same great doctrine: but this piece goes higher; and is more distinct: and it was for that reason, that I was very glad of an opportunity of getting it into my collection. As to the four personages, on whose account it is introduced here, I cannot say that the Roman poets of the better ages speak of them all personally. To say the truth, they seem commonly to have divided the life of man, rather into two ages, than four: Youth, which I think among the Romans was carried on so far as to five and forty; and Old-Age, which, (tho' I am sorry to say it,) may fairly enough claim all the rest: of both of these their poets (and more particularly, some of the Augustan age,) speak (57) in a manner, which plainly shews that they were received as personages and deities, in their religion.

THE Anni, (or Years,) are spoken of personally too by the poets: who ascribe a certain gliding (58) and silent motion to them; as they do indeed, to all this sort of beings in general. When their characters were introduced in their great processions, or on any other public occasion, the persons who acted their parts, probably endeavoured to express this in their way of walking. There are some expressions in the poets, which would make one apt to think, that Annus was sometimes represented with more dignity; and as moving along (silently, tho' swiftly,) (59) in a chariot.

NOT only the year itself, but the four different seasons it is usually divided into, were all represented as persons by the antients. I do not know that I have ever once met with any

(57) — Statuit—aras e cespite binas:
Dexteriore, Hecates; at levâ parte Juvenitæ.
Ovid. Met. 7. v. 241.
Jam venit tacito curva Senectus pede.
Id. Art. Am. Lib. 2. v. 670.
— Jam felicior ætas
Terga dedit; tremuloque gradu venit: gra Senectus,
Id. Met. 14. v. 143.
— Vetus Senectus. —

Hor. Epod. 8. v. 3.

I question whether Cicero in the age before, does not speak of the same personally, even in prose; where he says: Nonne modò pueros, modò adolescentes, in cursu à tergo insequens, nec opinantis, afflicta est Senectus? Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 1. p. 360. Ed. Blacq.

(58) — Eant Anni more fluentis aque.
Ovid, de Art. Am. 3. v. 62.

— Tacito—Tempora gressu
Diffugiunt; nulloque sono convertitur Annus.
Columella, de Cult. Hort. v. 160.

(59) Quo minus emeritis exiret curibus Annus,
Reclabant nitido jam duo signa deo.
Ovid. Fast. 3. v. 44.

— Vix Annus anbelat
Alter. — Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. v. 136.

Rota præcipitis vertitur Anni.
Herc. Fur. Act. 1. Chor.
— Celer admissis labitur Annus equis.

Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 8. v. 50.
This was so, in the old edition of Ovid I transferred from: tho' some later critics, (on not being able to understand it, I suppose,) have taken the liberty of changing annus, into annis; and equis, into aquis.

any figure of the former; but to make some amends, those of the latter are very frequent. You generally meet with them all together, on Sarcophagus's, medals, and gems: sometimes without any other personage annexed; and at others, with some personage, to whom they bear some particular relation: as in this drawing, where you see them, as moving at equal distances, over a celestial globe; which lies by the goddess Tellus. The artists, as well as the (60) poets, seem sometimes to have an eye to the four ages of life, in their representations of the four seasons of the year. Ver is infantile, and tender; Ætas, young and sprightly: Autumnus, is mature and manly; and Hiems, old and decrepid.

VER, beside his youth, is marked out generally by the (61) coronet of flowers on his head, or the basket of flowers in his hand. Ætas, is (62) crowned with corn, or holds a sickle in his hand. Autumnus, is usually distinguished by his crown (63) of different fruits: and Hiems, by his crown of reeds; by the birds, in his hand, or the beast at his feet; and by his being clothed, when the others are naked.

THO' the seasons appear so often on the remains of the antients, we may learn several manners of their representing them from the poets, which I have never met with as yet, either in gems, paintings, or reliefs. Autumnus, in particular, was perhaps sometimes represented as (64) pouring fruit out of his lap; and sometimes holding a vine-branch with (65) ripe grapes on it in his hand. At other times he was painted, as all stained (66) and discoloured from the vintage: and with grey hairs (67), intermixed with those of their natural colour. It is probable he was sometimes drawn too, with a (68) wan sickly look; which is but too just a characteristic of this season. Hiems, as old and decrepid, should be either quite (69) bald, or only with a few grey hairs. His look should be (70) rough, melancholy, and severe. He is slow in his motions; and (71) shivers as he goes. Possibly, they sometimes represented him with (72) icicles on his garments, and hoar-frost upon his beard. His retreat during the warmer months, according to Statius, was towards the north-pole; and Virgil, (perhaps from some picture or relief,) describes (73) Sol, as driving him out of the sight of men; into some deep, gloomy cave there.

THO'

(60) Quid, non in species fecedere quatuor annum
Alpiciis ætatis peragentem imitamina nostræ?
Nam tener, et lactens, puerique simillimus ævo,
Vere novo est; tunc herba recens et roboris expertus
Turget, et infolida est, et spe delectat agrestem.—
Transit in ætatem post ver robustior annus,
Fitque valens juvenis: neque enim robustior ætas
Ulla, nec uberior; nec quæ magis ardeat, ulla est.
Excipit Autumnus, posito fervore juventa
Maturus mitique; inter juvenemque senemque
Temperie medius; sparsus quoque tempora canis.
Inde senilis Hiems tremulo venit horrida passu;
Aut spoliata suos aut quos habet alba capillos.
Ovid. Met. 15. v. 213.

(61) — Cinctum florente coronâ.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 27. Ex Pont. L. 3. Ep. 1. v. 11.

(62) Stabat nuda Ætas, et spicæ ferta gerebat.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 28.

(63) — Decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus arvis extulit.
Horat. Epod. 2. v. 18.

(64) — Varios ponit festus Autumnus.—
Virgil. Georg. 2. v. 521.

(65) Nec tibi pampineas Autumnus porrigit uvæ.
Ovid. Ex Pont. L. 3. Ep. 1. v. 13.

(66) — Satur Autumnus quassans sua tempora pomis,
Sordidus et musto, spumantes exprimit uvæ.
Colomella, de Cult. Hort. v. 44.

— Calcatis fordibus uvæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 29. Fast. 4. v. 895.

(67) Ovid. Met. 15. v. 211. See Note 60; antich.

(68) — Pallens Autumnus.—
Statius. L. 2. Sylv. 1. v. 217.

(69) Aut spoliata suos, ut quos habet alba capillos.
Ovid. Met. 15. v. 213.

(70) Hiems is called, Horrida, by Ovid: Met. 15.
v. 212.—Trifidus by the same: in his, Ibis. v. 201.—
and Trux, by Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. v. 5.

(71) — Senilis Hiems tremulo venit horrida passu.
Ovid. Met. 15. v. 212.

Bruma iners.—
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 7. v. 1.

(72) Hiems horrida.—
Ovid. Met. 15. v. 212.

— Glaciali, Hæms.—
Id. Id. 2. v. 300.

— Hiems adoperta gelu.—
Id. Fast. 3. v. 255.

(73) Jam trux ad Arctos Parrhasias Hiems
Concessit.—
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. v. 6.

— Ubi pulsam Hiemem Sol aureus egit
Sub terras.—
Virgil. Georg. 4. v. 52.

Tho' I have been so long on the four seasons already, I must beg leave to read you Lucretius's description of them; not only as I have something to remark in relation to it, but as it is one of the finest passages in all his poem.

It Ver, & Venus, & Veneris prænuntius ante
Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus; vestigia propter
Flora quibus mater præspargens ante vias
Cuncta coloribus egregiis & odoribus opplet.
Inde loci sequitur Calor aridus, & comes una
Pulverulenta Ceres; & Etesia flabra Aquilonum.
Inde Autumnus adit; graditur simul Evius Evan:
Inde alia tempestates ventique sequuntur,
Altitonans Voltumnus & Ausfer fulmine pollens.
Tandem Bruma nives adfert, pigrumque rigorem
Reddit; Hiems sequitur, crepitans ac dentibus Algis (74).

THIS whole description seems to me to have been copied from some ancient procession, of the deities of the several seasons and their attendants. Such processions, of their deities in general, were as common among the Romans of old; as those in honour of the saints are in the same country to this day. All the expressions used by Lucretius here come in very aptly, if applied to a procession. Were the seasons to be represented in one of our modern entertainments, and was a poet now to describe them according to the appearance they there made; I do not see how his expressions could be more adapted to our stage, than Lucretius's are to a procession in this description.—The first person that must enter, is Zephyrus. Soon after him comes Flora; strewing the way with flowers: who should be immediately followed by the Spring, and Venus: who accompanies the Spring I suppose in Lucretius, as presiding over the month of April; which, in Italy, answers to our May; the time, when the spring is in its highest beauty, and when every thing invites to love.—The second entry, should be that of the Summer and Ceres; preceded by two deities of the Winds.—The third, should be that of Autumn, and Bacchus; preceded in the same manner.—The fourth, should be that of Winter, and (75) Algis; preceded by (76) Bruma, who might carry an urn full of ice and snow.

It is the general manner of Lucretius, (and of all the earliest Roman poets,) to introduce allegories very seldom; and even where he does introduce them, he is often but half an allegorist. There is not any one instance, I believe, in all his writings, of an allegory carried on so far, and conducted so regularly, as this is. This makes it the more probable, that he did not invent, but take the order of this description from one of their religious processions: which were disposed with a great deal of regularity, as well as with a great deal of pomp, among the old Romans.

THE

(74) Lucretius, 5. v. 746.

(75) Algis here seems to signify the sense of extreme cold, or shivering with cold, represented as a person: Crepitans ac dentibus Algis.

(76) Tho' we vulgarly look on Bruma and Hiems, as signifying the same thing; the ancient Roman writers used them, to express two very different ideas. Hiems, properly signified a whole season, or quarter of the year: and Bruma only one day, and that the shortest day in the year; the winter-solstice.

Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis:
Principium capiunt Phœbus & Annus idem.
Ovid. Fast. 1. v. 164.

Bruma dicta, quod brevissimus dies. Varro, de Ling. Lat. 5.

Hence the month of December is called the month of Bruma; but the months of November, or January, never so, that I know of.

Quæ medio brumæ mittere mense solet.

Mart. Lib. 8. Ep. 41. (of December.)

Bruma est; & riget horridus December.

Id. 7. Ep. 95.

Post Novembres, imminente jam brumâ.

Id. 3. Ep. 58.

THE Months are spoken of personally (77) by the poets; and December, in particular, is described by one of them, in a (78) drunken attitude: which by the way would scarce be less proper for the mirth of our Christmas, in some parts; than it was for the Saturnalia of old, at Rome.

THE Day, (and perhaps every day of the year,) was looked on (79) as a divinity, and represented (80) personally; and that sometimes (81), like Sol, in a chariot. There was a distinction that prevailed very early among the Romans, of the Civil, and the Natural Day. The Natural Day was most commonly reckoned from sun-rise, to sun-set (82); the Civil Day, from midnight, to midnight again. Virgil, in speaking personally of the latter (83), calls it Oriens: a name that was not much used in his time; but which he; (as a professed lover of antiquity, and of their antient words,) chose to use where it was more proper than Sol, (or even Dies,) would have been.

THE personal character of the Night is more distinct, and more generally known: from the poets mentioning it so familiarly in their writings. She is crowned (84) with poppies; and, perhaps (85), sometimes with stars. Her appearance had something very (86) venerable and majestic in it: perhaps in allusion to the doctrine of the Egyptians, who used to call her, the most antient of all the gods. She had (87) large, dark wings; and a long (88) black robe. She is represented as riding in a (89) chariot, drawn by two black

(77) — Stupet ipse labores
Annus; & angusto bifenni limite Menses
Longævum mirantur opus. —

Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. §. 19.

Statius is speaking of a temple of Hercules, at Surrentum; which, tho' a very noble work, was begun and finished in the compass of a year. It seems by him as if the artist had taken an hint from thence, to represent the Year, in his chariot; and the figures of the twelve months, in a little circle round it; (as the Zodiacal figures are often, round Sol;) on the folding-doors of the temple.

(78) Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et ridens Jocus, & Sales protervi
Adfuit. —
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. §. 7.

(79) Vulcanus, Sol, Luna, & Dies, dei quatuor,
Sceleratorem nullum hoc illuxere alterum.
Plautus. Bacchides. Act. 2. Sc. 3.

Patrem (Saturni)—Cælum esse deum confitendum est. Quod si ita est, Cæli quoque parentes, Æther & Dies, dii habendi sunt. Cotta; in Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 68. Ed. Ald.

(80) A dextrâ levâque, Dies, & Menses, & Annus.
Ovid. Met. 2. §. 25.

(81) Quid solito citius liquidò jubar æthere tollit
Candida Lucifero prætereunte Dies?
Ovid. Fast. 5. §. 550.
Et fugiunt fræno non remorante Dies.
Id. Ib. 6. §. 772.

(82) Ipsum Diem alii aliter observare. Babylo-nii, inter duos solis exortus; Athenienses, inter duos occasus; Umbri, à meridie in meridiem; vulgus omne, à luce ad tenebras. Sacerdotes Romani, & qui diem diffinire civilem, item Ægyptii, & Hipparchus, à mediâ nocte ad mediam. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 77.

(83) — Torquet medius Nox humida curfus;
Et me fævus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis.
Virgil. Æn. 5. §. 740.

Macrobius, in speaking of this passage, says; Virgilius id ipsum ostendit, ut hominem deicit poeticas res agentem, reconditâ atque operâ veteris ritûs significatione:—his enim verbis diem, quem Romani civilem appellavere, à sextâ noctis horâ oriri admo-net. Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 3.

(84) — Placidam redimita papavere frontem
Nox venit. —
Ovid. Fast. 4. §. 660.

(85) Candidus Oceano nitidum caput abdiderat Sol;
Et caput extulerat densissima fidereum Nox.
Ovid. Met. 15. §. 312.

(86) Noxque, tenebrarum specie reverenda tuarum!
Ovid. Ib. §. 732.

(87) Maximus Orion, magnam complexus Olympum;
Quo fulgente super terras cœlumque trahente,
Eminentia Diem nigras Nox contrahit alas.
Manilius. 5. §. 60.
Nox ruit; & fuscis tellurem amplectitur ali.
Virgil. Æn. 8. §. 369.

(88) — Nox, atro circumdata corpus amicta,
Nigrantes invexit equos; suavitique quietem.
Silius Ital. 15. §. 285.
Cooperat humenti Phœbum subtexere pallâ
Nox. —
Statius. Theb. 2. §. 528.

(89) — Sub occiduas verſe jam Noctis habenas.
Statius. Theb. 3. §. 33.
— Nox atra polam, bigis subveſta, tenebat.
Virgil. Æn. 5. §. 721.
Nigrantes equos. —
Sil. Ital. 15. §. 285.

black horses; and (90) every part of the stage she makes in it, is described by some or other of the Roman poets. They sometimes shew her in more state, and with several (91) attendants; but the common way is to speak of her as making her round in a chariot and two, as Sol does in his chariot and four.

THE beginning of Day-break, (or the time which the Italians call, Alba,) was probably characterised under the person of Phosphorus; of whom I have had occasion to speak already: as all the time of the increase of light, from that to the appearance of the sun above the horizon, belonged to Aurora. The latter is a personage which makes a very considerable figure in the writings of the old Roman poets: who I think, have shewed a variety, but no confusion, in the characters they give of her. The differences in them seem only to be of the same kind, with that we meet with in Guido's and Guercin's two pictures of Aurora: one of which represents a gay, pleasing morning; and the other, a darker and more lowering one. If we may judge by the poets, the ancient painters used to suit her complexion to the occasion. It was sometimes of a (92) lovely red; sometimes (93) pale; and sometimes (94) more or less brown; according to the sort of morning that they would represent. Her skin, in their more beautiful pictures, should I think, be coloured like that (95) of the Venus Anadoemenè, by Apelles; and might have something not unlike the (96) humid cast, for which that picture was so remarkable. Her robe should be of a (97) pale-bright yellow; and she should hold either (98) a whip, or a (99) torch, in her hand. Her chariot, should be of a fine (100) rose-colour; with (101) pearls of

- (90) — Lux tardè discedere vifa;
Precipitatur aquis; & aquis Nox fargit ab iftem.
Ovid. Met. 4. v. 92.
2.
Jamque ferè mediam cæli Nox humida metam
Contigerat. ———
——— Jamque tenebat
Nox mediam cæli fpatium. ———
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 6. v. 101.
Nocte sub accipiti. ———
Statius. Theb. 3. v. 2.
3.
——— Sub occiduas verſe jam Noctis habenas.
Id. Ibid. v. 33.
4.
——— Hefperio poſitas in litore metas
Nox tetigit. ———
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 143.
- (91) Thus Tibullus describes her as having the planet of Mars in her train; (Note 89, anteh.) and other deities, yet more proper to attend this goddess.
Poſtque venit tacitus fulvis circumdatus aliis
Sonnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.
Lib. 2. El. 1. v. 90.
- (92) Roſea—Dea. ———
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. v. 84.
——— Roſeo ſpectabilis ore.
Id. Met. 7. v. 705.
- (93) ———— Ubi pallida ſurget
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
* Virgil. Georg. 1. v. 447.
Clara laboriferis cælo Tithonia curruſ
Exulterat: vigileſque dæi pallentis habenas
Et Nox, & cornu fugiebat Sonnus inani.
Statius. Theb. 6. v. 27.
- (94) Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia conjux
Cœperit. ———
Ovid. Faſt. 3. v. 404.
Flava pruiſoſo quæ vehit axe diem.
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 13. v. 2.
- (95) Roſcida purpureâ ſupprime lora manu.
Id. Ibid. v. 10.
The manus purpurea ſeems to answer to the epithet of *Ροδεδανιδες*, which the Greek poets uſe ſo generally in ſpeaking of Aurora.
- (96) Ovid, in ſpeaking of Aurora perſonally calls her Roſcida; (Conſol. ad Liviam, v. 282.) & Roſcida dea: (De Art. Am. 3. v. 180.)
I do not know whether even her hair might not be painted dropping too; as that of the Venus Anadoemenè.
- Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia conjux
Cœperit. ———
Ovid. Faſt. 3. v. 404.
Rorantes excuſſa comas. ———
Statius. Theb. 2. v. 136.
- (97) Ille crocum ſimulat. Croceo velatur amiſtu
Roſcida luciferos cum dea jungit equos.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. v. 180.
Memnonis in roſeis lutea mater equis.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. v. 714.
- That lutea ſignifies a pale-yellow, or ſulphur-colour, is plain from a line in the ſame poet:
Luteave exiguis aſcunt ſulphura flammis.
Id. Met. 15. v. 351.
- (98) ——— Toties noſtros Tithonia queſtus
Præterit; & gelliſo ſpargit miſerata flagello.
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 4. v. 10.
- (99) Cum Priami conjux Tithonia fratre relicto
Suſtulit emenſo ter jubar orbe ſuum.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. v. 944.
Poſtera cum roſeam pulſis Hyperionis aſtris
In matutinis lampada tollet equis.
Id. Ib. 5. v. 160.
- (100) Aurora in roſeis fulgebat lutea bigis.
Virgil. Æn. 7. v. 26.
——— Cum primùm craſtina cælo
Puniceis inveſta rotis Aurora rubebit.
Id. Ib. 12. v. 77.
- (101) Flava pruiſoſo quæ vehit axe diem.
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 13. v. 2.

of dew scattered here and there upon it, if the painter pleases : and the horses, I think, may be either (102) cream-coloured, or strawberry. Ovid makes her station for setting out, to be (103) on the mountain of Hymettus; in his story of this goddess's love for Cephalus : but that again must always vary, according to the scene and story represented. It appears from the same poet, that she sets out always (104) before Sol ; and (105) not long before him. There seem to have been some representations of this goddess of old, as (106) driving Nox and Somnus from her presence : and of the Constellations (107) as chased out of heaven, at her approach : the latter of which, I own, seems to me to be as ridiculous a subject for a picture ; as the other might be a fine one.

HESPERUS, or the Evening, is the (108) same person with Phosphorus : the only difference is in his attributes, which are adapted to the particular character he is represented in. The poets give him (109) a black horse, as Hesperus ; and as Lucifer or Phosphorus, a white one. This way of distinguishing him was fitter for painters, than sculptors : and indeed I do not remember ever to have met with it, in any work of the antient artists ; who generally (110) distinguish him, (as I mentioned to you before,) by giving him a torch, where he is the forerunner of the day : and none, where he is the forerunner of the night.

I AM not quite certain that I have ever seen the Horæ, (or Hours,) in any antique ; but am strongly inclined to think, that they are meant, in a known relievo at Rome ; published (111) by Santo Bartoli, in his *Admiranda*. I know very well, that the figures in it have been generally taken only for so many ladies dancing, on some wedding, or for their own diversion ; but what makes me imagine them to be the Horæ, is their position and attitudes : they being all placed in a strait line, with their hands mutually joined ; and some of them as coming towards you, from which-ever end you regard them ; whilst others are going from you : which is impracticable in a common dance ; and would be very significant, if understood of the Hours. They are placed too at pretty equal distances ; as it were, measured out designedly by the pilasters behind them : which agrees exactly with the manner in which the Hours should be represented. However I have not introduced a copy of that piece here : because my notion of it is uncommon ; and may, possibly, not be true. Was this subject more frequent in the works of the antient artists that remain to us, I doubt not we should meet with several other particulars to square with the descriptions which the poets give us of these deities. They represent them as dressed in fine-coloured, or (112) embroidered, robes ; and gliding on, with a quick

(102) Hunc Aurora diem spectacula tanta ferentem
Quam primum croceis roseida portet equis.
Ovid. Consol. ad Liviam. 9. 282.
Memnonis in roseis lutea mater equis.
Ovid. Fast. 4. 9. 712.

(103) — Me cornigeris tendentem retia cervis
Vertice de fummo semper florentis Hymetti
Lutea mane videt pulsas Aurora tenebris,
Invitumque rapit. ———
Met. 7. 9. 704.

(104) — Cum prævia luci
Tradendum Phæbo Pallantias inscit orbem.
Met. 15. 9. 191.

(105) Dum loquor, Hesperio postas in litore metas
Humida Nox tetigit. Non est mora libera nobis;
Pescimus ! effulget tenebris Aurora fugatis ;
Corripe lora manu ! ———
Ibid. 2. 9. 145.

(106) — Vigiles — Dæ pallentis habenas
Et Nox & cornu fugiebat Somnus inani.
Statius. Theb. 6. 9. 27.

(107) Tempus erat, junctis cum jam foror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos, penitusque cavam sub luce paratâ
Oceani mugire domum : seseque vagantem
Colligit ; & moto leviter fogat alitra flagello.
Id. Ib. 8. 9. 274.

(108) Stella Veneris quæ Phosphorus græcè, Lu-
cifer latinè dicitur cum antegreditur solem ; cum
subsequitur autem, Hesperus. Cicero de Nat. Deor.
lib. 2. p. 37. Ed. Ald.

(109) Hesperus & fuscis roseidus ibat equo.
Ovid. Fast. 2. 9. 312.
Nec color est idem cælo, cum lassâ quiete
Cuncta jacent mediâ ; cumque albo Lucifer exit
Clarus equo. ———
Ovid. Met. 15. 9. 190.

(110) See Pl. 26. Fig. 3 & 4.

(111) See Adm. Pl. 63.

(112) Conveniunt pidiis incindæ vestibus Horæ ;
Inque leves calathos munera nostra legunt.
(In the garden of Flora.) Ovid. Fast. 5. 9. 218.
E e e

quick (113) and (114) easy motion; as you see them in Guido's *Aurora*. Ovid speaks of them as standing, at (115) equal distances, about the throne of Sol. Valerius Flaccus makes them attend that deity, at his (116) setting out; and Statius, at his (117) coming in. It appears from hence, that the old poets agree in making them the attendants and servants of Sol: and it was for this purpose, I suppose, that there were some of them always stationed, with Janus, at the gates of heaven; to be in readiness there, to accompany the chariot of Sol, on his setting out to take his daily rounds of the earth.

PL. XXVII.
FIG. 5.

THE last figure I have to shew you here, is this of Janus: standing, as you see, with his staff in his hand; just by the door. He is placed there, because his great office was to preside over the gates of heaven, as he himself informs us (118) in Ovid; and he was therefore sometimes (119) represented, with a staff in one hand, and a key in the other. If you have placed him here only as a porter, says Myſagetes, I think you have used him as he deserves: for there is scarce any one of all the gods that I have been used to entertain so mean an opinion of, as Janus. The Romans, replied Polymetis, were very far from being of your opinion. We are told that when they made their supplications to (120) any of the other gods, they used to invoke Janus first. It was he who was to give an access for their prayers; even to Jupiter. They looked on him as the (121) most ancient of Beings; and say, that his majesty comprehended the whole universe. In the Salian verses he had even the high title, of (122) the God of Gods. I have some notion that, in their most secret mythology, they might mean, (122) Space by this deity: but as I never chuse to enter much into those deep enquiries, (that are generally very much perplexed, and of very little use to my design,) I shall go on in my old way; of considering his figures, together with what the poets may say of them.

JANUS

(113) ——— Rapis occurrunt passibus Horæ.
Statius. Theb. 3. v. 410.

——— Deæ celeres ———
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 119.

{114} This is the general idea of the Roman poets in relation to all the deities that preside over any part of Time. One might give an hundred passages that prove it; but I think one may be sufficient.

——— Eunt Anni more fluentis aquæ:
Nec quæ præterit iterum revocabitur unda;
Nec quæ præterit Hora redire potest:
Utendum est ætate; cito pede labitur Ætas.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. v. 65.

(115) A dextrâ lavâque, Dies, & Mensis, & Annus,
Sæculaque; & posite spatium æqualibus, Horæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 26.

(116) ——— Sol auricomus, cingentibus Horis,
Multifidum jubar, & biseno fidere textam
Loricam induit; &c. ———
Flaccus. 4. v. 94.

(117) Solverat Hesperid de vexo margine ponti
Flagrantes Sol pronus equos; rutilamque lavabat
Oceani sub fonte comam. Cui turba profundi
Nereos, & rapidis occurrunt passibus Horæ;
Frænæque & auratæ textum sublimis coronæ
Deripiunt. Laxant roseis humentia loræ
Pectora: pars meritis vertunt ad molle jugales
Gramen; & erecto currum temone supinant.
Statius. Theb. 3. v. 414.

(118) Presideo foribus cœli, cum mitibus Horis.
(Says Janus.) Ovid. Fast. 1. v. 125.
Εἰσιπύτι, (ὡς τῶν ἡραίων), πρῶτον μὲν ἐκκεῖται αἱ ὥραι
πυλαρῶσι γὰρ. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 366. Ed. Blæu.

(119) Cum clavi & virgâ figuratur, quasi omnium
& portarum-custos & rector viarum. Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

Ille tenens dextrâ baculum, clavemque sinistra
Bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis.
Ovid. Fast. 1. v. 96.

(120) Geminum [esse volunt,] quasi utriusque janus cœlestis potentem;—invocarique primum cum alicui deo res divina celebratur, ut per eum pateat ad illum cui immolatur accessus. Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 9.

(121) Dic mihi nunc quæso, dic, antiquissime divum;
Respondes his, Jané Pater? ———
Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 393.

(122) Saliorum—antiquissimis carminibus, Deorum Deus canitur. Macrobius, 1. 3.

(123) An open arch, or any opening, was called Janus by the Romans; as the opening to a house, was called Janua, from the same deity. —Janos, arcusque, cum quadrigis & insignibus triumphorum. Suetonius, in Domit. §. 13. — Pompeii statuam, contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo jano supposuit. Id. in Aug. §. 31. — Ex quo transitiones pervix jani nominantur. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. — Gravus Bassus, in eo libro quem de diis composuit, Janum quadriformem fingi ait, — quasi universa climata majestate complexum. Macrobius, Saturnalia. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

This derivation of the names of any void, or opening, from Janus, shews his relation to Space: as Bassus's opinion shews his relation to infinite space, as including the four elements, or all created matter. The majesty of this nothing, called Space, is to me inconceivable: tho' Bassus seems to have had almost as high an idea of it, as some very great divines of late have shown, in their metaphysical reasonings on this subject.

JANUS is distinguished from all the other gods, by his double form. Diana perhaps is the only deity, beside this, to whom the Romans gave more than one body. She, you know, under the character of Trivia has three : as Janus had, (I imagine, from what the poets say of him,) sometimes two, and sometimes four bodies given him. It might be from this duplicity of his figure, that the Romans called him (124), Janus Geminus.

THE busts of Janus, (or his two heads,) are very common; especially on medals. The medals, I more particularly mean, have the double head of Janus, on one side; and part of a ship on the other. They are so very old, that Ovid, (who gives a particular account of them,) says; that the figures on them were almost obliterated (125) with age, in his time: so that at present they ought to be very great favourites with all those, who value things merely for their rust and antiquity. If they are not valued by them so much as one would expect, it is only because we have so many of them. Was there only one of these bad ones left in the world, I doubt not it would be looked on as a greater treasure than an Otho, or a Pescennius. Especially, as they are so much talked of in the Roman writers; from whom, it might be proved indisputably: that the Roman children played with them, of old (126), at Heads or Ships; as our children play now, at Crofs or Pile.

IN all the antient figures I have seen of Janus, the faces are both alike; and both old: which makes it the more unaccountable to me, whence some persons of the best taste, not only among us, but even in Italy itself, are got into the mode of giving Janus two different faces; one old, and the other young. Ovid says expressly, in one place, that they were represented (127) both alike, in his time; and from what he says in other places, they should be both old.

JANUS was probably represented sometimes with a double body, as well as with two heads. It was some statue or picture of this kind, I suppose, that might lead Statius into one of the most ridiculous descriptions, perhaps even in all his poems. It is where he represents this god as welcoming in the sixteenth consulate of the emperor Domitian. That poet makes Janus lift up all his hands, and speak (128) with both his mouths at once; to congratulate the world on that happy occasion.

THERE is a bust of the Janus Quadriformis, on one of the bridges at Rome; from whence that place has its name, of the Quatre Capite. In some of the entire figures of him on medals, he has but one body (129) with four heads. It is under this sort of figure, which

(124) In sacris invocamus Janum Geminum, Janum Patrem, Janum Junonium. Macrobius, Sat. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

The notion of Janus representing Space, may account for his being called Junonius; Juno among the Romans signifying Air. His name of Patulcius, might possibly relate to the same idea.

(125) Multa quidem didici: sed cur navalis in ære
Altera signata est, altera forma biceps?
Noscere me duplici posses ut imagine, dixit,
Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuaret opus.
Causa ratis superest: Thuscum rate venit in amnem
Ante pœterato falsifer orbe Deus.
Hæc ego Saturnum meminî tellure receptum.
(Janus, to Ovid,) Fast. 1. 5. 235.

(126) Janus cum Saturnum classe pervectum excepisset hospitio; & ab eo eloctus peritiam rutis, ferum illum & rudem ante fruges cognitavit victum in melius redigisset; regni cum societate munera vit. Cum primus quoque æra signaret, fervavit & in hoc Saturni

reverentiam; ut quoniam ille navi fuerit advectus, ex unâ quidem parte sui capitis effigies, ex alterâ verò navis exprimeretur; quo Saturni memoriam etiam in posteros propagaret. Æs ita fuisse signatum hodieque intelligitur, in alæ lusu; cum pueri denarios in sublimine jactantes, "Capita, aut Navim," (lusu teste vetustatis,) exclamant, Macrobius, Saturnalia. Lib. 1. cap. 7.

(127) Ante quod est in me, postque, videtur idem.
Ovid, Fast. 1. 5. 114.
Ille manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam, &c.
Id. Ibid. 5. 259.

(128) Ipse etiam immensi reparator maximus ævi
Attollit vultus; & utroque a limine grates
Janus agit. ———
——— Levat ecce supinas
Hinc atque inde manus; geminæque hac voce profatur.
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 1. 5. 16.

(129) See Ouseley's Theat. Pl. 41. Fig. 1.

which looks every way, that I imagine the antient Romans meant to express this deity's presiding over Space: as his figures with two faces only, the one looking backward and the other forward, might denote his presiding over (130) Time.

You see I had more reasons than one, for placing the figure of Janus just where you find it. I know not well whether Claudian means this deity (131), or that of Time; by the venerable old personage he mentions, in his Cave of Eternity. Which-ever he may mean of them, he has given him some attributes, which the Roman poets of the allowed ages seem to have had no idea of for either.

As Polymetis finished here, and was going to leave the temple; Philander begged first to ask him one question. I see, says he, very well, from what you have said of Janus's relation to Time, why the Romans made him preside always over the entrance of the year; but I should be glad to learn too, why they made him preside over peace and war. That, says Polymetis, as I take it, has no relation to his mythological character, either as presiding over Space or Time. It was, probably, wholly founded on an old Roman legend, which is told us by Macrobius; and which I may tell you, if you please, as well in our walk homeward, as here.

In the time of the (132) Sabine war, as the Romans were engaged with the enemy, at no great distance from the gate at the bottom of the Collis Viminalis; a party of the soldiers, (who were left to guard the city,) hastened to shut the gate, for fear of the work. The gate was no sooner shut, than it opened again of itself. This was repeated three several times: and as the soldiers found it was resolved not to keep shut, they got all the hands they could together there; to be ready to defend that entrance against the enemy. In the mean time, as the Romans that were fighting without, suffered much in the battle; there came a sudden alarm from some of the fugitives, of their being entirely defeated; and the guard was seized with such a panic upon it, that each man fled to save himself, and left the gate wide open and without any defence. Soon after some of the Sabine troops, that had been the most successful and were the most advanced, observed this advantage; and hastened to the gate, to make themselves masters of it. When lo! a sudden flood of water, (or as others say, of fire,) issued forth, all at once, from the temple of Janus; rushed on impetuously thro' the gate, that

flood

(130) Principium des, Jane, licet velocibus annis;
Et revoces vultu sæcula longa tuo.

Martial. Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

As the beginning of the year, was under the disposal of Janus; so the entrance into the consulship was, of course, under his protection. The poets frequently allude to this; and there is a figure of Janus, in Beger's Thesaurus, (319. 11.) with the consular falces in his hand: I suppose, in allusion to the same.

(131) This passage in Claudian is so remarkable, that I shall give it entire: not as of any authority here; but to shew, how far allegories ran in his time,

Est ignota procul nostraque impervia menti,
Vix adeunda deis, annorum squalida mater;
Immensæ spelunca ævi; quæ Tempora vasto
Suppeditat revocatque sinus. Complectitur antrum
Omnia qui placido consumit nomine serpens,
Perpetuumque viret squamis; caudamque reducto
Ore vorat, tacito relegens exordia lapsu.
Vestibuli cussos, vultu longæva decoro
Ante fores Natura fedet; cunctisque volantes
Dependent membris Animæ. Mansura verendus
Scribit jura senex, numeros qui dividit astris,
Et cursus stabiliq; moras; quibus omnia vivunt,
Ac pereunt fixis cum legibus. Ille recenset
Incertum quid Martis iter, certumque Tonantis
Proficiat mando: quid velox semita Lunæ,

Pigraque Saturni: quantum Cytherea fereno
Curriculo, Phœbique comes Cyllenius erret.
Illius ut Phœbus ad limen constitit antri;
Occurrit Natura potens, seniorque superbis
Canitiem inclinat radiis: tunc sponte reclusos
Laxavit postes adamæ. Penetrare profundum
Panditur; & fides ævique arcana patefunt.
Hic habitant vario faciem distincta metallo
Sæcula certa locis. Illic glomerantur ænæ;
Hic ferrata rigent: illic argentea cudent.
Eximiâ regione domûs, contingere terris
Difficiles, stabant rutuli (grex aureus.) Anni.
Quorum præcipuum pretioso corpore Titan
Signandum Stillicone legit: tunc imperat omnes
Pone sequi; distinctique simul compellat euntes.
“ En, cui dissilimus melioris secla metalli,
Consul adest! Ite optati mortalibus Anni!
Ducite virtutes; hominum florescite rursus
Ingeniis, &c.”

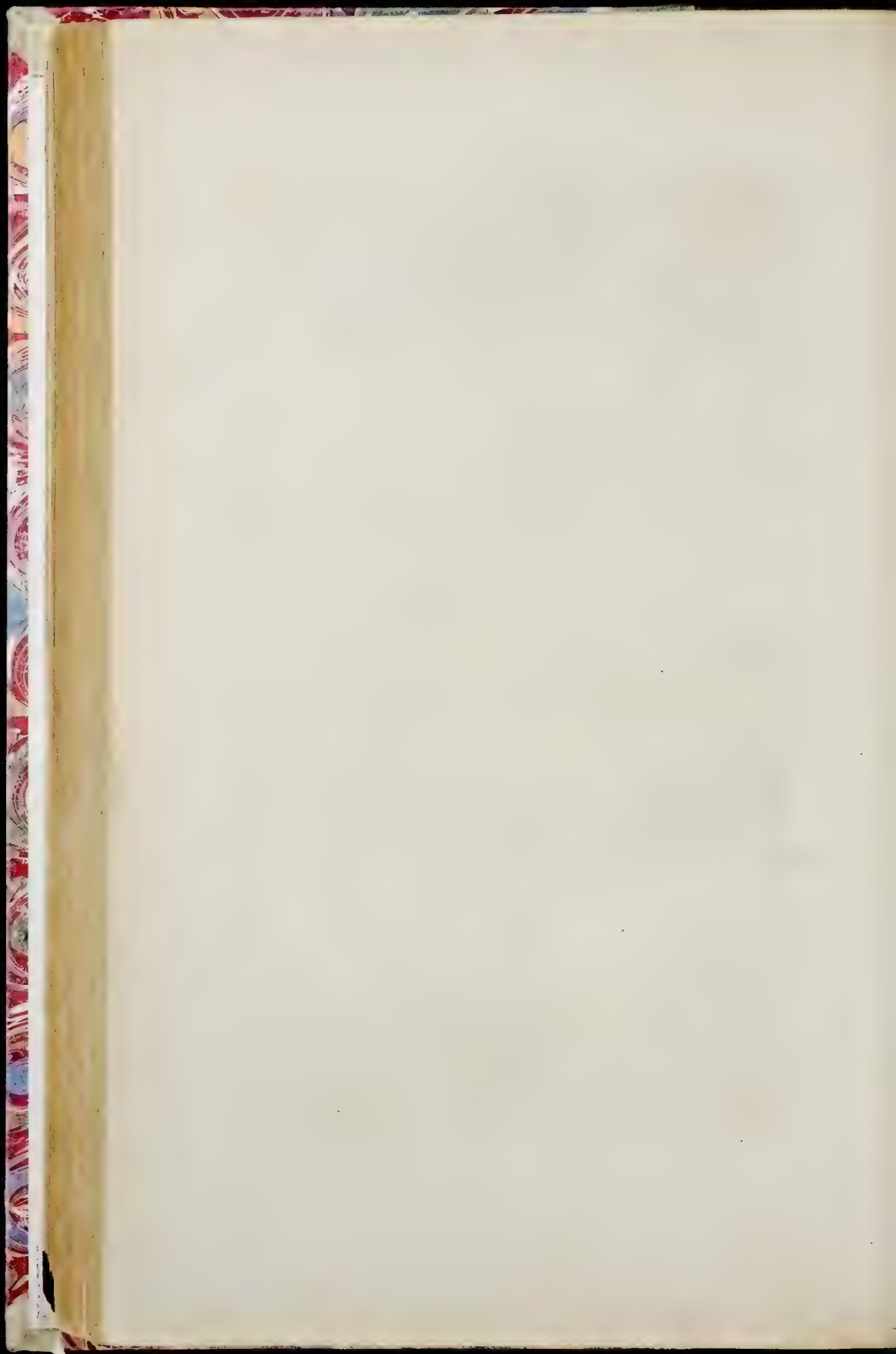
De Laud. Stil. 2. §. 457.

(132) Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

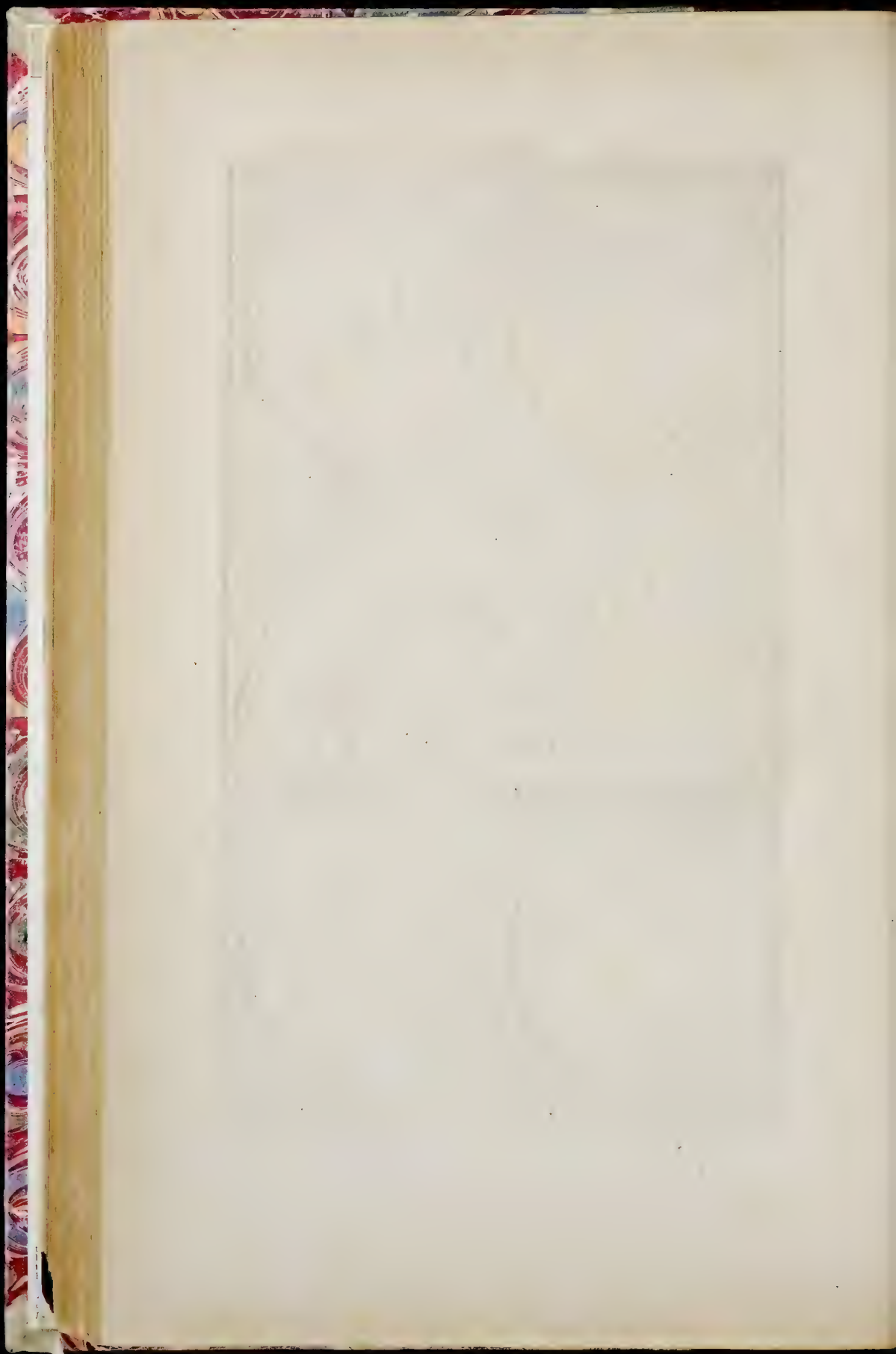
This ridiculous legend, probably was believed by the vulgar among the old Romans; as several legends, as ridiculous, are believed among the Roman catholics at present: but the wiser sort, and Virgil in particular, was of another opinion; as appears from the much earlier account, he gives of this matter. Æn. 7. §. 601—622.

stood open; and overwhelmed all the Sabines that were passing towards it. The Romans in memory of this miraculous deliverance by the assistance of Janus, called that gate, Janualis: and in all their wars ever after, left the gates of Janus's temple wide open; that the god might come out the more readily, if he should be ever again inclined to assist them. This custom of always opening the gates of the temple of Janus on the beginning of a war, and keeping them shut always in time of peace, might probably give the Romans the thought of placing the statues of Peace and War in his temple; as that gave their poets the idea of war being confined, and peace being secured, by Janus: who otherwise, I should think, would have had nothing to do with them. But I have finished my story; and we are got home in good time, before the damps of the evening.

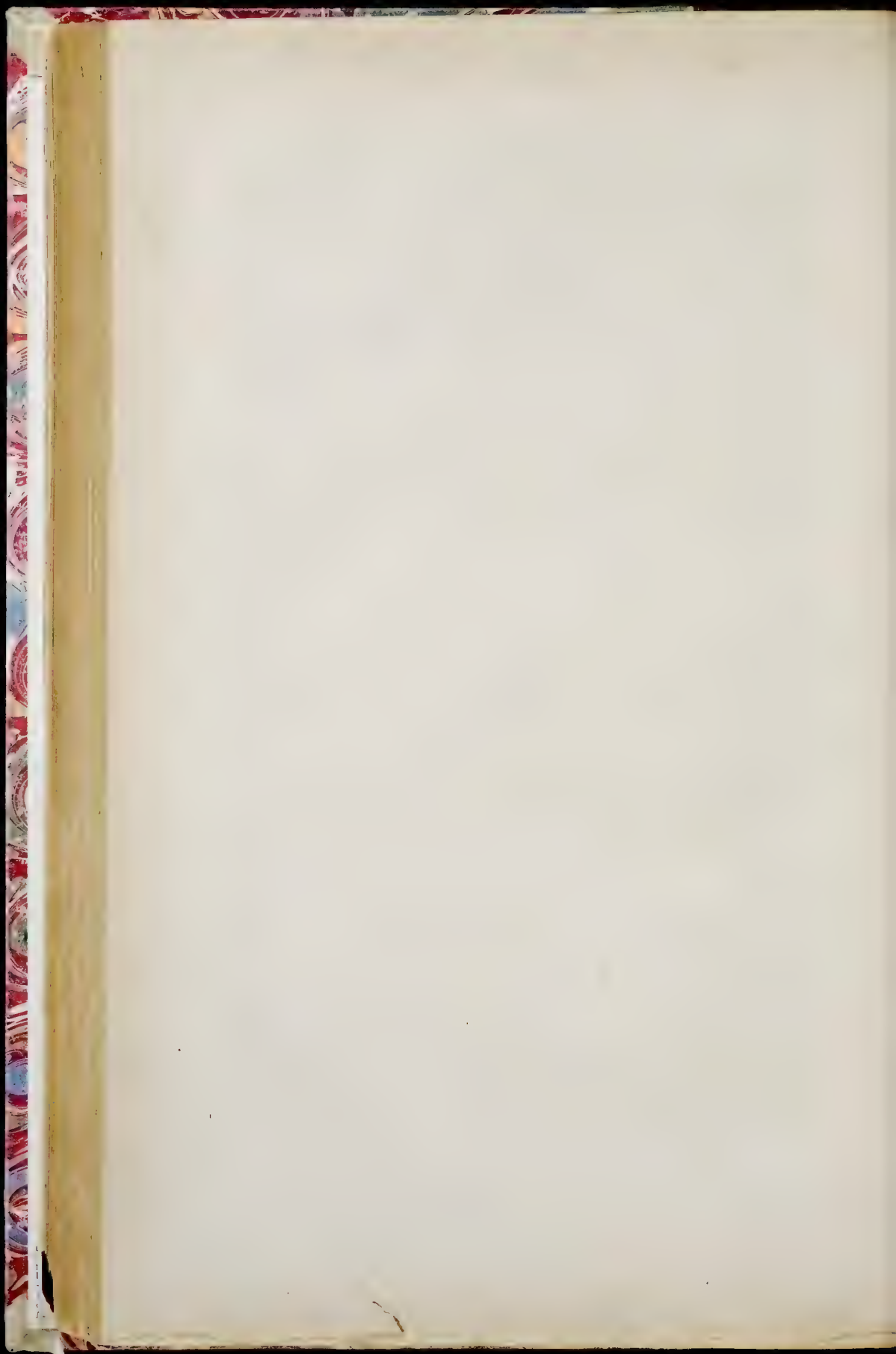












B O O K the Sixth.

D I A L. XIII.

Of the Beings, supposed to inhabit the AIR.

AS Myfages and Philander had now finished their view of the Great Celestial Temple, and of that of the Constellations; their next visit of course, was to the temple of the Aerial Beings. While they were approaching it, you see, (says Polymetis,) that this temple is of the Ionic order: which I chose for it, as the most light and easy. The antients, as we learn from (1) Vitruvius, had a good deal of propriety, or nicety, (call it which you will,) in adapting their buildings, to the character of the deities to whom they were dedicated. A temple of Venus was to be beautiful; and one of Juno, majestic. Hercules looked best, placed in a building of the Doric order; which would have been the most improper of all for a Zephyr; or for any of the aerial ladies, to whose acquaintance I shall soon introduce you; if you please only to go into the temple before us.

ON their entering the temple, they found every thing in it disposed so, as to have a light, easy look. It was an Octagon; like the beautiful temple of the Winds, which is so much talked of by all our late travellers that have been at Athens: but more illuminated, by a large window in Michael Angelo's style, in each of its divisions. Over every opening was the figure of a Wind-Deity, in mezzo-relievo; and on each side of the windows were little squares and ovals here and there, taken from antiques of some other aerial beings. The roof was wholly dedicated to the goddesses of this element. In the midst of it was a circle, in which appeared Juno under her character of presiding over the air; in a light, flying car, drawn by two peacocks. All the rest of the dome was divided into eight parts, by festoons of flowers; to answer the building below: and in each of these compartments, was painted a Sylph, or Nymph of the Air: in some attitude or other of flying; and generally with loose veils held in their hands, or fluttering on high over their heads. The whole temple within was all luminous, and open; without any statues, or any thing else, to embarrass it.

THESE (2) figures of the eight Winds, says Polymetis, are meant to represent those on the famous octagon at Athens. I should not have gone so far for my Winds, had there been a greater choice of them nearer home: but the figures of this sort of deities are very great rarities, even in Italy. One or two of them indeed appear there, on some reliefs; particularly on some representing the fall of Phaeton: and the four capital ones were found, (above two centuries ago,) on part of the work, belonging to what

is

(1) Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

(2) When this was first written, I was in hopes of getting the figures of the eight Winds, as they are represented on the temple at Athens. There was a drawing of all of them, taken several years ago; and kept for some time in the king of France's library: and it is said, there was another, of a yet earlier date; in the Barbarini palace, at Rome. On the strictest enquiry, neither of these are to be found: and the loss of them is the greater, because two of the

figures on the temple itself, are now quite hid by some later buildings affixed to it. I am therefore obliged to rest whatever I have here hazarded in relation to these figures, on the authority of such as have seen the originals at Athens; and who have been so good as to favour me with the remarks they made on the spot. Might I name the Earl of Sandwich, and Dr. Pocock, as my chief authorities in this case; I should name the very persons, on whose veracity, and judgment, I am the most inclined to rely.

is commonly thought to have been a sun-dial (3), in the Campus Martius. These are likely to have been good; as having been, probably, a work of the Augustan age. But whatever they were, they are not now to be found; and the good monks of Saint Lorenzo in Lucina, (where they were discovered, in digging to lay the foundation for one of their chapels,) are so far from knowing what is become of them; that they have almost lost even the memory of their having ever been in their possession. The only good one I know of now at Rome, fell into better hands; and is one of the fine pieces placed by the late Pope Clement XII. in the gallery, at the Capitol. In this scarcity, we are obliged to borrow our Ideas of these Wind-Deities from Athens; and there is this inconvenience in it, that they must then be characterised according to the effects each particular Wind has at Athens, and not according to what they have at Rome. This may occasion some difference, but it is not very considerable; and where we cannot do better, we must be contented to shift as well as we can.

THESE Athenian deities of the Winds are all flying on; but with different degrees of rapidity, or gentleness; according to the different effects each Wind has in those parts. Solanus, or the East, is represented as young; and holds several sorts of fruit in his lap; as apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, and pomegranates: most of which, (if not all,) were not the natural produce of Greece; but brought in there from the more eastern parts of the world.—The next, is Eurus, or the South-East. He is represented as a youth too; and is flying on, rather more impetuously, as appears from the agitation of his garments.—The third is Ausfer, or the South-wind; and the fourth, Africus, or the South-west. They are all represented, bigger than the life, and bending forward; so that their figures generally take up above six foot in length; and about three and an half in breadth.—The fifth, is Zephyrus, or the deity of the Western Wind. He is represented as a beautiful youth; and as gliding on with the gentlest motion imaginable. He is for the most part naked; and holds a little basket in his hand, filled with spring-flowers of different sorts.—The sixth is Corus, or the North-west. He is elderly, and with a beard; whereas the former are generally young. He is dressed so as to defend him from the cold; and carries a vase, as pouring water from it, in his hand.—The next is Septentrio, or the North-wind. He resembles Corus in his age and dress; but has no vase of water; and is so much more affected with the cold, that he holds up his mantle close before his nose and mouth, to defend himself from the violence of it.—The last, Aquilo, or the North-east, is elderly too. He holds a plate of olives in his hands: which was of old, and is still, the chief produce of the territory about Athens: so far, that in going from that city to the Pireum, which is near five miles, you pass all the way through rows of olive-trees, on each side of you.

THE Romans, in the time of (4) Pliny, chiefly followed this division of the Winds; and had a yet farther division of them into twelve; as we learn from the same author.

But

(3) In questa istessa parte (of the Campus Martius, where the obelisk lies still interred,) si come testificano Pomponio Leto & Andrea Fulvio, fu à i lor tempi, (circa ottenta anni fa,) ritrovato nella cappella nuova de i Capellani di questa Chiesa cavandoli, un horologio bellissimo & grande di metallo; che haveva i gradi, & le linee indorate; con il suolo intorno di pietre quadrate, che pur mostrava le medesime linee; & negl' angoli, i quattro Venti fatti à musaico. Pompeo Ugonio, Hist. delle Stationi di Roma, p. 183. Ed. 1588.

In parte Martii Campi, ubi nunc est templum S. Laurentii, in capellâ novâ Capellanorum, fuit olim basis illa nominatissima, et horologium superioribus annis effossum; quod habebat septem gradus circum, et lineas distinctas metallo inaurato: et solum campi

erat ex lapide amplo quadrato, et habebat lineas caedem: et in angulo quatuor Venti erant, ex opere musivo: cum inscriptione, BOREAS SPIRAT, &c. Fulvius; (See Nardini's Roma antica. Lib. 6. Cap. 6.)

(4) Veteres quatuor (Ventos) servavere, per totidem mundi partes, hebeti ut mox judicatum est ratione; secuta ætas oculo addidit, nimis subtili et concisa: proximis inter utranque media placuit, ad brevem ex numerosâ additis quatuor. Sunt ergo bini in quatuor cœli partibus. Ab Oriente æquinoctiali Subsolanus, ab Oriente brumali Vulturinus; illum Apelioten, hunc Eurus Græci appellant. A meridie Ausfer, et ab occasu brumali Africus; Noton, et Liba, nominant. Ab occasu æquinoctiali Favonius, ab occasu solstitiali Corus; Zephyron et Argeffen vocant.

A Sep-

But the most antient, and that which is most generally followed by the Roman poets, (especially those of the Augustan age,) was the division into four. According to this, they made (5) *Eurus* to be the intelligence that presided over all the eastern quarter of the heavens: and to *Boreas*, they gave the whole dominion of the north: *Auster* was still the chief director of the south; as *Zephyrus* was of the west. The poets indeed, now and then, mention some other deities of the Winds; but these are most generally considered by them, as the chief of all the rest.

EURUS, or the genius of the East-wind, according to the Roman poets, seems to have his character composed from the *Apeliotes* and *Euros* of the Greeks. By one description of him, he should have a look that shews him (6) delighted; and in another, he is spoken of as (7) playful, or wanton. He is sometimes described as (8) impetuous; and sometimes, as (9) disordered with the storm he has been driving along the sea. *Horace* gives us a picture of the former; and *Valerius Flaccus* of the latter. I should be apt to imagine from some expressions in the poets, that he was sometimes represented on horseback; or (10) perhaps, in a chariot, whirling thro' the air: but there are so few remains of the antient artists relating to these beings, (as I was saying before,) that we have nothing from them to confirm any such conjecture.

The genius of the South-wind, (called indifferently by the names of *Notus* and *Auster*), is described (11) by *Ovid*, as large; and so old, that his hair is quite grey: of a gloomy countenance; and with clouds about his head. Most of the lines in his character are designed to point him out as the dispenser of heavy showers, and great rains. He has dusky wings; and sometimes (12) a full dark robe. *Virgil* seems to allude to the gloominess of his countenance (13); in a passage, that has given much offence to the critics:

A Septentrionibus Septentrio, interque eum et exortum solstitialem Aquilo; Aparctias dicti et Boreas. *Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 47.*

In five of these Greek names, *Pliny* agrees exactly with the inscriptions under the particular Winds on the temple at Athens; which are as follow—*ΑΙΗΛΙΟΤΗΣ*, for the E.—*ΕΥΡΟΣ*, for the SE.—*ΝΟΤΟΣ*, for the S.—*ΔΙΨ*, for the SW.—*ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ*, for the W.—*ΣΚΙΡΩΝ*, for the NW.—*ΒΟΡΕΑΣ*, for the N.—and *ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ*, for the NE.

(5) *Eurus ad auras, Nabathæaque regna recessit, Persidaque, et radiis juga subdita matutinis: Vesper, et occiduo quæ litora sole tepefunt, Proxima sunt Zephyro. Scythiam septemque triones, Horrifer invasit Boreas: contraria tellus Nubibus assiduus pluvioque madefcit ab Austro.* *Ovid. Met. 1. §. 66.*

(6) *Configit Zephyrusque, Notusque; & lætus Eois Eurus equis.* *Virgil. Æn. 2. §. 417.*

(7) *Ille Noto, Zephyroque, & Sithonio Aquiloni Imperat; & pennis, Eure proterve, tuis.* *Ovid. Ep. Her. 11. §. 14. (Canace, Mac.)*

(8) *Diras per urbes * Afer ut Italas, * Hannibal. Ceu flamma per tædas, vel Eurus Per Sículas equitavit undas.* *Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 4. §. 44.*

(9) *Crinæque procellis Hispidas, et multâ flavus caput Eurus arenâ.* *Flaccus. Argon. 1. §. 613.*

(10) The Roman poets sometimes use the expression, in equis, to signify a person's being in a cha-

riot; and so may possibly use, equitare, for the same. *Flaccus* uses an expression of another Wind, (the North,) which seems to imply his being in a chariot.

— Fundant se carcere læti

Thracæ equi; Zephyrusque. —

Arg. 1. §. 611.

And so may *Virgil's*; — *Lætus Eois Eurus equis* — *Note 6, anteh.*

(11) — *Madidis Notus evolat alis, Terribilem piceâ tectus caligine vultum. Barba gravis nimbus; canis fluit unda capillis; Fronte sedent nebulae: rorant pennæque sinuque. Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila preffit, &c.* *Ovid. Met. 1. §. 268.*

(12) *Ovid* perhaps means his robe in the description above by the word, *sinus*, which signifies a flowing robe; whence *Virgil* calls it, *sinus fluentes*, *Æn. 1. §. 320.* In the same manner, *Statius* calls the robe of *Auster*, by the name of *volumina*; which signifies its largeness.

— *Cælum sibi quisque rapit: sed plurimus Auster Inglomerat noctem, et tenebrosa volumina torquet; Defunditque imbres.* —

Theb. 1. §. 352.

(13) — *Quid cogitet humidus Auster.* *G. 1. §. 462.*

Several of the commentators (that have been used to consider the Winds only in a natural way, and never perhaps in an allegorical one,) are greatly offended at the word, *cogitet*, here. The thinking of a Wind, is to them the highest pitch of absurdity that can be. They are therefore for altering the passage into — “*Quid cogat et humidus Auster;*” or, “*Quid concitet humidus Auster;*” contra omnes codices, as they themselves say.

critics: and speaks of him in another place (14), "as saddening the very heavens." Valerius Flaccus describes him, as (15) attended with showers; Ovid, with water dripping from every part of him; Statius, as pouring the waters of the heavens down on the earth; and Juvenal, as sitting in the cave of the Winds; and (16) drying his wings after a storm. Several of these descriptions, probably, alluded to some paintings of old; at least, there is scarce any one of them, that might not furnish a painter with a good hint for a picture now.

ZEPHYRUS is the mildest of all the deities of the Winds: the character of his personage is youth, and gentleness. Valerius Flaccus, in speaking of these four great deities of the Winds, as employed all together in a storm, adds some character of violence to every one of them (17) except Zephyrus. I have observed before, that in some of his figures his lap is full of spring-flowers. Ovid describes him, and his attendants, (for there were several Zephyri; several deities of the Winds of the same quarter, all under this their great chief;) as tending (18) the flowers, that every where adorned the face of the earth, in the infancy of the world; when (as he says) it was all one continued spring. Lucretius, in his procession of the seasons, makes Zephyrus and Flora (19) joint attendants of the spring; and Ovid (20) gives a very full account of his falling in love with Flora, at the same season of the year. We find by that account, that this amour, (tho' it was irregular in its beginning,) concluded at last very honourably; in a match between these two deities. And indeed never were any two deities better paired. They were perhaps the happiest couple of all those who in the heathen mythology were supposed to have engaged in so bold an undertaking, as that of an endless marriage: for such it must be, where divorces were never practised; and where, (if a match proved unhappy,) neither of the parties could entertain any the least hopes of dying.

As Zephyrus is the most gentle of all these deities of the Winds, so the roughest (21) of them all is Boreas. As he is represented on the temple of Athens, he seems himself to

If these gentlemen would please to consider, that it is not they, but Virgil that is speaking here;—that the Winds were frequently represented as persons, in his time;—that he had been used to see them so represented, both in Greece and in his own country;—that they were commonly worshipped then as gods; (and that Virgil had probably worshipped them as such himself, in some of his voyages between Rome and Athens;) they may perhaps be persuaded not to think this so strange an expression for him to use.

Indeed, instead of its being so strange and absurd, I should imagine it to be very poetical and very proper. The general character of the face of Auster, is gloominess; and the particular thing Virgil here speaks of, is his threatening, or meditating mischief. Boreas is usually represented like a furious, impetuous bully; and Auster is represented here, with a sullen, designing look: not unlike one of our old politicians, in a coffee-house; on a damp, gloomy day; terriblem piceâ tectus caligine vultum. (As Ovid says of Auster, Note 12, anteh.)

(14) ——— Aut unde nigerrimus Auster
Nascitur; et pluvio contritat frigore cælum.
G. 5. ʒ. 279.

(15) ——— Et nodi concolor alis,
Nimborum cum prole, Notus.
Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. ʒ. 612.

(16) ——— Dum se continet Auster;
Dum sedet, et siccat madidas in carcere pennas.
Juvenal. Sat. 5. ʒ. 101.

(17) ——— Fundant se carcere læti
Thraceæ equi, Zephyrusque; et nodi concolor alis
Nimborum cum prole Notus: crinemque procellis
Hiipidus, et malâ flavus caput Euræ arenâ.
Argon. 1. ʒ. 613.

(18) Ver erat æternum: placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine femine flores.
Ovid. Met. 1. ʒ. 108.

(19) See Lucretius, Lib. 5. ʒ. 736, to 739.

(20) Chloris eram, quæ Flora vocor (corrupto Latino
Nominis est nostri litera Græca sono)
Chloris eram, nympe campi felicitis; ubi audis
Rem fortunatis ante fuisse viris. ———
Ver erat; errabam. Zephyrus conspexit; abibam.
Insequitur; fugio. Fortior ille fuit.
Et dederat fratri Boreas jus omne rapinæ,
Auster Eriethæ præmia ferre domo.
Vim tamen emendat, dando mihi nomina nuptiæ;
Inque meo non est ulla querela toro
Vere fruor semper: veri nitidissimus annus;
Arbor habet frondes, pabula fundit humus.
Est mihi focundus dotatibus hortus in agris;
Aura fovet; liquida fronte rigatur aque.
Hunc meus implevit generoso flore maritus;
Atque ait, arbitrium tu dea Floris habet.
Ovid. Fast. 5. ʒ. 212.

(21) Μῆδης (δὲ) πν Βορέας, κνδέρων ʒε οἰτῶν, ὃ παρα
ταρταρὸς τῆς Ἀντὶας ἀπὸ τῆς, ποιεῖσθαι θῆναι. Philostratus;
Vita Apollonii, Lib. 4. Cap. 21.

to suffer from the extreme cold of the climate over which he presides: agreeably to which one of the poets calls him (22), "The shivering Tyrant." However, I am apt to think that the most common way of representing him of old, was as impetuous, and troublesome to others; this being his most usual character in the Roman poets. Ovid in particular says, that he is almost always rough, and (23) in a passion. It is in his account of the rape committed by this deity on Orithyia; in which that poet rises, (or endeavours at least to rise,) into an higher style, than is usual with him; to paint out the terrors that belong to this deity. He represents him (24) "as hardning snow, and dispensing hail-storms; as one great cause of lightning and thunder, and the sole cause of earth, and all the terrible consequences that attend them: he says, that he moves on encompassed with dark clouds, in the heavens; and in a thick cloud of dust, over the earth." Considering his effects, and how he employs himself, whenever he is employed; one would be glad to have this tyrant always, (as he is represented in his figure at Athens,) with his robe before his mouth.

SUCH are the characters of the four principal deities of the Winds, according to the Roman poets; from considering all of which together, one may find that they would serve extremely well to contrast, and set off each other, in a picture; if any good hand was to undertake it. For according to their distinguishing characters above mentioned, Eurus should be of a lively, brisk air; Ausfer, gloomy and aged: Zephyrus, young and charming; and Boreas, old and angry.

THE names of the other four Winds, in the division of eight, are Solanus, Africus, Corus, and Aquilo. I do not remember that any one of the Roman poets has ever spoken of Solanus: they seem to have given up his place entirely to Eurus. Every one of the other three are mentioned by them; and that under the characters of persons, tho' they speak of them but seldom. Silius Italicus describes Africus, or the deity of the South-west Wind, as having (25) dark wings; and gives us a picture of Corus, (or the North-west,) as spreading out his dusky pinions, and (26) driving on a tempest of snow before him; against Hannibal's army, in their passage over the Alps. This gives us no bad idea of the Wind, which old Lucilius, (I know not on what grounds,) calls, (27) The king of all the rest. Ovid speaks of Hiems, as trembling at the presence of Aquilo (28), (or the North-east;) and there is an expression (29) in Statius, relating to the same; which may possibly have been borrowed from some figures of old, not unlike those blustering faces we see so often in the corners of our maps.

THESE

(22) Illic et gelidi conjux Actæa tyranni,
Et genetrix facta est. —
Ovid. Met. 6. v. 711. (of Orithyia.)

(23) — Horridus irâ,
Quæ solita est illi. —
Ibid. v. 686.

It is thus that he was represented by Zeuxis; as we learn from Lucian. Ου Θεσσαλονικὴς ὁ φιλοσοφὸς ντοῖς εἶναι; οὐ μὲν ἔν' ἄλλος. Ἐκπύσσας γὰρ τὸν πύρην, καὶ τὰς οὐρὰς ἀνατρέπει, καὶ βρυσθύνει τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐρξῆται, τὴν ἀνδρὶς βλατὸν, ἀνασείδοντες τὴν ἐν τῷ ματωτῷ κομῇ. Αυτοβόρας τις, ἢ Τετάρ, οὐκ ὁ Ζεῦξ' ἔγχεσθαι. Τιμων. Tom. I. p. 158. Ed. Blaeu.

(24) "Apta mihi vis est: vi trifida nubila pello;
Vi freta concutio, nodosque robora verto:
Induorque nives; et terras grandine pulso.
Idem ego, cum fratres colo sum nactus aperto,
(Nam mihi campus is est,) tanto molimine ludor,
Ut medius nostris concursibus intonet æther;
Exsiliantque cavis elisi nubibus igoes.
Idem ego, cum subii convexa foramina terræ
Suppofuique ferox imis mea terga cavernis,
Sollicito Manes totumque tremoribus orbem."

Hæc Boreas, aut his non inferiora, locutus
Excussit pennas; quarum jactatibus omnis
Afflata est tellus, latumque perhorruit æquor:
Pulvereamque trahens per summa cacumina pallam,
Verrit humum; pavidamque metu, caligine tectus,
Orithyian amans fulvis amplectitur alis.
Ovid. Met. 6. v. 707.

(25) Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuscis Africus alis
Bella movent. —
Silius Ital. 12. v. 618.

(26) Interdum adverso glomeratas turbine Corus
In media ora nives fuscis agit horridus alis.
Ibid. 3. v. 524.

(27) Rex Corus ille duos hos Ventos, Austrum
atque Aquilonem, novissimè alebat; &c. Lucilius,
Sat. Lib. 23.

(28) — Cum tristis Hiems Aquilonis inhorruit alis.
Ovid. Ibis. v. 201.

(29) — Primique Aquilonis hiatus.
Statius. Theb. 7. v. 37.

THESE principal deities of the Winds, were all (30) brothers; and of no mean parentage: for Astræus, the elder brother of Saturn, was their father; and Aurora, their mother. They are sometimes represented with wings, and (31) sometimes without; in the few remains we have of the ancient artists, relating to this subject. Were these more frequent, I imagine we should most commonly see them represented with wings; because they are generally spoken of by the poets, where they describe any of these deities. Their usual manner of blowing, as appears both from the poets and the remains of the artists, was not by distorting their faces in that strange manner that our modern painters and sculptors are pleased to imagine. They gave them wreathed trumpets for that purpose; not unlike the twisted shell, used as a trumpet by the Tritons: as you see it on the medallion by that window; copied from the Ara Ventorum, in the Capitoline gallery at Rome. This general attribute of the Winds is hinted at, by some of the poets (32); and expressly spoken of, by others.

PL. XXVIII.
FIG. 1.

BESIDE these general attributes of wings, and flabra, (or the wreathed trumpets they breathed through,) the particular deities of the Winds had others, according to their particular characters. One of the Winds on their temple at Athens holds a water-pot in his hand; to denote the rains he generally brought with him, in that climate. Auster was probably represented sometimes (33) with the same attribute. It is only a small vase indeed; but that does not hinder its signifying very heavy showers: for Aquarius, (who was looked on as the cause (34) of those heavy rains, that usually fall in Italy about the (35) winter-solstice,) has just such another on the Farnese globe. It is perhaps that little vase in particular, which the Romans called, (36) Urceus.

I HAVE said enough, (and as we have so few remains relating to them, perhaps too much,) on these deities of the principal Winds. It is probable there were (37) many others under each of them, who had their name from the chief of their particular quarter; and some which were distinguished from the vulgar, by particular names: such, for instance, as Vulturius; whom Lucretius introduces as an (38) attendant of the autumn, in his procession of the seasons: and the Etesia, a (39) gentler sort of northern gales: in

speaking

(30) Ovid calls Boreas Zephyrus's brother, in his *Fasts*, 5. *l.* 203. and in speaking of all the four principal Winds, calls them all brothers; in his *Metamorphosis*, 1. *l.* 60. Their parentage is mentioned by Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, 12; and by Apollodorus, lib. 1. cap. 2. ap. Hist. Poet. Script. Ed. Gale.

(31) They are winged, on a Sarcophagus representing the Fall of Phaeton, in the Borgheze gardens; and without wings, on the Ara Ventorum, at the Capitol.

(32) Cum sua quisque regant diverso flamina tractu.
Ovid. *Met.* 1. *l.* 59.
—— Neque hic Boreæ flabra, nec arma timent.
Propert. Lib. 2. El. 27. *l.* 12.
—— Freta circum
Fervescunt gravior spirantibus incita flabris.
Lucretius. 6. *l.* 427.
—— Mihi pontus inertes
Submittit fluctus; Zephyrique tacentia ponunt
Ante meos sua flabra pedes.
Petronius *Arb.* p. 259. Ed. Lond.

(33) Defundit imbres.
Statius. *Theb.* 1. *l.* 352. (of Auster.)

(34) —— Contristat Aquarius annum.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 1. *l.* 36.

(35) —— Brumæ intractabilis imbrem.
Virgil. *Georg.* 1. *l.* 211.

(36) Tho' the Urceus was but a small vessel, Petronius uses the expression of nimbus urceatim detumens, for a violent sudden shower. (*Petr. Arb.* p. 24. Ed. Lond.) Indeed the size of the vessel is out of the question; because this kind of expression is only meant to signify that the rain poured down, not in distinct drops, but as it were in one continued stream.

(37) Nigram Hiemi pecudem; Zephyris felicitibus albam.
Virgil. *Æn.* 3. *l.* 120.

The same poet speaks of the Euri too in the plural; and of several of the other Winds.

—— Hybernæ parcebant flatibus Euri.
Georg. 2. *l.* 339.

Nimborum in patriam, loca fœta fœrentibus Austris,
Æolium venit. ——
Æn. 1. *l.* 52.

Aut æthæm cælo magnis Aquilonibus imbrem.
Georg. 2. *l.* 334.

(38) Inde Autumnus adit; graditur simul Evius Evan:
Inde alia tempestates Ventique sequuntur;
Altitonans Vulturius, & Auster fulmine pollens.
Lucr. 5. *l.* 744.

(39) They are not of the roughest kind, by the offices attributed to them. Lucretius makes them companions of the summer;

Idæ

speaking of which one of the Roman writers in prose, (and one of the best they ever had,) uses some expressions (40), which would be scarce justifiable; unless they were grounded on those Winds being commonly represented, and known as persons, among the Romans.

ALL that I have yet mention'd are null: the Winds, which the ancients represent the Winds to be a people of one sex only: (and I suppose, as the poet says, *Virorum*,) we will now, if you please, consider some of the deities, which are disposed here, in each of the divisions of the sky. There are, first, what the Romans called, (41) *Auræ*; and what we call, Sylphs. These are marked out by the veil, which they hold in their hands, and which flutters archwise over their heads. They are oftener to be found in the ancient paintings, than in any of the other remains of antiquity, put together. In particular, I have never yet met with any statue of an *Aura*, that I know of: but Pliny (42) speaks of two; which were a good deal admired, even in his time, at Rome.

TWO of these deities are so uncommon now in statues, that loss is sufficiently made up to us by their being commonly enough to be met with in the paintings of the antients; and especially, as I was saying, on ceilings: which is certainly the properest place of any for them to be represented on. I dare say I could point out two or three dozen of them (43); in Dr. Mead's collection of paintings, and drawings from the paintings of the antients: of which, it would be a very sparing commendation only to say, that it is the noblest collection, on this side of the Alps; it being probably the noblest of its kind, in the whole world. The drawings, in particular, were taken by the famous Bartoli; on the spot, as the paintings were discovered. And as the latter lose their colours on being expos'd to the air; and are almost wholly extinguish'd, by the course of a few years: these copies of them, in which the colours appear as vivid and strong as when they were first discovered, are in that respect a more valuable treasure, even than the originals themselves would be; were they all remaining, and all collect'd together: whereas most them are scatter'd; and many of them, quite lost. All my Air-nymphs here, are borrow'd from this collection of Dr. Mead's: who did not only give me a full liberty of having whatever I pleas'd copied from it; but gave it always with so many obliging circumstances, as doubled the favour. Indeed, by what I have experienced myself, and by what I have heard from several others; I am apt to think, that the surest method to make that gentleman one's friend, is to put it in his way to oblige you heartily.

I am

Inde loci sequitur Calor aridus; & comes una
Pulverulenta Ceres, et Etesia Sabra Aquilonum.

Lucr. 5. v. 741.

And Horace, (if I mistake not,) of the spring.

Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant,
Impellant Animæ lintea Thraciæ:
Jam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii strepunt
Hybernâ nive turgidi.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 12. v. 4.

By the last words it appears that Horace speaks here of the latter end of the spring; for in the beginning of it, the rivers in Italy are generally most swollen with the melting of the snows. I suppose, from comparing Horace and Lucretius together, that these Etesian (or Thracian) gales might blow commonly, about the close of the spring, or the beginning of the summer.

(40) *Itatus temporibus, in Græciam desperatâ libertate rapiebar: quum me Etesia, quasi boni cives, relinquentem compublicam profectui noluerunt; Aus-sterque adversus maximo flatu me ad Rhegium retulit.* Cicero. Lib. 12. Epist. 25.

(41) That the Romans used the word *Aura* personally, for the nymphs of the air, is evident from the quotation in the following note. I suppose they might borrow that use of it from the Greeks; who seem to have used *Aureæ* sometimes in the same manner.—I remember to have seen an ancient gem representing two greyhounds pursuing a hare with their names engraven under them; which had, probably, been the seal of some old sportsman. The name of one is *Χρυσίε*, and of the other *Αεγέ*, or the air-nymph; to denote her swiftness.

(42) *Multa in eisdem scholâ sine auctoribus placent: satyri quatuor; — duæque Auræ, velificantes suâ veste.* Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 36. Cap. 5. p. 472. Ed. Elz.

(43) In Bartoli's finished drawings from the paintings of the antients, formerly in the possession of the Massimi family at Rome, and now in the hands of Dr. Mead; there are several figures which I take to be air-nymphs. Particularly, Fol. 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 87, 89, 111, 112, 113, 147, and 148.

H h h

Pl. xxviii.
Fig. 2, 3.

Pl. xxviii.
Fig. 4.

I am very much tempted to launch out farther, on so agreeable a subject; but to cut my gratitude short, and to return to my Air-nymphs; this with the blue veil, in the compartment just over Zephyrus, has wings; and that next her, (with a red veil, fluttering all over her head,) has none; tho' they are both, you see, in the attitude of flying. The latter, holds a bundle of flowers, in each hand; perhaps, to scatter them down, over the earth: for these ladies are of a mild and gentle character; and would make very proper wives for the Zephyri: part of whose office was that of dispensing and cherishing flowers; even so far back, as in the times of (44) the golden age. In this drawing, I have a Zephyr and Air-nymph, who may actually have been married together, for what I know; or who, at least, seem not at all averse to each other. These, and the two Air-nymphs I desired you to observe, were found, (on three different ceilings,) in Titus's palace, at Rome. As there is no great variety in the characters of these ladies; I shall point out no more of them to you, at present. They are all light and airy; generally with long robes, and flying veils; of some lively colour, or other; and fluttering about, as diverting themselves in the light and pleasing element, assign'd to them. In short, they are all so many Sylphs: a species, of sportive, happy beings, in themselves; and well-wishers to mankind.

TILL I got acquainted with these Auræ, (or Sylphs,) I found myself always at a loss in reading the known story of Cephalus and Procris, in Ovid. I could never imagine how Cephalus's crying out, *Aura venias*, (tho' in ever so languishing a manner,) could give any body a suspicion of his being false to Procris. As I had been always used to think that *Aura* signified only the air in general, or a gentle breeze in particular; I thought Procris's jealousy less founded, than the most extravagant jealousies generally are: but when I had once found, that *Aura* might signify a very handsome young lady, as well as the air, the case was entirely altered; and the story seemed to go on in a very reasonable manner. To say the truth; this exclamation of Cephalus, is not only very apt to be misunderstood by an English reader: but even when it is understood, it is impossible to be render'd into English. As much impossible, as it would be to translate several of the Latin puns, which we meet with in Cicero and others of the Roman writers; *Aura*, in Latin, being (45) an equivocal word; and we not having any equivocal word, in our language (46), fit to answer it.

ONE may learn from this new set of beings, as well as from several others I have had occasion to mention to you, (particularly in our visit to the beings which relate to the times and seasons;) that the Romans made personages of several ideas, and several things, which we have not been used ever to consider in that light. In the present case, beside the number of winds that are turned into gods, and of breezes to which they gave the gentler character of goddesses; they had several other supposed inhabitants for the air: and that of many more kinds, than I can pretend to shew you any figures of. It is certain that the Winds, in their scheme, were (47) capable of having sons and daughters; and how far their families might run on, would be difficult to determine. The clouds, nay perhaps every distinct cloud, might be a (48) goddess: and this by the way, might enable:

(44) See Note 18, anteh.

(45) The whole turns upon this; as Ovid, indeed, has very distinctly remarked in that story.

Aura (recordor enim) *venias*, cantare solebam,
Meque juves; inresque sinus gratissima nostros!—
Vocibus ambiguus, deceptam præbuit aurem
Nescio quis; nomenque suræ tam sæpe vocatum
Esse putans Nymphæ, Nympham mihi credit amari.

Met. 7. 5. 823.

(46) Our word, *Air*, signifies the element, and is never used personally; our word, *Sylph*, signifies a person, but is never used of the element: the word,

Zephyr, may be used by us, both of the element, and of a person; but then it is a person of the wrong sex for this story.

(47) Thus Calais and Zethes, for instance, were the sons of Boreas by Orithyia;

Cætera qui matris, pennas genitoris habent:
Says Ovid, Met. 6. 5. 71;

(48) The *Nephelæ* appear personally, in Aristophanes's play of that name: and may be called, The Nymphs of the clouds; as the *Auræ*, are the Nymphs of the air.

enable one to account as well, for the story of Juno's cheating Ixion; as the personal sense of Aura does, for the jealousy of Procris. Bad weather (49), as well as (50) good, had a place among the divinities of the Romans: and there were set forms of prayer (51), even to tempests; in their old rituals. Dark and damp weather (52) is spoken of as a person, by Valerius Flaccus; as are Frost, and Cold (53), by Lucretius. Heat had as much right to be a person, as Cold; and is spoken of (54) as such, by the same poet, on the same occasion. Showers, and storms of rain, are spoken of as persons by some of the Roman poets; and thunder, and lightning, were actually represented as such, by the very best (55) of all the Grecian painters.

So wide a region as the air, with such a number of inhabitants, (and some of them such wild ones) ought to have good governors, to keep things in order in it: and to say the truth, the poets seem to have provided it with such, in the properest manner that could be. Over the rougher Winds, they placed Æolus; over the softer, Juno: and the Rains, Thunders, and Lightnings, they supposed to be under the immediate direction of Jupiter himself.

ÆOLUS I have never yet met with; either in any gem, medal, picture, or relievo, of the antients. The poets, you know, describe him (56) as of an angry temper, and rough look; fitting in the midst of a vast cave (57): with his subjects fettered or chained down, round about him. Virgil, and Valerius Flaccus after him, give a picture of Æolus letting the Winds out of this their prison; to direct the storms, that are so particularly described by both of these poets. By their joint account of him, he seems to be the most of a tyrant, of any of the gods; or, (to use a word that with the old Romans was but a little softer,) the fittest king, for such unruly subjects.

THE

Pryxus and Helle had one of these Cloud-nymphs for their mother. Whence Ovid calls Helle, Nephelida; the daughter of a Nephela, or Cloud-nymph. Met. 11. l. 195. and Lucian says, in his usual laughing way; Οὐκὲν ἔχοντι τῆς μητέρας, τὴν Νεφέλης, βανθὸν πῆλιν;—Εἰ δὲν' ἀλλὰ ἡ μήτηρ πολλὰ τῆς κούρης θυγατέρες. Tom. I. p. 252. Ed. Blæu.—The same author, in his long list of fabulous stories, does not forget to insert this. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὴν Ἀθελμαντὸς μητέρα, καὶ τὴν Νεφέλης παίδων εἶναι τὰ κρηὶς τῆς διαστοῆς φύσιν. Ibid. p. 803.

(49) Nigram Hiemi pecudem.—
Virgil. Æn. 3. l. 120.

(50) When the altar of the Winds was found at Nettuno; another altar, inscribed Ara Tranquillitatis, was found with it: they are both now in the Capitoline gallery.

(51) Tempestates, quæ populi Romani ritibus consecrate sunt. Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 70. Ed. Ald.

(52) —Pontum pater & turbata reponit
Litora, depellitque Notos; quos cæcylus Horror,
Et madido gravis Unda sinu, longæque secutus
Imber, ad Æoliæ tendunt simul æquora portæ.
Valerius Flaccus. Arg. 1. l. 654.

(53) Lucretius, 5. l. 745, & 746.

(54) Id. Ibid. l. 740.

(55) Pinxit (Apelles)—Tonitrua, Fulgetra, Fulguraque: Bronten, Altrapen, Ceraunubolon appellant. Pliny, Lib. 35. Cap. 10. p. 438. Ed. Elz.

(56) Ut ferus est, multoque suis truculentior Euris,
Spectasset siccis vulnera nostra genis.
Sic licet est aliquid cum doris vivere Ventis;
Ingenio populi convenit ille sui:
Imperat heu ventis; tumida non imperat ira.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 11. l. 15. (Canace, Mac.)

(57) —Hic magno rex Æolus antro
Lucentes Ventos Tempestatesque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis & carcere frenat:
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum claudra fremunt. Celsa fedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollique animos, & temperat iras.
Virgil. Æn. 1. l. 57.

—Chalybs iterataque muris
Saxa domant Euros. Cum jam prohibere frementem
Ora nequit rex, tunc aditus & claustra refringit
Ipse volens; placatque datâ fera murmura portâ.
Nuntius hunc folio Boreas proturbat ab alto; &c.
Valerius Flaccus. Arg. 1. l. 597.

Juvenal, to strengthen the force of his satire against Xerxes, says, he was a greater tyrant even than Æolus; that he was not content to chain Corus and Euris, but whipped them with rods; and that (whereas Æolus fettered only the Winds,) Xerxes fettered even the presiding deity of the seas.

In Corum atque Eurum solitus sevirare flagellis
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passus;
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennoigeum.

Juvenal. Sat. 10. l. 182.

The deities of the several Winds were supposed to be let out of this cave, for a storm; and to be shut in again, after it.

—Tum valido contortam turbine portam
Impulsi Hippotaides. Fundunt se, &c.
Flaccus. Arg. 1. l. 610.

—Ad Æoliæ tendunt simul æquora portæ.
Id. Ibid. l. 654.

So Virgil: Æn. 1. l. 81, & 140.

THE character of Juno, as presiding over the air, is well known; and as such, the aerial nymphs we have been considering, may very well be supposed to have been her proper subjects. When therefore Virgil makes her speak (58) of the fourteen nymphs, that were chosen out as her particular attendants; these may most probably be supposed to have been so many of the *Auræ*, or nymphs of the air: and what makes it yet more likely is, that she offers one of them, for a wife to *Æolus*, the god of the Winds. Juno, in her character of presiding over the air, is represented as you see her here, in a light car, drawn by peacocks. For want of choice I was forced to admit of the figure you see; tho' it is copied from a Grecian medal; and is of a character that was as proper among the Greeks, as it would have been improper among the Romans: the latter, (as I have observed before,) dressing Juno usually like one of their own matrons: and covering her from head to foot: whereas the former did not use near so much strictness; and were accustomed to figures of her, almost quite naked. It is remarkable, that an (59) epithet which Homer gives perpetually to Juno, as presiding over the air; and well agreeing with the Greek manner of representing her; is never imitated by Virgil, or any other of the Latin poets, that I know of.

Pl. XXIX.
FIG. 1.

JUPITER is almost as well known for being a chief ruler of the air, as he is for being the husband of Juno. His particular province there was to direct the Rains, the Thunders, and the Lightnings. I have already spoke to you of the figures of Jupiter, as dispensing thunder and lightning: and have only reserved his character of presiding over the rain, as the most proper of all for this place.

I do not remember ever to have met with any representations of Jupiter the dispenser of rain, or (as he is commonly called) the Jupiter Pluvius, except on a medal, which I am going to shew you; and in those remarkable history-pieces, on the Trajan, and Antonine pillars, at Rome. On this medal, you see him seated on the clouds: holding up his right hand; and pouring a stream of hail and rain from it, on the earth: whilst his fulmen is held down, in his left. This figure is remarkable enough, as it is the only one, perhaps, of a Jupiter Pluvius on medals; tho' that on the Antonine pillar has been much more talked of. The latter, you know, relates to Marcus Aurelius; and the great danger from which the Roman army was delivered under his conduct; in a battle against the Marcomani, and some other of the German nations. The Romans, (who were few in number, and had been long inclosed in some very dangerous straits by a vast multitude of the Barbarians;) were almost spent with heat and thirst, and on the point of being defeated by their enemies: when, on a sudden, the heavens were overcast, and a great shower fell; which extremely refreshed the Romans: at the same time that the lightnings, (which were very frequent, and seemed pointed at their enemies' breasts,) helped greatly to intimidate, and defeat them. This had so much the air of a miracle, that it has been challenged as such by several of the christian, as well as heathen writers. That dispute is too large for us to enter into now, as well as beside my present purpose; which is only to consider the figures of the Jupiter Pluvius; and how far they may serve to explain any passage in the Roman poets. He appears on the Antonine pillar, as well as on my medal, with an elderly and sedate countenance (60); and holds out his arms, almost in a straight line, each way. The wings which are given him on the former, relate to his character of presiding over the air: which indeed was the original (61), and principal character of Jupiter,

Pl. XXIX.
FIG. 2.

(58) *Sunt mihi bis septem præstanti corpore nymphæ:
Quarum, quæ formâ pulcherrima, Deiopeam
Connubio jungam stabili propriamque dicabo;
Omnes ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
Exigat, & pulchrâ faciat te prole parentem.*
Virgil. *Æn.* l. 3. 75.

(59) *Δευκαλειος ἦρᾱ.*

(60) See Bartoli's *Columna Antonina*, Pl. 15.

(61) *Hoc vide circum: supraque, quod complexu continet
Terram. Id quod nostri cælum memorant, Graii
perhibent æthera.
Quicquid est hoc, omnia is animat, format, augeat,
alut, ferat:*
Sepelir,

Jupiter (62), among the antients. His hair and beard are all spread down, by the rain; which defends in a sheet from him, and falls for the refreshment of the Romans: whilst their enemies are represented, as struck with the lightnings; and lying dead before their feet.

THIS Jupiter Pluvius may help one to explain a passage in Lucan; where that poet, in speaking of the power of the witches in Thesfaly, says among other things:

— Nunc omnia complent
Imbribus; & calido producent nubila Phœbo:
Et tonat ignaro cœlum Jove. Vocibus isdem
Humentes latè nebulas nimboſque ſolutis
Excuffere comis (63).

THE commentators on this passage ſeem to think no more is meant in the latter part of it, than when Horace (64), in ſpeaking of Canidia, ſays, ſhe has all her hair looſe about her head. But I think any one who would look on that figure firſt; and then conſider Lucan's expreſſion, (nimboſ ſolutis excuffere comis;) will eaſily ſee that the poet meant to deſcribe his witches, not only with their hair looſe, but as actually pouring the ſhowers down from it; as Jupiter does from his, in that representation of him.

THAT Jupiter often aſſiſted, or directed, their armies by ſudden ſtorms of rain and thunder, was a notion received very early among the Romans. I remember there is an inſtance of this fort recorded by Livy (65), toward the beginning of the republic; and there is another, in the ſecond Punic war; which was much more cried up among them, as it was exerted at ſo critical a time; againſt Hannibal the moſt formidable of all their enemies, when he had drawn up his army juſt before the gates of Rome. Some of their hiſtorians ſpeak of this (66) as ſupernatural; and Silius Italicus, (who himſelf is more of an hiſtorian than a poet,) attributes it expreſſly to the Jupiter Capitolinus. You muſt know, that beſide the figure of Jupiter in his ſhrine within his chief temple on the Capitoline hill, there was another (67) figure of him on the outſide of it; on the top of the dome;

Sepelit, recipitque in ſeſe omnia; omniumque idem eſt pater.

Ennius, in Chryſe.

Mater eſt terra; ea parit corpus: animam æther adjugat. Id. Ibid.

— Percunt imbres, ubi eos Pater Æther
In gremium matris Terræ præcipitavit.

Lucretius. 1. 5. 252.

Iſthic eſt Jupiter quem dico, Græci vocant Aera. —

Ennius, in Epicharmo.

— Aſpice hoc

Sublime candens, quem vocant omnes Jovem.

Id. in Thyefte.

(62) This is wholly founded on the authority of a gem, which I remember to have ſeen in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. It relates to Jupiter's amour with Semele. That lady had the raſhneſs to wheedle him out of an abſolute promiſe, that he would appear to her in all his glory. This appearance is the ſubject of the gem I am ſpeaking of: and you ſee Jupiter in it, with wings on his ſhoulders; and lightnings all around him: both of which, relate to his character of preſiding over the air,

(63) Lucan. Pharf. 6. 5. 469.

(64) Canidiam pedibus nudis, paſſoque capillo.

Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. 5. 24.

(65) Eodem anno, (284 V. C.) Valerius Coſ. cum exercitu in Æquos profectus, cum hoſtem ad prælium elicere non poſſet, caſtra oppugnare eſt adortus. Prohibuit ſæda tempeſtas, cum grandine ac tonitribus cœlo deſecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, ſigno receptui dato, adeo tranquilla ſerenitas reddita, ut veluti numine aliquo deſenſa caſtra oppugnare iterum religio fuit: omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Livy, Lib. 2. 5. 62.

(66) Inſtructis utrimque exercitibus, in ejus pugnae caſum, in quâ urbs Roma victori præmium eſſet; imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit, ut vix armis retentis in caſtra ſeſe receperint. — Poſtero die, eodem loco acies inſtructas eadem tempeſtas diremit: ubi recepiſſent ſeſe, mira ſerenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. Livy, Lib. 26. 5. 11.

Quid ergo miramur moventi caſtra à tertio lapide Annibali, iterum ipſos deos, (deos inquam, nec faſteri pudebit,) reſtitiffe? Tanta enim ad ſingulos illius motus vis imbrum eſuſa, tanta ventorum violentia coorta eſt, ut divinitus hoſtem ſummoveri; neque cœlo, ſed ab urbis ipſius mœnibus & Capitolio ferri videretur. Florus, Lib. 2. 5. 6.

(67) This was one of the earlieſt ſtatues introduced at Rome; and was originally made of earth. — M. Varro tradit elaboratam hanc artem, (Platiſſicæ,) Italæ, & maxime Hetruriæ; Turianumque à Fragellis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priſcus effigiem Jovis
l i i

dome; standing in his chariot, and probably holding the fulmen in his hand. Silius makes him discharge (68) this full at Hannibal, on this occasion; as Lucius Florus seems to make the storm of rain (69) come from the same quarter.

THERE WAS, I think, scarce any character of Jupiter among the Romans, that was more capable of giving sublime ideas to their artists, than this of the Jupiter Pluvius. In my medal indeed, as well as on the Antonine pillar, he is all calm and still; but on the Trajan pillar (70), he appears a good deal more agitated: and had we a greater variety of his figures remaining to us, I doubt not but that in some of them we should see his face, and his whole form, under yet still greater emotions, than we do there. For the Roman poets, (whose works the more one considers, the more one finds them to be counter-parts to those of their painters and statuary,) do not only speak of Jupiter as descending in violent showers (71); but as all ruffled too with those winds, which most usually attend them. Silius Italicus rises quite into poetry, where he is treating this subject: and one of the finest passages, even in the *Æneid*, relates to the same. It is where Evander is pointing out the Capitoline hill to *Æneas*. On which occasion I do not know whether Virgil endeavours to confirm an old opinion, or to insinuate a new one; "That Jupiter was the guardian deity of that place, even before Rome was built." They afterwards indeed supposed him to be present there (72) as fully, and in as much glory, as in the highest heavens; but I do not remember any passage but this in Virgil which supposes him to have chose that hill for his peculiar residence, before his temple was built on it. The poet chuses to describe his appearance there, in all the majesty of clouds and darkness.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem & Capitolia ducit:
Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.
Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci: jam tum sylvam saxumque tremebant.
Hoc nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoso vertice collem,
Quis deus incertum est, habitat deus: Arcades ipsum
Credunt se vidisse Jovem; cum sæpe nigrantem
Ægida concuteret dextrâ, nimbosque ciceret (73).

MAY

in Capitolio dicendam: fœdilem cum fuisse, & ideo miniari solitum; fœdiles in fastigio templi ejus quadrigas, de quibus sæpe diximus. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 35. Cap. 12. It was afterwards cast in some richer metal; as we learn from Livy. *Ænea* in Capitolio limina, & trium mensarum argentea vasa in cellâ Jovis, Jovemque in culmine cum quadrigis, & ad Ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupæ, posuerunt. (*Ædiles Curules*, anno 457 V. C.) Livy, Lib. 10. §. 23.

(68) — Ipse à Tarpeio sublimis vertice cuncta,
Et ventos simul & nubes & grandinis iras,
Fulminaque & tonitrus, & nimbos conciet atros.
— Celsus summo de culmine montis
Regnator Superâ sublatâ fulmina dextrâ
Libravit; clypeoque ducis non cedere certi
Incessit.

Silus Ital. 12. v. 625.

It is not improbable from what follows in Silius, that this figure of Jupiter held the *Ægis* in its left hand, as it did the Fulmen in its right.

— Sed enim, adspice, quantum

Ægida commoveat nimbos flammæque vomentem
Jupiter; & quantis pascit ferus ignibus iras!
Hæc vultus flecte; atque aude spectare Tonantem
Quas hiemes, quantos concussio vertice cernis

Sub nutu tonitrus! Oculis qui fulguret ignis!
Cede Deis tandem; & Titania desine bella.

(Juno to Hannibal.) Ibid. v. 725.

(69) See Note 66, antech.

(70) See Bartoli's Col. Traj. Pl. 18.

(71) — Jupiter avidus Austris.

Virgil. G. 1. v. 418.

Nec sævus ignis, nec tremendo
Jupiter ipse ruens tumultu.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 16. v. 12.

— Quàm multâ grandine nimbi
In vada præcipitant; cum Jupiter, horridas Austris,
Torquet aquosam hiemem & cælo cava nubila rum-
pit.

Virgil. *Æn.* 9. v. 671.

(72) Si adhuc dubium fuisset, forte casuque rec-
tores terris an aliquo numine darentur, principem
tamen nostrum liqueret divinitûs constitutum. Non
enim occultâ potestate fatorum, sed ab Jove ipso co-
ram ac palam repertus, electus est: quippe inter aras
& altaria; eodemque loci, quem deus ille tam mani-
festus ac præfens, quàm cælum ac sidera, infedit.
Pliny's Paneg. on Trajan, sub init.

(73) Virgil. *Æn.* 8. v. 354.

MAY I take the liberty of adding here, that the same sort of idea is used more strongly, by a poet of our own nation ?

————— How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark, doth heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Chuse to reside ; his glory unobscur'd ?
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne (74). ———

AND that it is expressed in the greatest dignity of all, in the Holy Scripture. There are numerous instances of this kind, but I shall mention only two of them : Moses's account of the presence of God on Mount Horeb ; where he says " that the mountain " burnt with fire, unto the midst of heaven ; with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness (75) : " And that most sublime description of the Psalmist ; " The earth trembled " and quaked ; the very foundations of the hills shook, and were removed.—There went " a smoke out of his presence ; and a consuming fire out of his mouth.—He bowed " the heavens also, and came down : and it was dark under his feet. He rode upon " the Cherubims and did fly : he came flying upon the wings of the wind. He made " darkness his secret place ; his pavilion round about him : with dark water, and thick " clouds, to cover him (76). "

THE thoughts in the latter part of this passage are so excessively great, that they were capable of inspiring even Sternhold with poetry enough to write the following lines ; which are probably the noblest that were written by any English poet of those times.

The Lord descended from above ; and bent the heav'n's so high ;
And underneath his feet he cast the darkness of the sky ;
On Cherubs and on Cherubims full royally he rode :
And on the wings of mighty winds came flying all abroad.

ANY one who considers the sublimity of these lines, together with the meanness of most of the others which came from the same hand, will be still more convinced of the greatness and energy of the thoughts expressed in them. Indeed the idea of darkness in itself is exceedingly fit for majesty ; perhaps even more so, than the glare of light, which most people are so apt to make their heaven of. There is scarce any thing of a more solemn and venerable turn, than the profound stillness of midnight : and this, probably, was yet more striking to the heathens of old ; for they, (besides what they felt from nature as well as we,) used to look upon darkness as one of the (77) most ancient, and most respectable, of all their deities.

As Polymetis stopped here, and seemed to have finished what he had to say on this subject ; Philander thought it a proper occasion to ask after a goddess whom he had been expecting for some time. You seem, Polymetis, (says he,) to have forgot one of the most beautiful and striking of all the beings that were supposed to belong to the region of the air ; Iris, or the genius of the Rainbow : who surely, if she be not hand-somer, ought at least to be finer dressed than any of those you have mentioned. I beg her pardon for forgetting her in my account, says Polymetis ; but I have not forgot her in my collection. There she is, by that window just behind you. The antients make her the daughter, (tho' I think they should rather have made her the mother,) of Admiration.

(74) Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 2. *l.* 268.

(75) Deut. iv. 11.

(76) Ps. xviii. 7—11.

(77) Several of the heathen nations held Nox and Chaos to be the eldest of all their deities.

Aque Chaos densos Divum numerabat amores.

Virgil. *G.* 4. *l.* 347.

Nocte, Deo Nocti cristatus cœditur ales.

Ovid. *Fast.* 1. *l.* 455.

Noxque, tenebrarum specie reverenda tuarum !

Id. *lib.* 3. *l.* 73.

ration (78). This figure of her was copied from one of the pictures in the Vatican Virgil: in which she is represented flying downwards, in the attitude you see her here, to deliver a message from Juno to Turnus. She has, you see, a very noble resplendency, or glory, round her head; is surrounded with clouds; and has her feet on a level with some of that rising ground: all which particulars may some way or other be significant of her character: as the veil, which she holds with each hand, and which circles over her head, may signify both the arch she presides over; and her being an inhabitant of the region of the air. The Roman poets speak of her, both as handsome (79), and as very finely dressed. They make her the messenger of Juno in as distinguished a manner, as Triton was of Neptune; or Mercury, of Jupiter. She has (80) wings to shew her dispatch in that high office. Statius seems to give her a robe of various colours; collected about her with a Zone which has all those beautiful streams of different colours upon it, that we admire so much in the rainbow. She seems to have been sometimes represented, by the ancient painters, as enlightened by the lucid bow that is arched over her head; or perhaps as diffusing a brightness from her own person. I take up with this notion of the old pictures of this goddess, chiefly at second hand: I mean, from what the poets say of her; and, particularly, from the large description of her (81) in Statius.

THE figure which answers this, a little farther on her right hand, with its wing spread out; is the goddess of Fame. You see, all the upper part of her wing is quite stuffed, as it were, with eyes; as Virgil says, that she had an eye almost under every feather. The only figure I have ever seen of her is the little one in brass, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence; from which this was copied. The poets are much more frequent, in their accounts of her personage. They describe her as winged (82), and as hurrying along with a very busy motion. Virgil makes her (83) a growing figure: a thing, which was out of the power of the statuary or painters to express; and which it is difficult enough even to conceive. By the way, I remember but two instances beside this, of any growing figure; in all the Roman poets. Those are in Virgil too: and are perhaps the greatest instances of imagination, that we have in all his works. One of them relates to Tisiphone; and the other, (and strongest of all,) to Alecto: where he says, that as that Fury regarded Turnus, "her face (84) grew larger, and larger, upon him:" not unlike those frightful faces that one sometimes sees just as one is sinking into sleep, or in some troubled dream. But to return to Virgil's description of Fame: he gives her, not only a great number of eyes; but of ears (85), tongues and mouths, too:

(78) The poets call her Thaumantis, Thaumantia virgo, and Thaumantias: and Cicero gives us the reason for it.—Quia speciem habeat admirabilem, Thaumante dicitur esse nata. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 70. Ed. Ald.

(79) Sic resco Thaumantias ore locuta est.
Virgil. *Æn.* 9. v. 5.
Nuntia Junonis, varios induta colores.
Ovid. *Met.* 1. v. 270.

(80) — In cœlum paribus se sustulit alis;
Ingentemque fugâ secuit sub nubibus arcum.
Virgil. *Æn.* 9. v. 15.

(81) Orbibus accingi solitis jubet Irin; & omne
Mandat opus. Paret julis dea clara; polumque
Linguit, & in terras longo suspenditur arcu.
Statius. *Theb.* 10. v. 83.
Huc se caruleo libravit ab æthere virgo
Discolor: effulgent sylva, tenebroique Tempe
Adrisere dex; & Zonis lucentibus icta
Evigilat domus: ipse * autem nec lampade clara
Nec sonito, nec voce dex perculius, eodem
* Somnus.
More jacet. —
Ibid. v. 123.

(82) — Pedibus celarem, & pernicibus alis.
Virgil. *Æn.* 4. v. 180.
— Pavidam volitans pennata per urbem
Nuntia fama ruit —
Id. *Ib.* 9. v. 474.

— Dea turbida Thebas
Inflit, & tutis perfundit micena pennis.
Statius. *Theb.* 2. v. 209.

(83) Mobilitate viget; viresque acquirit eundo;
Parva meta primo, mox sese attollit in auras;
Ingreditur solo, & caput inter nubila condit.
Virgil. *Æn.* 4. v. 177.

(84) Tantaque se facies aperit!
Æn. 7. v. 448.

See Dial. 16. Notes 150, and 159, posth.
(85) — Cui quot sunt corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi subter; (mirabile dictu!)
Tot linguz, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.
Æn. 4. v. 183.

I am apt to imagine that some of the lower painters of old used to represent Fame, (as some of the moderns have done of late) with eyes, and ears, all over her body; even to her fingers ends: for which, in particular, Lucian seems to ridicule them in the following

so that he may very well call her, a⁽⁸⁶⁾ horrid goddess; and even a monster, as he does in the same place. Statius dresses her up in a robe⁽⁸⁷⁾, wrought all over with murders, battles, and sieges. Ovid is yet more particular in his account of this goddess, than either of them. He describes her court, and all⁽⁸⁸⁾ her attendants in it. He says, her palace is in the midst of the world⁽⁸⁹⁾, between the earth, seas, and heavens; whence she sees and hears whatever is transacted in all of them. Virgil makes her⁽⁹⁰⁾ fly about, by night; and sit on the top of this her palace, or on some other eminence, by day. It is from both their accounts that I thought I had a right to place her figure here, among the imaginary inhabitants of the air. I had some thoughts of introducing the Sirens here too; and some other beings, which seem rather to belong to this element than either of the other: but as I am not yet quite resolved, I have no more here to trouble you with at present. I am very glad to hear it, says Mylægetes, (getting a little hastily toward the door;) when first you pointed out your figure of Fame, I expected we should soon have had Pegasus; and the Lord knows how many Sphinxes: and all the Stymphalides. In a word, every monster that ever the poets supposed to have had a pair of wings. When you were in the temper of introducing Fame here, how came the rest to escape you? What a strange collection of creatures, have we been in danger of being in company with? I question whether you have not several of them in your drawers already.—What are you waiting for there, Philander? Come along with me! —Let us get out of this dangerous place, as fast as we can, I beseech you.

lowing passage. Πολυων σκαυον αναπφνας, το-
σαυτα αλλανωι' ως, και κατα το τερατοδεις, και δια
των ουρων περκοει. Tom. II. p. 765. Ed. Blacu.
Lucian here calls Fame, το τερατοδεις, as Virgil calls
her monsttrum.

(86) — Dea fœda —
Virgil. Æn. 4. ♀. 195.
Monsttrum horrendum. —
Id. Ibid. ♀. 181.

(87) Fræna ministrat equis Pavor armiger; & vigil omni
Fama sono, varios rerum succincta tumultus,
Ante volat currum; Hastæque impulsæ gementum
Alipedum, trepidas densæ cum murmure plumas
Excutit: urget enim stimulis auriga cruentis
Facto, insecta loqui; curruque infestus ab alto
Terga comæque Deæ Scythicæ Pater increpat hastâ.

Statius. Theb. 3. ♀. 431.

She is here represented as running, and urged on,
before the chariot of Mars. The charioteer is Bel-
lona: Theb. 7. ♀. 73. Mars, (as all the great war-

riors of old,) has one to drive, that he himself may
be at full liberty to fight.

(88) Atria turba tenent; veniunt leve vulgus cunctique;
Mixtaque cum Veris passim Commenta vagantur:
Millia Rumerum, confusæque Verba volutant.

Ovid. Met. 12. ♀. 552

Illic Credulitas; illic temerarius Error;
Vanaque Lætitia est; conternatque Timores;
Seditioque repens; dubioque auctore Sufurri.

Ibid. ♀. 61.

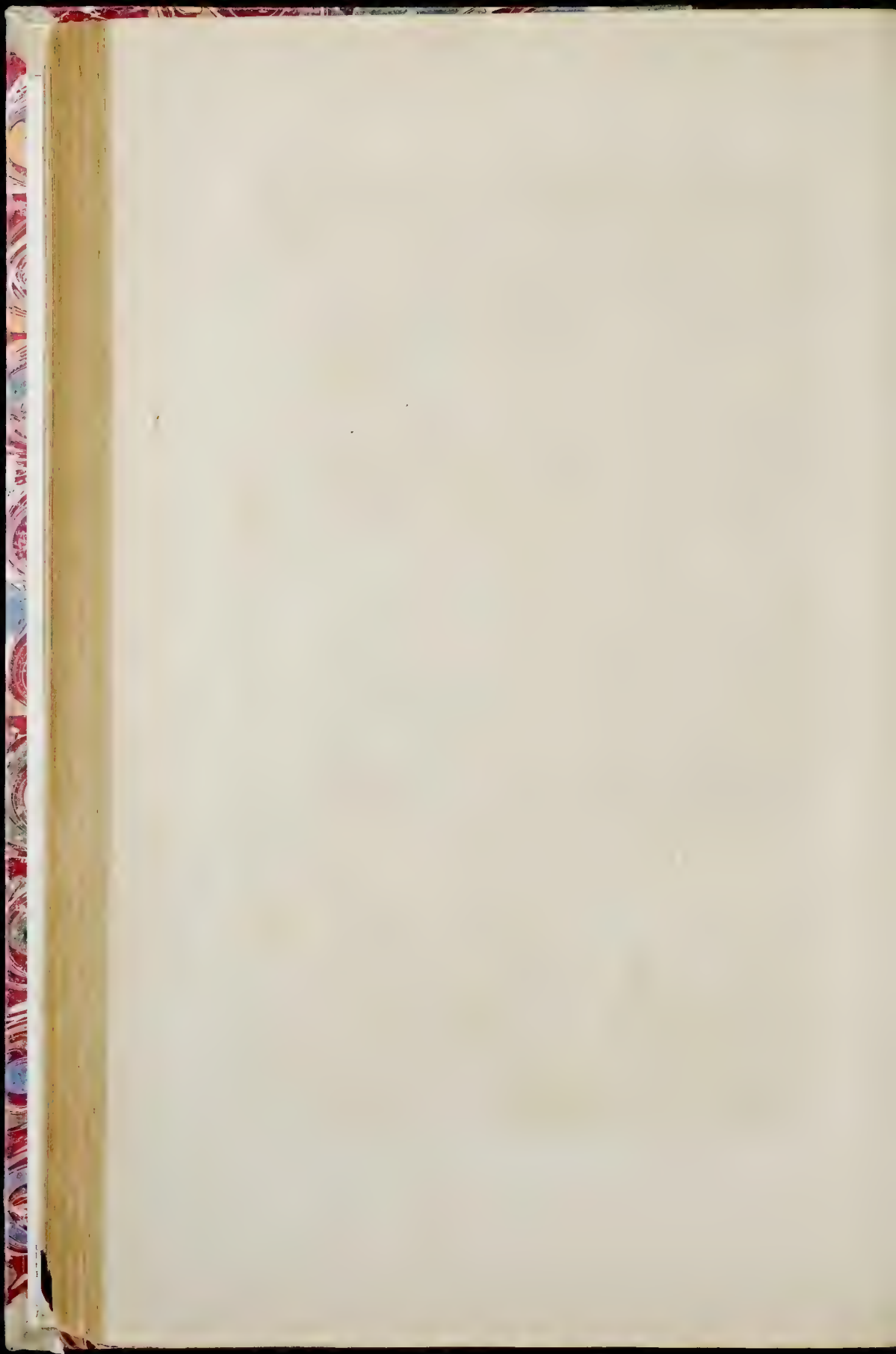
(89) Orbe locus medio est, inter terræque fretumque
Cœlestesque plagas; triplicis confinia mundi;
Unde quod est usquam quamvis regionibus abfit
Inspicitur, penetratque cava vox omnis ad aures:
Fama tenet; summæque domum sibi legit in arce.

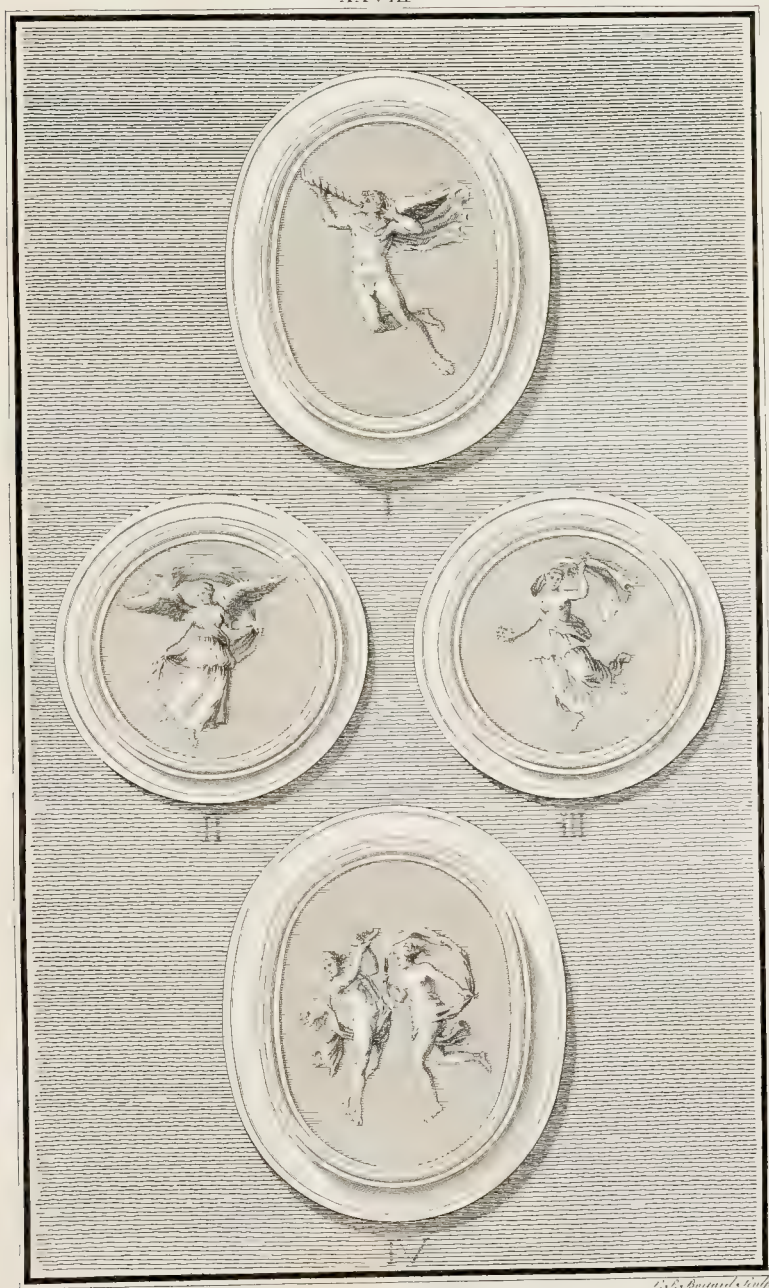
Ibid. ♀. 43.

(90) Noctæ volat cœli medio terræque per umbram,
Surgens; nec dulci declinat lumina somno:
Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis. —

Virgil. Æn. 4. ♀. 187.

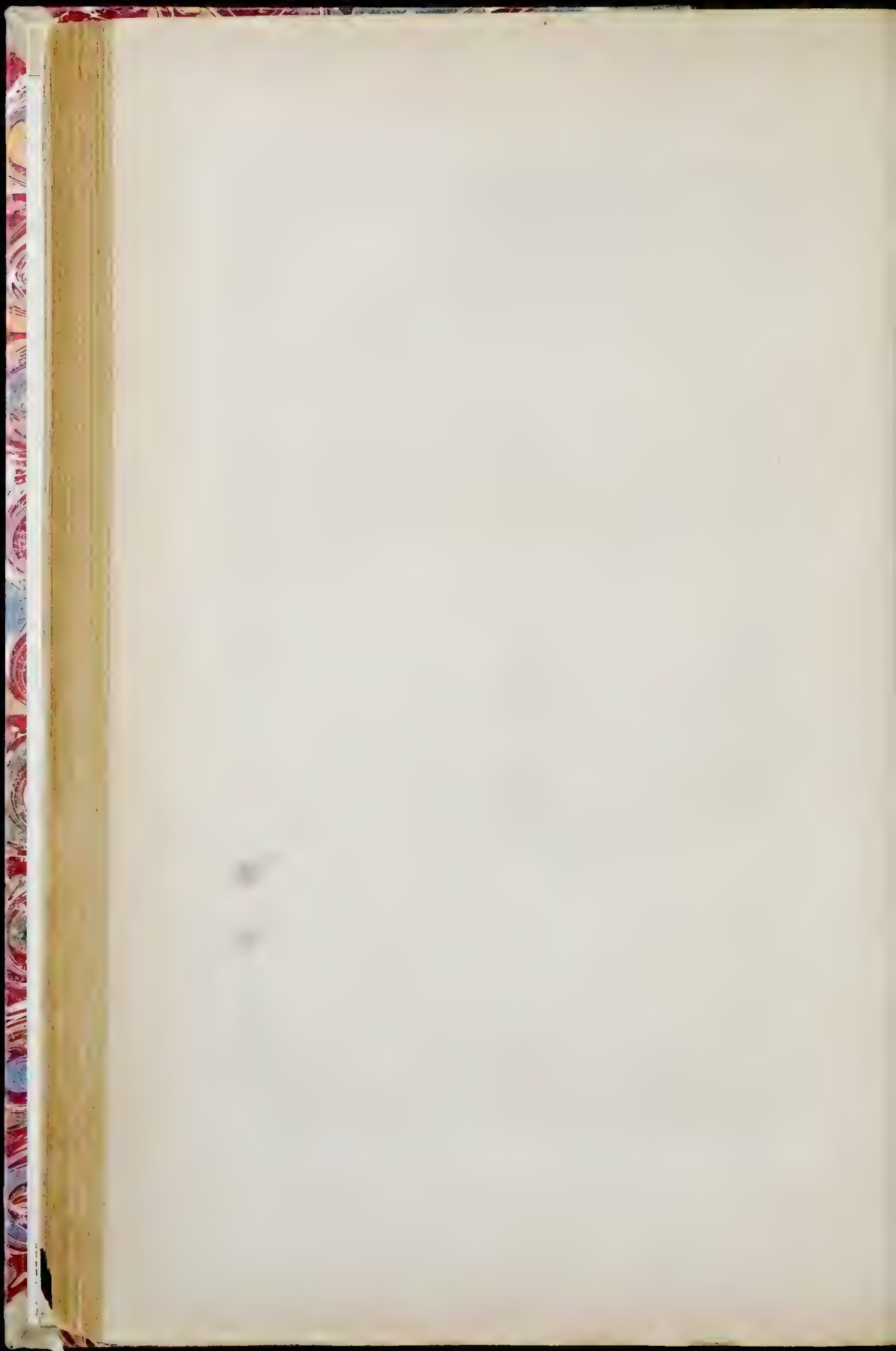












BOOK the Seventh.

D I A L. XIV.

Of the Deities of the Waters.

DIRECTLY under the temple of the Winds, and just at the foot of the hill, stood another building; which, at first sight, looked more like a great grotto than a temple. The pillars about it and the architrave were indeed of the Tuscan order; but it was designed so as to appear yet more rude and more like rock-work, than buildings even of that order generally are. In this Polymetis had placed some of the deities who presided over the Sea: and in the inside it was stuck about with rough shells, and coral, and petrified plants of several sorts. The plain which slopes down gently from thence to the river he had planted all with little groves, and clusters of willows and alders; which were so irregular, that they seemed much more to have grown there by chance, than to have been even helped by art: and in the openings, he had left here and there, in several parts of this unartificial piece of grove-work, were several fountains; all with the natural turf, and the wild flowers of the place, for their margins. If his fountains did not at all resemble those of Fiescati, or Versailles; they were, at least, a great deal more like those in use in the better ages of antiquity. At one, you had the figure of a single river-god, leaning on his urn: from which the water gushed out, (as from a spring just dug up;) and then wandered down a little bed of scattered flint, into its natural basin: and at another, a water-nymph asleep; with her hand dropt negligently by her side; her jar as sliding a little from it; and the water running out, as if it was just then fallen.

THIS, all together, made a very agreeable retreat, in the few days that we have too hot among us: and therefore Polymetis carried his friends thither, the next day after dinner; when they had been just wishing for some place, where they might have shade and coolness. He led them first into his Tuscan grotto; and when they had seated themselves there, on some seats that seemed to be cut out of the rock that made the arch over their heads; he began speaking to them, in the following manner.

THE different ranks and orders settled among the antients for the Deities of the Sea, have not yet been put into so clear a light as I think they might easily have been. I should imagine, at least, that they may all be well enough disposed into six classes. Of the highest class, are Oceanus (1) and Tethys, as governors in chief over the whole world of Waters. Neptune and Amphitrite, as governors of the Mediterranean sea; the Venus Marina; and possibly one or two more, of characters that might deserve to be distinguished above all the rest.—In the next class, we may reckon Triton and Proteus; and all such as were exalted by their high employs, or great personal qualifications.—Of the third, should be the immediate progeny of Oceanus and Tethys; such as Nereus; Doris; and all the Oceanitides.—The fourth, may consist of the Neptunines; or descendants of Neptune.—The fifth, of the Nereids; or descendants of Nereus

(1) Virgil calls Oceanus, Pater rerum, "Lord of all the watery world;" G. 4. v. 382. whereas Juvenal calls Neptune only, Pater Ægei, or "Lord of the inland-seas." Sat. 13. v. 81. He mentions the Ægean sea, rather than any other of the Mediterranean

seas; because the great Residence of Neptune was supposed to be in a cave, under the promontory of Tienaros, in that sea: according to Statius, Theb. 2. v. 47.

Nereus and Doris;—and the sixth, of all the adventitious or made gods of the Sea; such as Ino, Phæmon, and the like.

As this temple, or grotto, (call it which you please,) is of so rude a style; built as you see chiefly of pumice-stone, and designed so as to be almost incapable of ornaments: I have been very sparing of admitting any statues into it. There are none but those that belong to that fountain, in the midst of it. To supply the want of others, I have brought two or three medals with me, which relate to the deities of the Waters; and which I shall produce, when I may have occasion for them.

It would not have been difficult for me, to have got a figure of Oceanus; if I had been desirous of introducing one here. At least, I am apt to imagine that he is represented in several antiques: as whenever you see Tellus, and a Water-deity, opposed to one another, on Sarcophagus's; and on most reliefs, where the four elements are expressed by persons: particularly, in such as represent the creation or new formation of any person; as in that fine one of Nerene (2), which I shewed you in my temple of the Great Celestial Deities: in which I take the uppermost and most erect of the two Water-deities, to be Oceanus. I cannot say, that I have ever met with any figure of his wife, Tethys. The poets speak of them both (3), under their personal characters; but say very little that is descriptive, of either.

I HAVE already (4) mentioned to you that noble idea of Neptune, in Virgil; where he speaks of the countenance of this god, as calm and serene; even at the time that he is provoked, and might be expected to have appeared disturbed and in a passion. There is serenity and majesty (5) in the air of his face; on the medal I have in my hand. You see he treads on the beak of a ship; to shew, that he presided over the seas; or more particularly, over the Mediterranean sea: which was the great, and almost the only scene for navigation, among the old Greeks and Romans. He is standing (6), as he generally was represented; he most commonly too has his trident in his right hand: this was his peculiar scepter (7); and seems to have been used by him, chiefly to rouse up the waters: for we find sometimes that he lays it aside, when he is to (8) appease them; but he resumes it, where there is any occasion for violence. Virgil makes him shake Troy from its

Pl. XXX.
Fig. 1.

(2) See Plate 9. antech.

(3) Genitor nymphaeum Oceanus.

Catullus, ad Gellium, 85. v. 6.

An Deus immensis venias maris, ac tua nautæ

Numina sola colant: tibi ferveat ultima Thule;

Teque tibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

Virgil. Georg. 1. v. 31.

Sæpe aliquis folio quod tu, Saturne, tenebas

Aufus de mediâ plebe federe Deus:

Et latus Oceano quisquam Deus advena junxit;

Tethys & extremo sæpe recepta loco est.

Ovid. Fast. 5. v. 22.

Intumuit Juno, postquam inter sidera pellex

Falsit: & ad canam descendit in aquora Tethyn,

Oceanumque senem; quorum reverentia movit

Sæpe Deos: causamque viæ scitantis, inest.

“Quæritis æthereis quare regina Deorum

Sedibus huc admittit?” &c.—

Id. Met. 2. v. 513.

(4) See Dial. 7. p. 65.

(5) Cum (Euphranor) Athenis duodecim Deos pingeret, Neptuni imaginem quam poterat excellentissimis majestatis coloribus complexus est; perinde ac Jovis aliquanto augustiorem representaturus: sed omni impetu cogitationis in superiori opere absumpto, posteriores ejus conatus assurgere quo tendebant ne-

quiverunt. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 8. Cap. 11.

It was on this account that the artists gave Neptune the same sort of dark hair, as Jupiter. *Ἀναπαύσσει γυνεῖν μὲν τὴν Δία· παῖδα δὲ ἑς αἰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνα· καὶ τὴν Ἑρμῆν ὑπὸνδῖον· καὶ Ποσειδῶνα κυανόχρυτον· καὶ Ὀλλυπόδω τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.* Lucian. Tom. I. p. 367. Ed. Blæu.

(6) Stare Deum pelagi, longoque ferire tridentem

Aspera faxa facit. —

Ovid. Met. 6. v. 27.

(Of a design, wrought in tapestry; by Minerva.)

— Ubique rotis horrendus equisque

Stas pater. —

Val. Flaccus. Arg. 1. v. 680.

(7) — Deus æquoreus qui cuspidem temperat undas.

Ovid. Met. 12. v. 580.

This is called, triplex cuspis, ibid. v. 594. and

Neptune himself, Tridentifer, ib. 8. v. 595.

Per solis radios, Tarpeique fulmina jurat;

Et Martis framcam, & Cirrheæ spicula vatis;

Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellæ;

Perque tuam, Pater Ægei Neptune, tridentem.

Juvenal. Sat. 13. v. 81.

(8) — Postico tricuspidem telo,

Mulcet aquas rector pelagi. —

Ovid. Met. 1. v. 331.

its foundations (9) with it; and, in Ovid, it is with the stroke of this (10), that the waters of the earth are let loose for the general deluge.

THE poets have generally delighted, in describing this god as passing over the calm surface of the waters, in his chariot drawn by sea-horses. The fine original description of this is in Homer; from whom Virgil (11) and Statius have copied it. The make of the sea-horse, as described by the latter, is frequent on gems and reliefs: in which there is sometimes a Triton too represented (12) on each side, as guiding those that draw the chariot of Neptune.

It would have been difficult enough to have got any undoubted figure of Amphitrite; tho' I think she is sometimes represented (13) with Neptune in his chariot. The poets have scarce any personal descriptions of this goddess. All that I can recollect of that kind, is a passage in Ovid; in which it is doubtful enough too, whether that poet speaks personally, of her; or literally of the element over which she presides. If there were antiently any figures of Amphitrite embracing (14) a globe, it might relate to them: tho' to say the truth, if there actually was any representation of this kind, it would be much properer for a Tethys, than an Amphitrite.

THE Sea-Venus, as she was called by the Romans, or the Venus Anaduomenè as she was called by the Greeks, ought I think to be placed in the highest class of the deities of the Sea; in respect to her more exalted character, when considered among the Great Celestial Deities. The most celebrated picture in all antiquity, was that of this goddess by Apelles. Some say that in drawing it he used Campaspe (15) for his model; that favourite mistress of his, who was given him so generously by Alexander the Great. This picture came afterwards into the hands of the Romans; and was (16) probably, for some time, in that noble collection in the palace of Augustus: tho' it was afterwards placed by that emperor, in the temple which he dedicated to his predecessor Julius. It was quite faded, and run to decay, in Pliny's time. But tho' the original has been so long lost, we may still see several strokes that were copied from it in the writings of the Roman Authors who enjoyed the sight of it; and who have marked out some of its beauties for us, even in their prose, as well as their verse writings. You see her in them as just born from the sea; compleat, at once, in her form; with all her beauties fresh about her; and with her body as still wet and humid, from the waves that produced her

(9) — Neptunus muros, magnaque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit; totamque e sedibus urbem
Eruit. —

Virgil. *Æn.* 2. §. 612.

(10) Ipse tridente suo terram percussit; at illa
Intremuit, motuque sinus patefecit aquarum.

Ovid. *Met.* 1. §. 284.

(11) Cymothoe simul & Triton adnixus acuto
Detrahunt naves scopulo: levat ipse tridenti;
Et vastas aperit syrtis & temperat æquor:
Atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas. —
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor; æquora post-

quam
Prospiciens genitor, colloque in vestus aperto,
Flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.

Virgil. *Æn.* 1. §. 155.

— Hiemes ventique silent: cantoque quieto
Armigeri Tritones eunt; scopulosque Cete
Tyrrenique greges circumque infraque rotantur,
Rege salutato. Placidis ipse arduus undis
Eminet, & triplici telo jubet ire jugales:
Illi spumiferos glomerant à pectore fluctus;
Tone natant, delentque pedum vestigia caudâ.
Statius. *Achil.* 1. §. 60.

(12) In portum deducit equos: prior haurit æreas
Ungula; postremi solvantur in æquora pisces.
Statius. *Theb.* 2. §. 47.

— Venit æquoris alti

Rex sublimis equis; geminusque ad spumæ Triton
Frena natans late pelago dat signa cadenti.

Id. *ib.* 5. §. 708.

— Ubique rotis horrendus equique
Stas pater, atque ingens utrinque fluentia Triton
Frena tenet; tantus nostras condere per urbes.
Val. Flaccus. *Argon.* 1. §. 680.

(13) See Mus. Flor. Vol. II. Pl. 48. 4.

(14) — Nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Ovid. *Met.* 1. v. 14.

(15) See Pliny, Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 436. Ed. Elz.

(16) It belonged to Augustus; and one may reasonably suppose that, (before it was dedicated,) he kept the best picture in the world, in his favourite collection. Ovid in speaking of some of the finest pieces in that collection, mentions one exactly with the character of this. Trist. Lib. 2. §. 521, &c.

her in all this perfection. Some of these passages are so strong, that I am thoroughly persuaded they might have gone a great way towards (17) helping some painter of an extraordinary genius, (such, for instance, as Raphael or Corregio,) to have restored this lost beauty of Apelles's to the world: and perhaps Titian had considered some of them pretty thoroughly; before he drew that beautiful Venus of his, with her wet hair and humid body, which is at present in the Duke of Orleans's collection at Paris.

THERE is scarce any character under which we see Venus more frequently, than this of the Venus Marina: probably most of the figures which represent her as just coming from bathing herself, ought to be ranked under this head: and there are many others which indisputably belong to it. The most famous Venus of Medici, in particular, is not only formed as just come out of the water; but has a dolphin too at her feet, to determine what particular Venus she is: and there is another very fine figure of her, on a relieve at the Palazzo Mattei in Rome; where she sits in a shell, and is held up (18) by two Tritons. This is what is followed pretty exactly, (tho' the figures are so much enlarged,) in my fountain here. Statius (19) seems to allude to some such representation of Venus, as this, in a couple of lines, which are not well to be understood without it. You see how beautiful she is even here; how gracefully she sits: and how she holds up her long hair in each of her hands: from which the water distils into her shell, and thence falls into that larger basin of water below.—This idea was in all respects so proper for a fountain-statue; that I make no doubt they had some fountains of old, not unlike that which you see before you. It would lead me into too long a digression, if I should endeavour here to prove to you, at large, how much the antients excelled the moderns, in the justness and simplicity of their ideas for fountain-statues; I shall therefore wave that subject; and shall only observe to you at present, that my Venus holds up her hair much in the same manner as the famous Venus Anaduomenè, is said to have done: only that

Pl. XXX.
Fig. 3.

(17) It appears from these passages in the Roman authors relating to the Venus Anaduomenè; 1. That she should be without any drapery:

Nuda Cytheriacis edita fertur aquis.

Ovid. Her. Ep. 7. v. 60. (Dido, Æn.)

Litore siccat barantes nuda capillos.

Id. Fast. 4. v. 143.

2. Her hair, (which should be the finest that can be imagined,) should be very wet; and all her body, humid and shining.

—Venus artificis labor est & gloria Coi,

Æquoreo madidas quæ premit imbre comas.

Ovid. ex Ponto. Lib. 4. Ep. 1. v. 30.

Formosæ periere comas, quas vellet Apollo,

Quas veller capiti Bacchus ineffe suo;

Illis contulerim, quas quondam nuda Dione

Pingitur humenti fustinuisse manu.

Id. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 14. v. 34.

—Madidos ficit digitis Venus uda capillos,

Et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.

Id. Trist. Lib. 2. v. 528.

3. The colouring might have been borrowed from Tibullus's description of Apollo; (p. 84. anteh.) had not Cicero given us so strong an idea of it, in this very picture itself. It is in his Treatise de Naturâ Deorum; (where his Academic Philosopher, in disputing against the Epicurean, says,) Illud video pug-nare te, species ut quædam sit decorum, quæ nihil concreti habeat, nihil solidi, nihil expressi, nihil eminentis; sitque pura, levis, perlucida. Dicemus ergo idem, quod in Venere Coâ: corpus non est, sed simile corpori; nec ille fufus & candore mixtus rubor, sanguis est, sed quædam sanguinis similitudo; sic in Epicureo Deo non res, sed similitudines rerum effe. Lib. 1. p. 16. Ed. Ald.

In the collection of the Greek (Epigrams or) In-scriptions, there are several relating to this Venus of Apelles; and particularly two which speak very strongly, of her holding up her hair; and of the water, falling from it.

On Apelles's Venus.

Αὐτὰν ἐκ πορτοιο τῆς Πηνελόπιδος Ἀπελλῆς
Τὰν Κυπρίν γυμνὰν εὐδὲ λοχύουμένην
Καὶ τοιαύτῃσι διαβόλον ὕδατος ἄφρα,
Θάλασσαν δ' Ἀλκυονίδος χερσὶν ἐπὶ πλοκάμῳ.

On the same.

Ἀρτὶ θάλασσαν Περὶ προκυβέ λοχύου,
Μαλαὶ Ἀπείλανιν εὐρέμεν πλάτην
Ἄλλα ταχὺς ὑφαρίδων ἀποχέζει, μὴ σὲ δῖστη
Ἀφρὸς ἀποσέζῃν θλίβουμένην πλοκάμῳ.

The author (I think) had better have left off here: but he adds;

Εἰ τοιῇ ποτε Κυπρίε γυμνωθῇ δια μέλου,
Τὴν Τροίην ἀδίκως Πάλλας ἐκρίνατο.

(18) Lucian, in a very beautiful description of Eu-rope's passage from Phœnicia to the island of Crete, (which he seems to have taken from some antient painting,) introduces Venus, much in the same man-ner as she is represented at the Palazzo Mattei. Εὐρὶ πασι δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην διὰ Τριτωνῶν ἑρπύων, ἐπὶ κυγῆς κατακείμενην αὐτὴν πρὸ τοιαύτης ἐπιπαύσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν. Tom. 1. p. 260. Ed. Blacut.

(19) Hæc & caroleis mecum confurgere digna
Fluëibus, & nostrâ potuit confidere conchâ.
(Spoke by Venus, of Violantilla.)

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. v. 118.

that the latter presses her hair with her fingers; and, if ever she adorned a fountain too, ought to have the water flowing more copiously from it.

THIS goddess seems to retain her dignity as one of the Great Celestial Deities, even when she is represented as a deity of the Waters. You see here she has two Sea-deities of the highest class but one, to attend her. Their office, shews their inferiority to her; as their looks, shew respect and admiration. There were several Tritons; but one chief over all: the distinguished messenger of Neptune (20); as Mercury was of Jupiter, and Iris of Juno. Triton is represented by the artists, as he is described by the poets; his upper parts are human, and his lower like a fish. I question whether they did not sometimes give him (21) scales, even on the human part of his body. Where this was done with judgment, there was room (22) to shew as much art as in the figures of the Centaurs; some of the most celebrated of which were chiefly admired, for its having been extremely difficult to distinguish where the brutal nature ended, or where the human began: and the dark colour of his skin, might perhaps assist a painter in making this union of two such different natures yet more imperceptible in a Triton, than it could possibly have been in a Centaur.

ONE often sees Triton holding his trumpet in his hand, with which he was supposed to convene all the deities of the waters about their monarch, whenever he had occasion of their assistance, or counsel. It is (23) wreathed; like those shells which the country-men use sometimes to this day in Italy, to direct their herds of cattle by the sound of them. It was sometimes a real shell; and sometimes an instrument of silver, (or some other metal,) formed like one. When part of the Lacus Fucinus was to be let out, in the time of the emperor Claudius, they had a Naumachia represented first on that lake, to add to the magnificence of so great an undertaking. Just as the two adverse fleets were drawn up in order of battle, a silver figure of Triton, (prepared privately for that purpose,) rose on a sudden to the surface of the water, between the two fleets; and gave a loud (24) blast with his trumpet, as a signal for their engagement. This god must have made a very considerable figure, on that occasion: but what was this, to the employment assigned him by Ovid (25)? who makes him give the signal to all the rivers to retire into their own channels, and to leave the earth once more to be inhabited by men, after the general destruction of almost their whole race by the deluge.

I HAVE never yet met with any figure of Proteus; who, as well as Triton, was advanced to a high charge by the great presiding deity of the inland seas. Proteus indeed had a character more manageable for the poets, than for the sculptors or painters. The former might very well describe all the variety of shapes that he could put on, and point out the transition from one to the other; but the artists must have been content to shew him either in his own natural form, or in some one alone of all his various shapes. Among all the poets, no one has given so full a description of this changeable deity as Virgil: in whom we have the character of his proper (26) personage; and a description of his

(20) — Summi Jovis aliger Arcas
Nuntius; imbriferâ potitur Thaumantide Juno;
Stat celer obsequio jussa ad Neptunia Triton.
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 3. §. 82.

Buccina, quæ medio concepit ut aëra ponto
Litora voce replet sub utroque jacentia Phæbo:
Tum quoque & ora Dei, madidâ rorantia barbâ,
Contigit.—

Ovid. Met. 1. §. 340.

(21) — Supraque profundum
Extantem, atque humeros nativo murice testum,
Cæruleum Tritona vocat.—
Ovid. Met. 1. §. 334.

(24) Exciente buccinâ Tritone argenteo; qui e medio lacu per machinam emerferat. Suetonius, in Claud. Cap. 21.

(22) — Cui laterum tenuis hispida nanti
Frons hominem præfert; in piliis definit alvus;
Spumæa femifero sub pectore murmurat unda.
Virgil. Æn. 10. §. 212.

(25) Met. Lib. 1. §. 337, to 342.

(23) — Cava buccina somitur illi
Tortilis, in latum qui turbine crescit ab imo;

(26) Senex, Georg. 4. §. 438. — Cæruleus, ibid. 386. — Glaucis oculis, ib. 451.

his (27) cave, and his sea-herds (28) about him. He gives us a picture of him, as tending (29) them on the shore; as (30) plunging into the sea; and as (31) riding over the surface of it. He marks out the whole series of his transformations too: in a very few words indeed; but so strong and well chosen (32), that each of them almost contains a picture. There are two passages in particular, in this full account which Virgil gives us of Proteus, which I suspect very much to have been copied from some ancient paintings: one relates to the (33) manner of Cyrene's placing Aristæus and herself; in order to surprise this deity; and the other, is that strange (34) turn and struggle in his eyes, in the moment that he is between anger and compliance: which cast of them, by the way, seems to me not only to agree with the contest in his mind, between two such different passions; but at the same time to have a peculiar fitness to the character of Proteus, considered as a prophet.

I HAVE looked much after some figure of Glaucus too, but am not yet sure that I have found any; tho' he is described particularly enough, I think, by the ancient writers, to be knowable if one did meet with him. Tho' the sea-gods are pretty much alike as to their shape, and the colour of their skin, hair, and eyes; Glaucus perhaps might be distinguished from the rest, by the uncommon length (35) of his hair, and the crown of (36) reeds on his head. Tho' some descriptions of this god in the Roman poets, are more particular than they usually are of sea-deities; there is a passage in one of their historians, that is more explicit than any of them. It is in Paterculus; where he is speaking of Munatius Plancus: whose name Horace has made us so well acquainted with in his Odes; and whose monument to this day makes so considerable a figure on the hill near Gæta. This Plancus, whom we now perhaps are apt generally to think well of, as a friend of Horace's, was scarce so much esteemed in his own times. At least, we find that he submitted to some very great meannesses, to ingratiate himself with Augustus. Among other things, that historian (37) says, in particular, "that he danced the character of Glaucus, on the public stage." For this purpose he was stripped naked; and had his skin painted all over, of a sea-green, or dark, colour; and his head covered with a chaplet of reeds: after which, he moved on, (as well as he could,) on his knees; and dragged a long tail like that of a fish after him. Considering all these particulars, and the great difficulty of dancing a fish-dance, I do not see how any courtier could well contrive to make a meaner and more despicable appearance, than he must have done on this occasion. That of Lazarello de Tormes, (when he was shewed about in his tub, for a sea-fish,) must have been quite creditable, in comparison to this. Indeed, Glaucus himself, is of the lowest rank of all the sea-gods; and I have mentioned him out of his place;

(27) Virgil. Georg. 4. §. 418—422.

(28) Ibid. §. 430, 431.

(29) Ibid. §. 433—436.

(30) Ibid. §. 528, 529.

(31) Ibid. §. 386, 387.

(32) Tum varie eludent species atque ora ferarum;
Fiet enim subito sus horridus; atraque tigris;
Equamofusque draco; & fulvâ cervice leena.
Ibid. §. 408.

(33) Juvenem in latebris, aversum a lumine, nymphe
Collocat; ipsa procul, nebula obscura, refilit.
Ibid. 4. §. 424.

(34) ——— Ad hæc vates, vi denique multâ,
Ardentes oculos intorfit lumine glauco;
Et graviter frendens, sic fati ora resolvit.
Ibid. §. 452.

If this was not taken from some painting of old, it might at least give very strong ideas to a painter now.

(35) ——— Tuta * loco, monstrumne deusne
Ille sit ignorans, admiraturque colorem;
Cæsariemque, humeros subiectaque terga tegentem:
Ultimaque excipiat quoddam torilis inguina piscis.
* Galatea. Ovid. Met. 13. §. 915.

(36) Hanc ego tum primum viridem ferrugine barbam,
Cæsariemque meam quam longa per aequora verro,
Ingentesque humeros & cæcula brachia vidi:
Cruaque pinnigero curvata novissima pisce.
Ibid. §. 963.

(37) —Cum cæruleatus, & nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, & caudam trahans, genibus innixus Glaucum saltasset. Vel. Paterc. Lib. 2. §. 85.

In the little quarrel between two low people, in Horace's journey to Brundisium, one of them begs the other, (who was of a large awkward make,) "To dance the Cyclops." (Lib. 1. Sat. 5. §. 63.)

place; by talking of him so early, and before so many of his betters: for he was, originally, no more than a poor fisherman; and at last, only an adventitious god of the sea; and consequently of the sixth and lowest class of all.

THE sea-deities of the third class, Nereus, Doris, and her sisters the Oceanitides, are mentioned sometimes by the poets; but without any thing particular to distinguish them by: except that Virgil, in one place (38), in speaking of two of the Oceanitides, seems to give them a dress very different from the Neptunines and Nereids.

I HAVE here a drawing of Thetis; which you would not take to be a sea-deity, at first sight: she having a helmet in one hand, and a coat of mail in the other. It is copied from a medal; on which she is called, the mother of Achilles: and so, no doubt, is carrying him the arms she had promised him. It is therefore too, I suppose, that she is in a long vest; contrary to the custom of the sea-deities, who are usually naked: but the artist has taken care, not quite to conceal her feet; the beauty of which are so perpetually mentioned by Homer (39), and not forgot by Ovid. This was a part that was much more observed among the antients, than with us. Their feet were not hid, and imprisoned, as ours are: and I remember one of the Roman historians, in speaking of the person of Domitian, thinks it worth his while to observe (40) a particular, relating to that emperor's make; which must seem yet more minute and trifling to us, even than Homer's so constantly marking out the beauty of Thetis's foot.

PL. XXX.
FIG. 2.

THETIS

This sort of dances I had no notion of, till I saw something of the same kind in Italy. It is the representing some character, and sometimes a whole story, in a dance: not unlike our dumb shews; only that all the particular actions must keep time with the music.

But the thing that gives one the most perfect idea of these antient dances, is a passage in Longus's pastoral Romance: where, (at a feast, after a sacrifice to Pan) Lamon one of the old shepherds tells the rest the story of Pan and Syrinx; and Philetas gives the younger shepherds a lesson on his pipe, how to conduct their flocks by the different notes and tunes of it. "All the company, (says Longus,) sat in silence, and took a great deal of pleasure in hearing him; till one of them, called Dryas, got up; and begged him to play one of their briskest airs in honour of Bacchus; and he, in the mean time, danced the character of a Vindemiator, or Vintager. In this dance, he flung himself into different postures, as if he was gathering the bunches of grapes; carrying them in baskets; flinging them into the wine-vat; putting the liquor into vessels; and drinking of the must. All which he did so naturally, and so expressively, that they almost thought they saw before their eyes the vineyard, the vessels, the liquor, and Dryas taking a hearty draught of it. The good old man having so well performed his part; at the close of his dance, went and saluted Daphnis and Chloe: on which they immediately rose from their seats, and danced the story which Lamon had been just telling them. Daphnis represented the god, Pan; and Chloe, was the fair Syrinx. He made his addresses to her; and she only laughed at it. She runs from him; and he pursues her: huddling on upon the tips of his toes, the better to imitate Pan's cloven feet. She then made all the appearance of being quite tired with running; and (instead of getting between the reeds,) crept into the grove just by, to hide herself. On which, Daphnis taking up Philetas's pipe, (which

was one of the largest and best sort,) drew a languishing sound from it, as of one in love; a pathetic sound, as of one eager to enjoy; and a recalling sound, as of one that is fondly seeking after what he has lost. All which he did so well, and in so knowing a manner; that the good Philetas, quite astonished at it, run to him and kissed him; and then made him a present of his pipe; praying the gods, that after him it might still fall into as good hands. Daphnis on this hung up the little pipe he had always used before, as a present to Pan; and then saluting Chloe, as if he had found her again after a real flight, led his flock toward their fold for the night: playing all the way, on the pipe that Philetas had just given him." Amours of Daphnis and Chloe, B. 2. sub fin.

Virgil speaks of a feast just like this; and of the Pan, or Satyr-dance; in his 5th Eclogue: where the shepherd Menalcas promises to keep an annual festival, in memory of one of his departed friends.

Vina novum fundam calathis Ariadna nectar:
Cantabunt mihi Dametas, & Lyctius Ægon;
Saltantes Satyros imitabitur Alpheisibæus.
Ecl. 5. v. 73.

(38) Cliques & Beroë soror, Oceanitides ambæ;
Ambæ auro, pictis incindæ pellibus ambæ.
Virgil. G. 5. v. 342.

(39) Ἀργυροπόδες Θέτις.
Hoc flavi faciunt crines, & ebarnea colla;
Quæque, precor, veniant in mea colla manus:
Et decor, & vultus sine ruficitate pudentes;
Et Thetidi quales vix reor esse pedes.
Ovid. Ep. Her. 20. v. 60. (Acontius, Cyd.)

(40) Pulcher & decens maximè in juventâ, & quidem toto corpore; exceptis pedibus: quorum digitos restrictiores habebat. Suetonius, in Domitiano. Cap. 18.

THETIS is one of the sea-nymphs, of the fourth class; one of those whom the poets call Neptunines; as descendants of Neptune: it was therefore the greater (41) honour for Peleus to obtain her in marriage. Peleus, you know, was one of the heroes who accompanied Jason in the Argo, (supposed to be the first ship that ever ventured on the sea,) in that famous expedition for the Golden Fleece. So great a novelty, as a vast hollow of wood with several men in it, floating over the surface of the water, called all the sea-nymphs (42) immediately from their lowest habitations, to gaze upon it. Thetis was among the spectators of so strange a sight. All these ladies of the water, (as our ladies on land are generally apt to be,) were extremely charmed with the novelty of the sight, and the hardiness of their enterprise. They looked on these heroes with admiration; and from admiration they were easily led to love. Thetis fixed her chief regards on Peleus; and it is therefore with a great deal of propriety that Valerius Flaccus names her, in particular, as one that hastened to the (43) assistance of the ship; when first it was in danger of being lost. Catullus (44) tells all the story of the marriage of Thetis to Peleus very much at large: and Valerius Flaccus (45) gives us a short picture of her, when going to be married; and of the marriage-feast, which was honoured with the presence of all the chief deities of the Sea. He says she went on a dolphin; with a veil over her face, as the brides (46) usually had of old; but not with that melancholy face, which the brides of those days used to affect, to the greatest excess. He seats Peleus at the feast, among the gods of the Sea; and near him is his friend Chiron, to celebrate their nuptials with his lyre. I might have had a representation of this marriage, if I could have trusted to the print of it in father Montfaucon's collection (47): but that agrees so little with the poets, and has so many marks of being a modern invention, that I was forced to reject it.

THE Nereids, (who are of the fifth class, and the lowest of all the native deities of the sea,) are all called (48) sisters; as being the family of Doris and Nereus; and their faces, (as

- (41) *Tene Thetis tenuit, pulcherrima Neptunine?
Tene suam Tethys concessit ducere Neptem?
Catullus, de Nupt. Pelei, 62. v. 29.
Est aliquid non esse fatum Nereide; sed qui
Nereaque & natas, & totum temperat æquor.
Ovid. Met. 12. v. 94.*

- (42) *Quæ simul ac rostro ventosum profecit æquor
Tortaque remigio spumis incanduit unda;
Emerfere feri candenti e gurgite vultus,
Æquoreæ monstrum Nereides admirantes:
Illæque, (hæcque aliæ,) viderunt luce marinas
Mortales oculi, nudantes corpore, nymphas;
Nutricum tenus extantes e gurgite cano.
Catullus, Nupt. Pel. 62. v. 18.*

- (43) *Jam placidis ratis extat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
Ex Thetis & magnis Nereus iocer erigit ulnis.
Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. v. 658.*

- (44) *Poem. 62, de Nuptiis Pelei.*

- (45) *Ille * insperatos Tyrrheni tergeve pifcis
Peleos in thalamos vehitur Thetis. Æquora delphin
Corripit: illa fedit dejectâ in lumina pallâ,
Nec Jove majorem nasci suspirat Achillem.
Hanc Panope, Dotoque soror, lætataque fluctu
Prosequitur nulis pariter Galatea lacertis,
Antra petens; Siculo revocat de litore Cyclops.
Contra, ignis viridique torus de fronde; dapifque,
Vinaque; & æquoreos inter cum conjuge Divos
Æacides: pulsatque chelona post pocula Chiron.
* Painted on Argo. Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. v. 139.*

- (46) — *Timidum nuptæ leviter testura pudorem
Lutea demissos velarunt flammea vultus.
Lucan. 2. v. 361.
Anna tegens vultus, ut nova nupta, suos.
Ovid. Fast. 3. v. 690.
— Sedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriusque palam Genialis in hortis
Sternitur.*

Juvenal. Sat. 10. v. 335.

One can hardly read these passages, without being put in mind of the figure of the bride in the Aldobrandine marriage; and some other antiques, relating to the same subject: in which the brides generally appear extremely concerned; and to be melancholy and grieved, beyond what should be naturally expected, for the change they are going to make; and to which they were not really, perhaps, so averse as they would seem. Flaccus says, Thetis had the veil; but not this very melancholy air: she did not grieve, as other brides then used to do; because she knew that the effect of her marriage would be the birth of the greatest hero in the world: of Achilles, that was to be so highly celebrated to all posterity, by Homer.

- (47) See Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 107.

- (48) *Officio caret glaucarum nulla fororum.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. v. 34.
Est aliquid non esse fatum Nereide; sed qui
Nereaque, & natas, & totum temperat æquor.
(Spoke by the Son of a Neptunine.) Ovid. Met. 12. v. 94.*

(as Ovid (49) observes,) should all bear a resemblance to one another, like that of sisters; tho' there should be some difference in each, to distinguish them from one another. We know the particular names of some of them; (as Doto (50), and Galatea, for example :) but the attributes and characters given them by the artists are so uniform, that it would be very difficult at present to distinguish any one of them from the rest; and we can only say of any such relievo, or picture, that it is a Nereid-piece, in general.

THE descriptions of these sister-goddesses, in the poets, are mostly of a general nature too. I fancy from Ovid's account (51) of them, that they were very rarely supposed to be carried on dolphins; and, perhaps, never on Tritons: as some of the superior goddesses of the Sea were. The poets most usually describe them as parting the water with their arms; and with their long hair, floating over the surface of it: sometimes, rising above the water to admire some strange sight, (as (52) that of the first ship that ever ventured on the sea, above mentioned;) sometimes, as busied in assisting (53) ships, and conducting them in safety toward their port; and, sometimes as sitting together on some rock (54), and telling those stories which were so much in vogue in the highest antiquity; and which ran chiefly on the numberless amours of Jupiter, and the other celestial deities.

I HEARTILY pity them, (interposed Myfages,es,) that after all their fatigues, they had nothing but a bare rock to sit upon; no very easy resting-place, and perhaps exposed all to the sun: which could not be so agreeable, one would think, to ladies of their fine make and complexion. Surely, the old poets were a little defective in this particular. I remember to have read a very pretty story, (in the Persian Tales, or some like excellent book,) which is founded wholly on the notion of the sea's being as well inhabited as the earth. The author has not only stocked the watery element, with men and women; but has given them houses too, and cities under water, as regularly as we have on land. It is a pity the ancient poets had not had as much imagination, as this modern writer; they might then have found out some more tolerable conveniences for your Nereids, and Neptunines: as it is, any tender-hearted person must have a great deal of compassion for the poor ladies; when he sees them thus, only sprawling on the water, or resting themselves on a hard rock.

YOU may spare all your compassion for them, on this account; (replied Polymetis;) for I can assure you that the ancient poets, when they were about it, could furnish their inhabitants of the sea, with as many and as fine palaces, as any modern author whatever. Beside the numerous hollows and caves in the shore, which were generally supposed to serve for this purpose, the ancients seem to have imagined, that the whole sea rested (55) on a

fort

(49) Doridæque & natus: quarum pars nare videntur;
Pars in mole sedens virides siccare capillos:
Pisces vehi quædam: facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversâ tamen; qualem decet esse fororum.
Ovid. Met. 2. 7. 14.

(50) — Nereia Doto. Virgil. Æn. 9. 7. 103.
At mihi, cui pater est Nereus, quam cæcula Doris
Enixa est; que sum turbâ quoque tuta fororum; &c.
(Says Galatea, in) Ovid's Met. 13. 7. 743.

(51) — Placidis—natus Nereides undis.
Ovid. Met. 13. 7. 399.
Vos quoque cæruleum, Divæ Nereides, agmen—
Surgite de vitreis spumose Doridos antris;
Baianoque sinus & fœta repentibus undis
Litora, tranquillo certatim ambite natata.
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. 7. 18.
— Pars nare videntur;
Pars in mole sedens virides siccare capillos.
Ovid. Met. 2. 7. 12.

— Virides Nereidum comas.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 28. 7. 10.

(52) See Note 42. anteh.

(53) — Vos stuppea tendite mali
Vincula; vos summis annectite suppara vellis:
Vos Zephyris aperite sinus. Pars transtra reponat;
Pars demittat aquis curvæ moderamina puppis.
Sunt, quibus exploret rupes gravis arte molorchus;
Quæque fecuturam religens post terga phaselon:
Unæque submersæ penitus retinacula vellant.
Temperet hæc ætius; pelagusque inclinet ad ortus:
Officio caret glaucarum nulla fororum.
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. 7. 34.

(54) See Dial. 7. Note 66.

(55) Unde terra, & quibus librata ponderibus:
quibus cavernis maria sustineantur. Cicero. Tuscul.
Quæst. Lib. 5. p. 513. Ed. Blacut.

sort of arched work : under which, what an ample space must there have been for habitations for all these gods and goddesses, were they ever so numerous ? In this light, what made that solid bottom of the sea, would at the same time serve for the roofs of their palaces : and below, it might be all divided into grotto's, and caves ; like the habitation of the nymphs (56) described by Virgil in his *Æneid* ; or the palace (57) of Cyrene, in the *Georgics*. Some of the noblest parts of this submarine-rockwork, (if you will give me leave to make use of a new name, for so strange a thing,) may be supposed to have been set apart for the (58) palaces of Oceanus : some, under the Mediterranean sea, for the court of Neptune ; and others, for the other ruling deities of that sea. In one province, might be the grotto's of Proteus ; and in another, the caves of Doris and Nereus, and all (59) their numerous family. These lower habitations of the Sea-deities might be supposed, if you please, to be full of water ; (for water is their proper element, as much as air is ours :) or if that shocks you too much, they might be always free from it : for one learns from the account of Cyrene's palace, in Virgil, that the antients supposed this sort of deities had a full power over the waters ; and could make them hang (60) suspended in the air, just when, and however, they pleased.

THE habitations of the River-deities and their attendants, were in the same manner supposed to be under water ; and generally, I believe, somewhere near the place (61) whence each river took its rise : where, if there was any grotto, they usually had some figure of the presiding deity of the stream in it ; with his urn, and the waters gushing out of it ; to denote the source of the river. The temples to River-gods were most commonly built in the same part ; as the younger Pliny tells us expressly, in the (62) particular account he has given of the temple of Clitumnus : and it is for the same reason, that Virgil makes Aristeus go to the very source of the river, when he wants to address himself to the Water-goddess his mother. The poets often speak of these habitations and grotto's of the River-deities ; and describe (63) some of them : particularly, that of Peneus ; the very river to whose source Virgil sends Aristeus.

I HAVE

(56) Hinc atque hinc vallæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cælum scopuli ; quorum sub vertice latè
Æquora tuta silent : tum sylvis scena coracis
Desuper, horrentique atrum nemos imminet umbrâ.
Fronte sub adversâ, scopulis pendentibus antrum :
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo ;
Nympharum domus. —

Æn. 1. v. 168.

(57) See the latter part of Note 63, posth.

(58) The poets speak expressly of the palace of Oceanus : and seem to place it, sometimes on the western shore ; and sometimes under the sea.

Tempus erit junctos cum jam soror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos ; penitusque cavam sub lace paratâ
Oceanî mugire domum. —

Statius, Theb. 8. v. 273.

Frangebat radios humili jam pronus Olympo
Phœbus ; & Oceanî penetrabile littus anheis
Promittebat equis. —

Id. Achil. 2. v. 17.

Deferet ante dies, & in alto Phœbus anhelos
Æquore tinget equos. —

Ovid. Met. 15. v. 419.

(59) Surgite de vitreis spumosa Doridos antris.
(Says Statius ; invoking the Nereids,) Lib. 3.
Sylv. 2. v. 16.

(60) Duc, age ; duc ad nos : fas illi limina Divûm
Tangere, ait : simul alta jubet discedere late
Flamina, quâ juvenis gressus inferret : at illum

Curvata in montis speciem circumstetit unda ;
Acceptique sinu vasto ; missique sub amnem.

Virg. Georg. 4. v. 362.

And Ovid says, of another River-god :

Cedere jussit aquam ; jussa recessit aqua.

Lib. 3. El. 6. v. 44.

This is represented sometimes in antiques : as particularly on a gem in Maffei's collection, (Vol. II. Pl. 24.) where you see Neptune beneath the water ; which hangs suspended, in a sort of arch, over his head.

(61) Statius speaks of the source of a river, and the habitation of the River-god, as one and the same thing.

— Æternæ largitor corniger undæ !

Lætus eas, quicunque domo gelida ora resolvit.

(Speaking of a river, whose source they were unacquainted with) Theb. 4. v. 832.

(62) See Pliny's Epistles, Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

(63) Statius, (where he is describing a water-grotto in Vopiscus's gardens at Tivoli,) hints at some of the most noted ones, in his time.

Illis ipse antris Anienus, fonte relicto,
Nocte sub arcana glaucos exutus amictus
Huc illuc fragili prosternebat pectora musco ;
Aut ingens in stagna cadit, vitrenque natata
Plaudit aquas : illâ recabat Tiberinos in umbrâ ;
Illic sulphureos cupis Albulâ mergere crines.

Hæc

I HAVE got the figures of some of these River-deities; and have disposed of them among my fountains without: which we may consider as much, or as little as you please, in continuing our walk thro' the groves about this temple. The first I shall carry you to is the Tiber. After going down a walk that led them irregularly through a grove of poplar-trees, they came into a good spacious opening, 'in the higher part of which they saw the statue of Tiberinus, reclined and leaning on his urn: from which the water poured down a bank of grafs, into a little lake, or fountain; if so irregular a thing may be called one. The sides of it were, here and there, over-run with high reeds; and sometimes overfhaded by willows. Just by the figure of the god, lay the wolf and twin founders of Rome. The creature seemed to have lost all the savageness of her nature; and in particular was drawing in one of her feet, that it might not hurt one of the infants who was stretching out its little leg toward it. Her head too was turned with an air of regarding them, as they lay smiling and playing together about the seat. The god himself was crowned with fruits and flowers: of a large (64) size; and with a venerable

Pl. XXXI,
Fig. 1.

Hæc domus Egeriæ nemoralem abjungere Phœben,
Et Dryadum viduare choris algentia possit
Taygeta; & sylvis arcescere Pana Lycæis.

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. 78.

The grotto of Egeria was more celebrated of old than even that of the Tiber itself. Livy mentions it in his history, and Ovid, in his Fasti; and (if I am not mistaken,) in one of his Elegies.

Lucus erat, quem medium, ex opaco specu, fons
perenni rigabat aqua: quo quia se peripse Numa,
sine arbitris, velut ad congressum Dææ inferebat;
Camænâ cum lucum sacrauit, quod earum ibi concilia
cum conjuge suâ Egeria essent: &c. Livy,
Lib. 1. §. 21.

Defluit incerto lapidosas murmure rivus;
Sæpe, sed exiguis hauribus, inde bibi:
Egeria est quæ præbet aquas, Dea grata Camænâ;
Illa Numæ conjux conciliumque fuit.

Ovid. Fast. 3. 276.

Stat vetus & multos incidua sylva per annos;
Credibile est illi numen inesse loco:
Fons sacer in medio, speluncaque pumice pendens;
Et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aves:
Hic ego dum spatior, tectus nemoralibus umbris,
Quod mea quærebam musa moveret opus.
Venit odoratos Elegiæ nexa capillos, &c.

Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 1. 7.

The grotto of Achelous is described by the same poet:

Pumice multivæ nec lavibus atria topis
Structa subit: molli tellus erat humida musco;
Summa lucunabant alterno murice conchæ.

Met. 8. 563.

And so is that of Peneus:

Est nemus Hæmonis, prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylva; vocant Tempe: per quæ Peneus, ab imo
Eûssus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis:
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducti, summasque aspergine sylvas
Impleit; & sonitu plus quam vicina fatigat.
Hæc domus, hæc sedes, hæc sunt penetralia magni
Amnis. In hoc residens factæ de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat, nymphisque colentibus undas.

Met. 1. 51.

Where Horace speaks of the habitation of Albunea; (Lib. 1. Od. 7. 12.) he may mean something farther than a meer grotto. The lake of Albunea is that lake, which is so much visited in the way to Tivoli, for the small islands (or oval tables) that float on its surface. The same sort of sulphureous concretions that form those little islands, add from time to time

to the solid concretions on the sides; so that but a small part of the surface of the lake appears at present; and, probably, in time it will be wholly hid. For a great way round 'it, the earth founds hollow under your feet; which shews that you tread only on the crust that covers the lake. This probably is what Horace alludes to, in calling it Domus Albunæ resonantis: had it been spoke of a running stream, resonantis might have had another sense: but as it is said of a still lake, I think it can be accounted for no other way than this; and this accounts for it very strongly, and fully.

The completest description of an habitation under the water, that I know of in the Roman poets, is that of the palace of Cyrene, in Virgil. He expressly says, that it was at the bottom of the river.

At mater sonitem thalamo sub fluminis alti
Sensit.

Georg. 4. 334.

Duc, age; duc ad nos: fas illi limina Divum
Tangere, ait. Simul alta jubet discedere late
Flumina, qua juvenis gressus inferret; at illum
Curvata in montis faciem circumflectit unda;
Acceptique sinu vasto, misitque sub amnem.

Id. 4. 362.

The same poet mentions something of the manner in which it was made; like the water-grotto's, above described: and something of the furniture in it; like the vivo sedilia saxo, in his grotto of the nymphs.

Postquam est in thalami pendencia pumice tecta
Perventum.

Ibid. 3. 375.

— Isterum maternas impulit aures
Luctus Aristæi; vitreisque sedilibus omnes
Obstupere.

Ibid. 3. 351.

They give him an entertainment there; and make a sacrifice. Ib. 3. 376, & 381.

One sees from this whole account, that they had three sorts of habitations for their River-deities. Grotto's by the side of the river, and generally at the source of it; as that of Egeria: others under the earth, for subterraneous waters; as that of Albunea: and others under the waters; as that of Cyrene.

(64) Ipse pater Ravis Tiberinus abhorruit undis;
Sustulit e medio nubilus amne caput:
Tum falice implexum muscoque & arundine crinem
Cæruleum, magnâ legit ab ore manu.

Ovid. Confol. ad Liviam, 3. 124.

venerable look; as Iord (65) of all the rivers of the province, thorough which he leads his waters to the sea. Any one, says Polymetis, would easily know this to be the figure of the Tiber; from the little Romulus and Remus, that were first discovered in this manner, with their foster-mother, on his banks. It was where they afterwards built Rome; and at the bottom of the Palatine hill, in particular. He is reclined; as the figures of River-gods generally are. The antients in this particular acted with more propriety, than has perhaps been commonly observed. They did not only flock every element with imaginary beings that are proper for it; but seem also to have been very exact in adapting the appearance, and the very posture of those beings, to the nature of the particular elements to which they respectively belong. Thus their imaginary inhabitants of the air are represented always under light, easy, figures; and generally, as flying. As they looked on the earth to be immoveable, and spread out on all sides of us; Tellus, Cibeles, and the other chief goddesses that were supposed to preside over it, are generally drawn, either as sitting, or as lying down at their ease: and as water always strives to keep its level, we find the figures of the River-deities generally more or less reclined. In this posture is the figure before us, of Old Father Tiber, as the Roman poets so often call him; and which, in their language, signified the same as Tiber the majestic, or Tiber the governor (of many rivers,) does in ours. His countenance here shews his dignity and command. He was sometimes represented too with horns (66); which of old was a known emblem of power, and might signify that he presided over several streams.

If the paintings of the antients remained to us in as great numbers as one could wish for in enquiries of this kind, I doubt not but that we should have several other lights as to this River-deity; who was so much celebrated, and so highly worshipped among the Romans. Their poets indeed tell us the colour (67) of his skin, of his hair, and of his robes; which is every thing almost that is necessary towards drawing a picture of him: but then the Latin names for colours are very doubtful, and very ill understood at present; whereas a painting would be clear, and indisputable. We meet with several descriptions

(65) Virgil calls the Tiber, "Lord of all the Rivers of Latium."

Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.

Æn. 8. v. 77.

Tacitus gives us a little piece of history, which shews the respect the old Romans paid to this River-god, very remarkably. On some frequent inundations of the Tiber, it was proposed in the Roman senate; whether they might not divert the course of some of the lesser rivers, that fall into it. The deputies of the Florentines, Interamnates, Reatini, and others, were heard against the question: who brought their devotions, and the majesty of the Tiber in particular, as an argument on their side. — Spectandas religiones sociorum, qui sacra & lucos & aras patriis Amnibus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle proflus accolis fluvii orbatum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum, seu difficultas operum, seu superfluitio valuit, ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur; qui nil mutandum censuerat. Tacitus, Annal. lib. 1. sub finem.

(66) The horns of the River-gods may be often hid by the large crowns of reeds, leaves, or flowers, that we see on so many of them. I imagine, that Tiber was sometimes represented with them; because Virgil calls him, Corniger, (Æn. 8. v. 77.)

Valerius Flaccus gives them to all the greater River-gods;

Sylvarumque Deæ; atque elatis cornibus Amnes I Argon. 1. v. 106.

And I think it appears from an expression in the same poet, that their having horns signified their presiding over several streams.

Haud procul hinc ingens Scythici ruit exitus Istri:
Fundere non uno tantum quem flumina cornu
Accipimus: septem exit aquis, septem ossia pandit.
Ibid. 8. v. 187.

(67) — Cæruleus Tiberis —

Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 64.

Crinem cæruleum —

Ovid. Consol. ad. Liv. v. 124.

— Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu

Carbasus. —

Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 34.

I imagine cæruleus signifies a darkish, or sea-green colour here: tho' it may in general signify any colour that the sea is of; and that varies according to the objects that reflect the light upon it. Near the shore it is always tinged with the predominant colour of the shore, and is generally more or less green: far out at sea, it of whatever colour the clouds happen to be of: so that cæruleus is a very vague and indeterminate expression.

The meaning of the word Glaucus, is almost as uncertain. One of the best vocabularies we have for the Latin tongue, says it signifies "Grey, blue, sky-coloured, azure, sea-green, or a bright and fiery red." (See Glaucus; in Ainsworth.)

scriptions of him in the poets too, on particular occasions, as when (68) amazed at some extraordinary incident, or when under a deep uncommon (69) concern,) which are picturesque enough to have been drawn originally perhaps from some paintings, which are now lost: but this is a misfortune which I have lamented so often already, that I think I will leave off even mentioning it to you any more, for the future.

In the opening next to this, (which was yet larger, and all one exact level,) they easily knew the Nile, by his large cornucopia; by the Sphynx, couched under him; and the number of little children playing about him. The cornucopia, says Polymetis, tho' it is given to so many River-gods, (and particularly to that we have just left,) is scarce given to any of them with so much propriety as to the Nile. Other rivers may add to the fertility of the several countries thro' which they pass; but the Nile is the absolute cause of that great fertility of the Lower Egypt: which would be all a desert, as bad as any of the most sandy parts of Africa, without this river. It supplies it, you know, both with soil, and moisture. He was their Jupiter Pluvius (70), as well as their chief River-god; and it may be therefore, perhaps, that he is called by an antient writer (71), the Egyptian Jupiter. The Sphynx by him, may allude either to the famous (72) statue of the Sphynx on his bank, in the plain of Memphis; or to the mystic (73) knowledge, so much cultivated in Egypt. The children, that are playing about him, are sixteen (74) in number; to denote the several risings of the river every year, so far as to the height of sixteen cubits: as Pliny tells us, in speaking perhaps of the very statue now in the Vatican, of which this is a copy.

PL. XXXI.
FIG. 2.

You see, the water flows down here, from under his robe; which conceals the urn, or source, of it: and I have seen some modern statues of the Nile, (perhaps copied from some antient one,) in which this deity has pulled his robe so far over his head, that he has quite hid it. Both these methods allude to the head or source of this river (75) not being discovered by the antients: and both seem (76) to be hinted at, in the antient poets. The noble figure of the Nile, from which this is copied (77), is of Basalt or black marble; and even the very colour of it may not be (78) without its signification.

VIRGIL,

(68) — Virgineæ (mirabile monstrum!)
Quot prius æratæ steterant ad litora proræ,
Reddunt se totidem facies; pontoque feruntur.
Obstupere animi Rutulis: cœteritus ipse
Turbaus Messapus equis: cunctatur & Amnis
Rauca sonans; revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.
Virgil. *Æn.* 9. v. 125.

(69) Ipse pater flavis Tiberinus abhorruit undis;
Sultulit e medio nubilus amne caput: &c.
Ovid. *Consol. ad Liv.* v. 122.

(70) Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres;
Arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.
Tibullus. *Lib.* 1. *El.* 7. v. 26.

(71) Αἰγυπτίῳ Ζεῦ, Νεῖλῳ. Parmeno Byzantius;
as quoted by Athenæus, 1. 5.

(72) This figure is said to have been cut out of the rock there. The head and neck of it, which still appear, are 27 foot high: and the part concealed by the yearly rising of the ground, from the overflow of the Nile, must be much more; in proportion to its breast, which is 33 foot broad; and its length, which is 113: according to Dr. Pocock's account, in his *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 46.

(73) — Si Sphynxos iniquæ
Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvit.
Statius. *Theb.* 1. v. 66.

(74) Nunquam hic [lapis, quem vocant Basalten]
major repertus est, quam in Templo Pacis ab imperatore Vespasiano dicatus, argumento Nili; sexdecim

liberis circa ludentibus: per quos totidem cubiti summi incrementi augmentis se amnis intelliguntur. *Lib.* 36. c. 7. p. 479. *Ed. Elz.*

These seem to have been the cubits which measured the height of the overflow of the Nile, personified: and if so, may shew that the Egyptians were as bold in their allegories, as any of the Roman poets. Εἰς τὴν τοῦ Νεῖλου εἰδὲς γράφει μεμνημένος, αὐτὸν μὲν καί-
μενον ἐπὶ προκοφίῳ τινος, ἢ ὑπεροφίῳ αὐτοῦ—μικρὰ δὲ
τὴν παιδίᾳ παρ' αὐτὸν παύσασθαι. Πηχὺς αὖτις οἱ Αἰ-
γυπτίοι καλοῦσι. *Lucian.* *Tom.* 2. p. 311. *Ed.* Blæu.

(75) Te fontium qui celat origines
Nilasque, & Ister, te rapidus Tigris, &c.
Horat. *Lib.* 4. *Od.* 14. v. 45.

(76) Ille fluens dives septena per ossia Nilus,
Qui patriam tantæ tam bene celat aquæ;
Fertur in Evadne collectam Afopide flammam
Vincere gurgitibus non potuisse suis.
Ovid. *Lib.* 3. *El.* 6. v. 42.
Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem;
Occulitque caput, quod adhuc latet.—
Id. *Met.* 2. v. 255.

(77) See Note 74, anteh.

(78) Mr. Addison says, (in his *Travels*, p. 239.) that he has read in some author, that the statues of the Nile were generally made of black marble: in allusion to its coming from Æthiopia.

Usque coloratis amnis dervexus ab Indis.
Virgil. *Georg.* 4. v. 293. (of the Nile.)

VIRGIL, in his account of the fine work on Æneas's shield, gives us a picture of this River-god; with that greatness of imagination, which he shews so particularly, when he is describing divinities. He describes him there, as of a vast size; and with a mixture of fright and concern, on his face; spreading out all his robe, and inviting the distressed, defeated fleet of Cleopatra, to the inmost recesses of his streams. That whole passage is as just, as it is great; and I question, whether Virgil may not allude in it to the dark marble his statues were usually made of (79), as well as to the concealment of his source.

Pl. XXXI. THE figure that you see thro' that short vista to the left hand, is the Tigris; as that to the right, is the Euphrates. The former of these River-gods is very well distinguished from all the others I have met with, by the tiger on which he rests his right arm. The Euphrates, (if it be the Euphrates, for I am not quite certain of it,) is marked out by the palm-branch which he holds in his hand. I chose to place them so near one another, because they are said to spring from (80) the same source. They appear together on a medal of Trajan (81); on which the genius of Mesopotamia is represented, kneeling at that emperor's feet; with the Tigris on one side of her, and the Euphrates on the other: and Ovid (82) speaks of them, as carried together in a triumph.

A LITTLE winding walk led them from these, to the figures of the Danube and the Rhine. They were both sitting: each with his urn; and each with dignity: only the Danube was distinguished by a large veil, floating over his head. The figure of the Danube which you see here, says Polymetis, was copied after one, on a medal of Trajan: tho' the finest I ever saw of this River-god, is on the column set up in honour of the same emperor, at Rome. I could not so well make use of that, because it would scarce have done for a fountain; and indeed ought not to be detached from the other figures about it, in that historical piece of work. He is one of the first figures on that column; very near the base: and appears there, from the waist upward; as rising out of his stream, to shew his duty to the Romans; and to support the bridge of boats, they had laid over it. This is not expressed in Bartoli's edition of the Columna Trajana; but on the column itself, if you observe it well, you may discern the hand of the god, (tho' partly covered with the water,) is stretched quite to the bridge, and some way under it; as willing to support it: so that he appears there in an attitude, just contrary to that (83) in which Virgil

(79) — Omnis eo terrore Ægyptus & Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes verterunt terga Sabæi.
Ipse videbatur ventis Regina vocatis
Vela dare; & laxos jam jamque immittere funes:
Illam inter cædes pallentem morte futurâ
Fecerat ignipotens undis & lapyge ferri:
Contra autem, magno mærentem corpore Nilum,
Pendentemque sinus, & totâ veste vocantem
Ceruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina viatos.

Virgil. Æn. 8. v. 713.

He invites the vanquished fugitives; "To his dark bosom, and most hidden streams:" The former of which expressions alludes to his own colour, as the latter does to the source of his river being hid and unknown.

(80) — Quos non diversis fontibus edit
Persis, & incertum tellus si miscet amœs.

Lucan. 3. v. 257.

Or, as a later writer says, more expressly:
Tigris & Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt.

Boetius.

(81) Agostini Med. p. 107. Fig. 1.

(82) Spectabant læti juvenes, mixtæque puellæ;
Diffundetque animos omnibus illa dies.
Atque aliqua ex illis cum regum nomina quæret,
Quæ Loca, qui Montes, quæve ferantur Aquæ;

6

Omnia responde, nec tantum si qua rogabit;
Et quæ nescieris, ut bene nota refer.
Hic est Euphrates, præcinctus arundine frontem;
Cui coma dependet carula, Tigris erit.
Hoc facito Armenios; &c.

Ovid. de Art. Am. 1. v. 225.

(83) Virgil mentions the figure of Araxes; in the work on Æneas's shield.

Hic Lelegas, Carasque, sagittiferosque Gelonos
Finxerat: Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis;
Extremique hominum Morini, Rhœnusque bicornis;
Indomitique Dahæ, & pontem indignatus Araxes.

Æn. 8. v. 728.

This last expression might be drawn from some known figure of the Araxes; in which, that River-god was represented as shoving down some bridge, which the Romans had built over his stream. "In this work, says Virgil, Euphrates let his streams fall not so rapidly from him, as they did before he was conquered: there were the Dahæ, formerly looked on as invincible; and that Araxes, who would not suffer our bridge to remain over his waters." This may be the poetical meaning of this passage; tho' I doubt not it is more apt, to appear literal, to most of the readers of Virgil in our times and country.

Virgil seems to me to describe the Araxes. I do not remember any thing in the poets; that is said personally of the Danube. Ovid, tho' he mentions the Danube so often, especially in his epistles from Pontus, has nothing descriptive of his person: that unfortunate poet's spirits were then gone; and he never rises above meer literal expressions, wherever he speaks of him. The Rhine is spoken of personally, by several of the poets. They describe him sometimes as conquered by the Romans (84), all ruffled and wounded; and sometimes in the low (85) state of a captive: sometimes as (86) yielding; and sometimes as (87) received into favour on his submission, and restored to all his former honours by them: in all which cases it is remarkable that they never speak of him, without putting us in mind, at the same time, of their own conquests and their own vanity.

I SHOULD have been glad to have had some other River-gods here, and particularly several of the Italian ones; but have not yet been able to meet with their figures. What I have most regretted missing, is that of the Eridanus, or Po. When I was first in Italy, I remember to have seen a small figure of him, in some palace at Rome; with the head of a bull, and all the other parts human. I did not then note down where it was; and I could never since recover it. If I could, I would certainly have had a copy from it here; tho' enlarged, and made more worthy of the (88) King of all the Rivers of Italy. I would have raised a mount for him, somewhere hereabouts; against the middle of which, he might have reclined, and held down his urn: from which, the waters ought to have run down the roughnesses of the mount (89) in large quantities, and with a good deal of noise and rapidity. His having a head like that of a bull, would have distinguished him well enough from all the other rivers of Italy; a thing which their poets do not attribute to any of them that I know of, except this; and, perhaps, the Ausidus (90). The reason why the ancient poets and artists gave the head of a bull to Eridanus, may be from that river's having its source from mount Vesò; the highest mountain in that range of the Alps, which were antiently called the Alpes Taurinæ: and which make a very distinguished figure when you take a view of those mountains from Turin, the capital of the antient Taurini; tho' it is above forty miles distant from it.

THE statues of Eridanus were no doubt highly worshipped, and honoured by the Romans, in the Augustan age; as being then the chief of all the Rivers of Italy. One way of their shewing their devotion, or particular respect, to their River-gods, was by (91) gilding their horns. Now taking it for granted that they paid a compliment to their greatest River-god, which was commonly paid to those of less regard with them; this

(84) Cornibus hic fractis, viridi male testus ab ulvâ,
Decolor ipse suo sanguine, Rhenus erit.
(In the triumph of Germanicus,) Ovid. Trist.
Lib. 4. Ep. 2. §. 42.

(85) Thus was he represented under the famous equestrian statue of Domitian; described by Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 1.

Ænea captivi crinem terit ungula Rheni. §. 51.

(86) Tradiderat famulas jam tibi Rhenus aquas.
(Giving up his urn to Germanicus,) Ovid. Fast. 1. §. 286.

(87) Nympharum pater Amniumque, Rhene, —
Sic semper liquidis fruaris undis; —
Sic et cornibus aureis receptis,
Et Romanus eas utraq; ripâ: &c.
(On Trajan's return,) Martial. Lib. 10. Ep. 7.

(88) Fluviorum Rex Eridanus. —
Virgil. Georg. 1. §. 482.

(89) Alberti, (speaking of two fountains on mount Vesò,) gives the following account of the source of

the Po. Da quell' altra fontana, (da Plinio Visenda nominata,) qual è piu bassa, ha principio il Po; come etiandio scrive Strabone, nel 4 libro. Scende adunque da questa fontana un rivo di chiara acqua, per stretti, difficili, & strabocchevoli balci; & casca molto precipitosamente, fra quelle piccole valli, sopra il fastoso monte: & poi esce fuori pressò terra 40 braccia, parendo quindi scaturire & uscir; con tanto empito & forza, & parimente con tant' abbondanza d'acqua, che è cosa maravigliosa. Nel cader suo sopra i sassi, de quali son pieni tutti i luoghi vicini alle radici del monte, che continuamente caddono al detto, fa grandissimo strepito & rimbombo. Leon. Alb. Italia. p. 386.

(90) Horace calls the Ausidus, Tauriformis, (Lib. 4. Od. 14. §. 25.) by which he may mean, either that in his statues he had the head of a bull, or else that his whole form resembled that animal.

(91) See Note 87, anteh.
O o o

this fact will set some lines of Virgil in a very clear light, which are otherwise perhaps apt to appear ridiculous, to most of his readers at present. The lines I mean are in the story of Aristaus; where, tho' the poet is speaking of all the rivers of the earth in general, he takes care to distinguish their own great River, the Po, in a particular manner.

Jamque domum mirans genetricis, & humida regna,
 Speluncisque lacus clausos, lucosque sonantes,
 Ibat; &, ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum,
 Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ
 Spectabat diversa locis. Phasimque, Lycumque;
 Et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus:
 Unde pater Tiberinus, & unde Aniena fluens;
 Saxosumque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque Caicus:
 Et, gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu,
 Eridanus; quo non alius per pingua culta
 In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis (92).

WHAT you have advanced, says Myfagetes, of Eridanus's being represented with the head of a bull, and of his having his horns gilded; will account perhaps very well for the expressions in this passage which relate to the countenance of that River-god, and his golden horns: but there is another thing in it, with which I am not yet satisfied; and that is Virgil's calling the Po here, "the most violent of all rivers." I know, one of the most celebrated and most ingenious writers of our age has endeavoured to soften this, by understanding it only (93) of the rivers in Italy. But, (not to enquire at all whether the Po be really the most violent of all the rivers in Italy,) how can Virgil be understood of the rivers of one country only, where he is expressly speaking of all the rivers (94) of the world? and of one common point, from whence all their sources were antiently supposed to be derived?

I AM not quite clear as to that expression, replied Polymetis: but to answer you as far as I can, I must give you the opinion of a man whom you both know; and whose name I need not mention to you, when I have told you it is the person, who understands Virgil in a more masterly manner, than perhaps any one in this age. It is his opinion, (with all that modesty, with which he generally offers his opinions,) that the difficulty you mention may possibly be got over, by the expression joined with it; per pingua culta. The most violent rivers in the world are such as run, or fall, thorough a chain of mountains; and, (not to speak of any of the Apennine rivers, or rather torrents, in Italy itself,) the Ifar, which we cross so often in the two or three last days journey before we enter into Italy, is (in all that part of its course,) much more violent, and more disturbed, than the Po. But the Po, you know, very soon after its source, flows on thro' the vale of Piemont; and afterwards, traverses all the rich vale of Lombardy. These are the Pingua Culta, which Virgil speaks of; almost the whole course of the Po, is thorough such rich low ground: and perhaps there may not be any river in the world, which has almost all its course thro' so flat and rich a soil, which is so violent as the Po is.

THE Roman poets mention several other rivers of Italy in a personal manner, beside the last mentioned: but I have not met with the figures of any of them, among the remains of the artists; or at least, have not been able to distinguish them, where I may have met with them. According to Horace, the figure of the Ausidus should have the head of a bull, as well as Eridanus; or perhaps be yet more (95) taurine. The Mincius

(92) Virgil. Georg. 4. 373.

(93) See Mr. Addison's Travels, p. 72.

(94) Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ.

Georg. 4. 366.

(95) Sic tauriformis volvit Ausidus,
 Qui regna Dauni perfluit Apuli;
 Cum sævit, horrendamque cultis
 Diluvium meditat agris.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. 28.

Mincius should be (96) crowned with reeds, according to what Virgil says in one place; as he shews us the reason for it, in another. The Anio, I think, would be well represented, as plunging downwards (97); and Statius may possibly allude to some such figures of him, of old. The neighbouring goddess of the Albula might be easily distinguished, in a painting, by her (98) sulphur-coloured hair. Numicius, should be (99) small himself; and with a little urn, suitable to his stream: Vulturnus, on the contrary, should be very large; and perhaps with his hair mixed with sand, or coloured like it; if we may trust to what Statius (100) says of him. I should have been glad to have found him on any relieve, in the attitude in which that poet describes him; tho' he introduces him on so vile an occasion, as that of commending one of their worst emperors. But of all these River-gods, there are two in particular whose figures I have sought after much; tho' as yet without any success. One is Curtius; the hero who devoted his own life, to save his country: and the other Egeria; who inspired Numa, with the laws he made to regulate so wild and barbarous a people as the Romans originally were. Curtius, after plunging into the caverns (101) of the earth, was supposed to become the presiding deity of that little lake, on the spot where he performed so glorious an action. It is just beside the Via Sacra; and still bears his name. Statius has a description of him, as the deity of this lake: and seems to have borrowed his ideas from some old statue of him; which, in his time, seems to have been all over-run with moss (102); or that sort of green, which you may have observed on Bernini's Triton-statue, in the Piazza Barberini at Rome. He speaks of his wreath of oak: that sort of crown, which the Romans gave to such as saved the life of a citizen; and which belonged much more justly to such as had saved (103) the state. It is hence, that the flattery of the artists has given this oaken wreath to most of the Roman emperors, on the reverse of their medals; and it was for the same reason, I suppose, that there was one usually hung up, over the (104) entrance to their palace. Curtius wore it, as the preserver of his country. He was a true patriot River-god; and Egeria deserved something of the same character: for such as give good laws, are often of more use to a nation, even than those who sacrifice their lives for it. I never met with any true statue of Egeria. There is indeed, as you may remember, the figure of a person reclined at the upper end of the grotto called by her name near Rome: but it is so defaced by time, and by the water that gushes out all about it, that one cannot distinguish whether it was ever meant for her; or indeed, whether it may be any Water-goddess at all. It may as well have been the figure of an old Roman soldier, represented on the cover of

some

- (96) ———Velatus arundine glaucâ
Mincius ———
Virgil. *Æn.* 10. *l.* 206.
———Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius; & tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas.
Id. *Geor.* 3. *l.* 15.

- (97) Illis ipse antris Aoniens fonte relicto
Nocte sub arcana glaucos exutus amictus,
Illic illuc fragili prosternit pectora musco:
Aut ingens in stagna cadit: ———
Statius. *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 3. *l.* 73.

- (98) Illis Sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines.
Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 75.

- (99) ———Ubi testus arandine ferpit
In freta fluminis vicina Numicius undis.
Ovid. *Met.* 14. *l.* 599.

That poet describes him there personally, as assisting in the dedication of *Æneas*; and, in another place, as ravishing Anna, the sister of Dido. *Fast.* 3. *l.* 648.

- (100) ———Flavum caput humidumque latè
Crinem molliibus impeditus ulmis,
Vulturnus levat ora; maximoque
Pontis Cæsarei reclinis arcu;
Pandis talia faucibus redundat.
Statius. *Lib.* 4. *Sylv.* 3. *l.* 71.

(101) It was a vast Hiatus in the earth, into which this hero plunged armed, and on horseback; according to Livy's account. *Lib.* 7. *l.* 6. He is represented in this action on a fine relieve, at the Villa Borgheze, near Rome; and I have seen the story on some gems, in which there are flames issuing out of the gulph.

- (102) Ipse loci castos, cujus sacra vorago
Famulosque lacus nomen memorabile servat;
Ut sensit mugire forum, mover horrida sancto
Ora situ; meritâque caput venerabile quercu.
Statius. *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 1. *l.* 70.

- (103) ———Umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.
Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 771.

- (104) Protegat & vestras querna corona foras.
Ovid. *Fast.* 1. *l.* 614.

He is praying for Augustus. "May Jupiter, says he, add to your dominion, and to your years! and may the sacred wreath of oak, that hangs over your doors, always protect your house! May others succeed you, with as sacred a name as your own; and make us as happy, as you have done!"

some Sarcophagus, in the manner that one often sees them; and, to say the truth, has more the air of such a figure than of a Water-deity. The statue that is generally called Egeria, in a garden belonging to the Justiniani family, just by the Porta del Popolo; and which is published as a statue of Egeria in Maffei's collection (105); has yet, less pretensions than the former. It is a woman indeed; but then she has two urns, and stands quite upright: whereas River-deities, as I mentioned before, are almost always more or less reclined. In this want of a figure of Egeria, all one can learn of her is what one may conjecture from a description of her in Ovid. I should imagine from that account (106) of her, that her figure should be reclined, and in a melancholy posture; as resting on her hand, and weeping extremely: for he represents her as lying at the foot of a hill, and lamenting the loss of Numa; where Diana, (observing the greatness of her affliction) out of compassion, turned her body into a fountain; and made her soul the presiding genius over it. This description in Ovid agrees very well with the place which is now called her Grotto; where the old statue I was speaking of, lies: but that statue is not at all to be depended upon; because the Grotto has been new ordered several times (107), since Ovid's days.

SEVERAL of the more famous rivers of Greece, are described personally in the Roman poets; but with the same inconvenience, that I have been just complaining of: for either there are not any representations in the remains of the old artists, to be confronted with those descriptions; or, at least, I do not know of any such. Peneus was looked on as the chief of all rivers, among the Greeks, just as Eridanus was among the Romans; or as we in England are apt to call the Thames, the noblest river in the world. It was hence probably, that they supposed the point whence all rivers had their rise (108), to be near the source of the Peneus. The great cascade he makes on his issuing out of mount Pindus, and his cave beneath it, are more distinctly (109) spoken of by Ovid, than the appearance of the god himself.—Inachus is described, by Valerius Flaccus (110), as quite reclined; and by Statius (111), as sitting, and leaning against a bank; holding his urn sloping,

(105) The collection of statues, printed by Rossi. N^o 86.

(106) Non tamen Egeriæ Iustus aliena levare
Damna valent; montisque jacens radicibus imis
Liquitur in Iachryman. Donec pietate dolentis
Mota foror Phœbi, gelidum de corpore fontem
Fecit; & æternas artus tenuavit in undas.

Met. 15. 5. 551.

(107) Juvenal complains of their having spoiled part of the natural beauties of this place, by their adorning it with marble; in his time.

In vallem Egeriæ descendimus, & speluncas
Diffimiles veris. Quanto præstantius effret
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora topum?

Sat. 3. 5. 20.

There is now a long stone table in the midst of it, which is said to have been placed there in the time of Charles V; when that emperor had the curiosity to dine in the place, where Numa used to receive his laws.

For the more antient accounts of it, see Note 63, anteh.

What Juvenal calls the Vallis Egeriæ, I take to be the same with what Ovid calls the Arician Vale; (Met. 15. 5. 483.) Vitruvius, the Arician Grove; (Lib. 8. c. 3. p. 157.) and Statius, the Arician Grotto; (Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. 5. 291.) Not that beautiful vale, under the town of Aricia; but one much nearer to Rome; and probably even nearer than that spot, which Nardini and all the Roman antiquarians at present agree in pointing out, as honoured by the Grotto of Egeria. Perhaps, that nymph was originally a native of Aricia;

and thence her grotto, grove, and vale, near Rome, might be called Aricine: or she might be particularly worshipped at Aricia, and her statue in the grotto near Rome, might be consecrated to the Egeria Aricina: as there is a church dedicated to the Virgo Lauretana now in Rome; and as I have seen a chapel, which they call the chapel of Loretto, in Flanders.

(108) Virgil, Georg. 4. 5. 363—369.

(109) Est nemus Hæmonia, prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylvæ; vocant Tempe; per quæ Peneüs ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis:
Dejectaque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conduit, summasque aspergine sylvas
Impluit, & sonitu plus quàm vicina fatigat.
Hæc domus, hæc sedes, hæc sunt penetralia magni
Amnis. In hoc residens factò de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat, Nymphisque colectibus undas.
Conveniunt illic popularia Flumina primùm:—
Moxque Amnes alii.

Ovid. Met. 1. 5. 581.

(110) ——— Veneranda fluenti
Effigies te, Phæbi, manet; quàm magnus Enipeus,
Et pater aurato quantus jacet Inachus antro.
Flac. Argon. 5. 5. 210.

(111) ——— Pater ipse bicornis
In levam pronâ nixus sedet Inachus urnâ.
Statius. Theb. 2. 5. 218.

——— Pater ordine junctio
Lævus arandineæ recubantque sub aggere ripæ
Cernitur, emissæque indulgens Inachus urnæ.
Id. Ib. 6. 5. 275.

sloping, and pouring the waters out of it: and, (as the taste began to be corrupted with finery in their time) one of them seems to celebrate his cave, for being all ornamented with gilding on the inside: which was yet worse than the regular marble-work, which was introduced into Egeria's grotto, about the same time.—Any figure of Achelous would be easy to be distinguished from all his brother River-gods, by his having lost one of his horns (112); if his crown of reeds, or willow, did not hide that defect.—We have a full picture of Ismenos, in Statius's Thebaid. According to that poet, he should be of a vast size, with a pine-tree in one hand, and his urn under the other. He should have his horns interwove with creffes, or other herbs that grow in the water; and moss all over his neck and shoulders. In that poet you see him rising (113) above the river he presides over; his hair mixed with froth, and the water falling from his beard, so fast and in such quantities, that it makes a stream all down his breast: his hair is loaded with icicles (114); and he drops his pine and urn on being struck with the sudden and violent complaints of one of his water-nymphs. His face is (115) disturbed, and in a passion; and half covered with the water and sand (116), that run down from his hair.

ONE might form a very bold idea for a fountain-statue, from this description of the Ismenos in Statius: but were I to introduce any figure in this part of my gardens, which was not copied from some work of the antient artists, I should rather chuse to borrow it from Ovid's description of Acis than any other. You know the Loves of Acis and the Nereid Galatea. One day, as they were sitting together under a rock by the sea-side, Polyphemus saw them from far, and run toward them. Galatea, plunged into the sea; and Acis fled, as fast as his fears could carry him, from so formidable an enemy. Polyphemus pursued him, with the broken fragment of a rock in his hands; and when he came near enough, flung it at the unfortunate lover. The rock crushed him to death; and split itself, in several pieces, in its fall. When the Cyclops came up to him, how great must his astonishment be, to find new created reeds growing thro' all the places where the rock was split? to hear waters gurgling from within, as they rose to the top of the broken rock, and then falling down on every side of it? and in fine to see a youth rise, breast-high, above those waters; in every thing like Acis, excepting all that additional dignity of a River-god, just then conferred upon him by the influence of his dear Galatea? Acis himself (just as he is described by Ovid (117)) for the fountain-figure; and the Cyclops, on one side of it; as stopping short, with that mixture of rage and surprize which ought to appear on his countenance; would to my mind be a better subject for a fountain-story, than any one in all that number they have made use of to adorn the gardens of Versailles. I do not mean by this, that I would chuse complex subjects for fountains. On the contrary, I should think the single figure of Acis, and his rock, better for a fountain by itself; than when, either with his rival, or his mistress, by his side: but where complex stories are to be made use of, I should imagine this story would serve better, than the Revenge of the Frogs on Latona, or even the Reception of Apollo by the Nereids: which I mention as two of the properest stories for fountains, that

(112) ————— Herculeâ turpatus gymnade vultus'
Amasis. ————— Statius. Theb. 4. v. 106,
————— Vultus Achelous agrestes,
Et lacerum cornu mediis caput abdidit undis:—
Cætera sospes erat: capitis quoque fronde salignâ,
Aut superimpositâ celatar arundine damnum.
Ovid. Met. 9. v. 100.

(113) ————— Tantus tumido de gurgite surgit;
Spumofum attollens apicem, lapsusque sonoro
Pectora cæruleæ rivis manantia barba.
Statius. Theb. 9. v. 415.

(114) ————— Levat aspera musco
Colla, gravemque gelu crinem: ceciditque soluta
Pinus adulta manu; demissaque volvitur urna.
Id. Ib. v. 140.

(115) ————— Stetit arduo alto
Amne: manaque genas & nexa virentibus ulvis
Cornua concutens, sic turbidus ore profundo
Incipit. ————— Ib. v. 421.

(116) Turbidus imbre genas, & nube natantis arenæ.
Ib. v. 422.

(117) ————— Tum moles iacta dehiscit,
Vivæque per rimas proceræque surgit arundo;
Osque cavum saxi sonat exultantibus undis:
Miræque res! Subitò mediâ tenus exiit alvo
Incinctus juvenis flexis nova cornua cannis.
Qui nisi quiddam major, quoddam toto cæruleis ore est,
Acis erat. ————— Ovid. Met. 13. v. 896.

that I can remember, in those celebrated gardens of a monarch, who is allowed, (even by his enemies,) to have been one of the greatest, and most magnificent, of any Europe has produced in our times.

EVERY River-god was supposed to be attended by several goddesses of an inferior nature, called Naiads; of whom, (as I observed to you in the case of the Nereids,) the poets say scarce any thing that is particular. What we learn of them in general is, that they were supposed to live in the palaces of the presiding deities of fountains (118), lakes, and rivers. We have the names of no less than sixteen of these deities, given us by Virgil (119); in his account of Cirenè's apartment only, in the watry palace of Peneus: and Ovid speaks of a hundred, at least (120), in the river Anio. They had often a name, (121) from the particular river they inhabited. They are described with long (122), bright hair, flowing down their shoulders; their faces, should have a shining (123), humid look, (not unlike the Venus Anaduomènè of Apelles :) their shape should be fine, and their limbs well turned. Their robes, when they wear any, (for they are most commonly quite naked,) should be of a greenish cast (124); varied at pleasure, some into lighter, and some into darker shades; and so thin, that you might discover all the turn of their limbs, and the fineness of their skin thorough them. They have sometimes little flying veils (125), (in gems of the antients,) over their heads; like those goddesses of the air, which the Romans called Auræ, and which we call Sylphs. Ovid dresses his Naiads with a good deal of variety (126); where he introduces them, as attending at a feast. Indeed this was their usual employment: and, (to say the truth,) they seem to have been little better than so many domesticks to the presiding Water-deities. Almost all we hear of them is, that they are lodged in their palaces (127); work (128), and tell stories: and then come, and (129) wait at table.

As

(118) ——— Illum fontana petebant

Numina Naiades; quas Aibula, quasque Numici,
Quasque Anienis aque, curisque brevissimus Almo,
Narque tulit præcepis, & amœnæ Farfæ umbre;
Quasque colunt Scythicæ regnum nemorale Dianæ;
Finitimosque lacus. ———

Ovid. Met. 14. v. 332.

(119) See Virgil. Georg. 4. v. 336, to 340; and 343, to 345.

(120) Illa, pone metus; tibi Regia nostra patebit,
Teque colent amnes; Illa, pone metus;
Tu centum aut plures interdominare Nymphas;
Nam centum aut plures flumina nostra tenent.

Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 6. v. 64.

(121) Thus the Water-nymphs, in the river Ismenos, were called Ismenides; (Statius, Theb. 9. v. 319.) and those in the Tiber, Tiberinides; (Ovid. Fast. 2. v. 597.)

(122) Cæsariem effusæ nitidam per candida colla.

Virgil. Georg. 4. v. 347.

(123) Ite, Dæ virides; liquidosque advertite vultus!

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. v. 18.

—— Annuerunt omnes Tiberinides adæ.

Ovid. Fast. 2. v. 597.

(124) Valerius Flaccus, in his account of the rape of Hylas, (where by the way, he gives several other particulars of the Naiads,) introduces the nymphs of the water, hunting with those of the woods; and dresses them all in green robes.

—— Pulchro venantes agmine nymphas;
Undarum, nemorumque decus. Levis omnibus arcus,
Et manicæ virides, & stricla myrtus avena:
Summo palla genu. Tenui vagus innatat umbræ
Crinis, ad obscuræ decurrens cingula mammæ.

Argon. 3. v. 526.

—— Caput glaucæ contextit amictu
Multa gemens, & se fluvio Dea condidit alto.

Virgil. Æn. 12. v. 889.

4

Virgil speaks this of Juturna, sister of Turnus. She was a Naiad; and, in particular, one of the Tiberinides. See her story, in Ovid. Fast. 2. v. 585—606.

(125) Perhaps these are what Ovid calls, Carbasæ; (where he speaks of the water and wood-nymphs, as mourning.)

—— Obscuraque carbasæ pullo

Naiades & Dryades, passioque habere capillos.

Met. 11. v. 49.

(126) Naiades effusis, aliæ sine pectinis usu,
Pars aderant compis arte manaque comis.
Illa, super furas tunicam collecta ministrat;
Altera, diffuso pectus aperta sinu.
Exerit hæc humerum; vestes trahit illa per herbas;
Impediunt teneras vincula nulla pedes.

Ovid. Fast. 1. v. 410.

(127) ——— Thalamo sub fluminis altæ.

Virgil. Georg. 4. v. 334.

(128) Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Vulcani, Martisque dolos & dulcia furta;
Aque Chao densos Divum numerabat amores:
Carminè quo capte, dum fuisse mollia pensa
Devolvant, &c. ———

Id. Ibid. v. 349.

(129) ——— Manibus liquidos dant ordine fontes
Germanæ, tonsisque ferunt mantilia villis:
Pars epulis onerant mensas; & plena reponunt
Pocula. ———

Ibid. v. 379.

So, in Achelous's grotto:

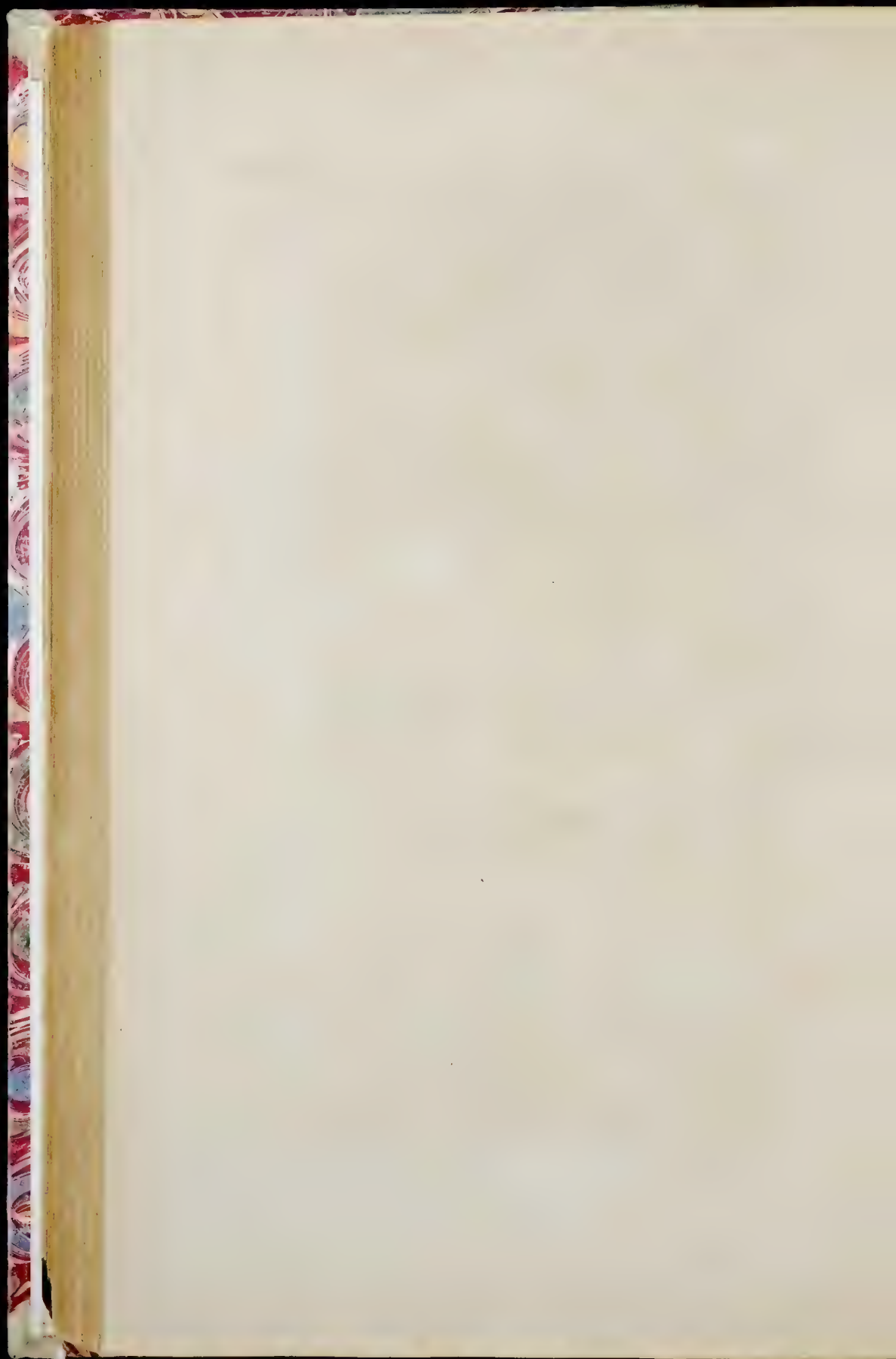
Protinus appositæ nudæ vestigia Nymphæ
Istruxere epulis mensas; & dapibusque remotis,
In gemmâ posuere merum. ———

Ovid. Met. 8. v. 572.

As Polymetis said this, they came into the last opening; which was much wider than any of the rest, and was bounded all along by the bank of the Thames. The grove-work run quite down to the river, at each end of it; and three or four fountains, with the statue of a water-nymph to each of them, appeared along the margin of the intervening woods; at proper, tho' not quite equal distances, from one another. Their particular fountains were supplied by the water from above; and run off, in little winding streams, thro' the grass; till they were received in the river. These nymphs, says Polymetis, are so many Naiads that I have seen in some work or other of the old artists; and, as they are unknown and without names, you may, (if you please,) call them, The Naiads of the Thames: a river, whose Genius deserved a place among the most celebrated River-gods of antiquity; and would probably have been as much celebrated as any of them, had we happened to have been situated nearer to the center of the Roman empire. But we lay too far from them, to have been even heard of by the Romans, in the earliest ages of their empire; and so divided from all parts of it, that when they had discovered our island at last, they seem for a great while to have talked of it much in the same style that we used to talk of America. We were then the new world, and the other world; according to their notions of us. Had Britain lain as near Rome, as Sicily does; and in such a situation, could have been as considerable for trade, as it has been since; I doubt not, but that the Thame and Isis would have been as much celebrated by the Roman poets, I will not say as their Alpheus and Arethusa, but as any of the rivers the most considered and the most talked of in antiquity. We should not then have been at a loss for figures of the venerable Thamus, on old medals and reliefs: and we might possibly have seen him there, crowned with oak: and holding the rudder of a ship in his right hand, and a cornucopia in his left; the former, to denote our dominion over the sea; and the latter, to signify that plenty which he spreads on each side his banks; perhaps as much as any river, except the Nile.

I COULD say much more in praise of the river before us: but as the evening is coming on, and the dews begin to fall, we had better leave this damp part of my garden; and get within doors as fast as we can. When we are there, in defect of passages from the Roman poets, we may, (if you please,) read over what our own poets have said of the Thames; and perhaps we shall find some commendations of him in them, as well wrote, and better founded, than many of the allegorical compliments, that were so much in fashion among the former.











I



II



III



IV

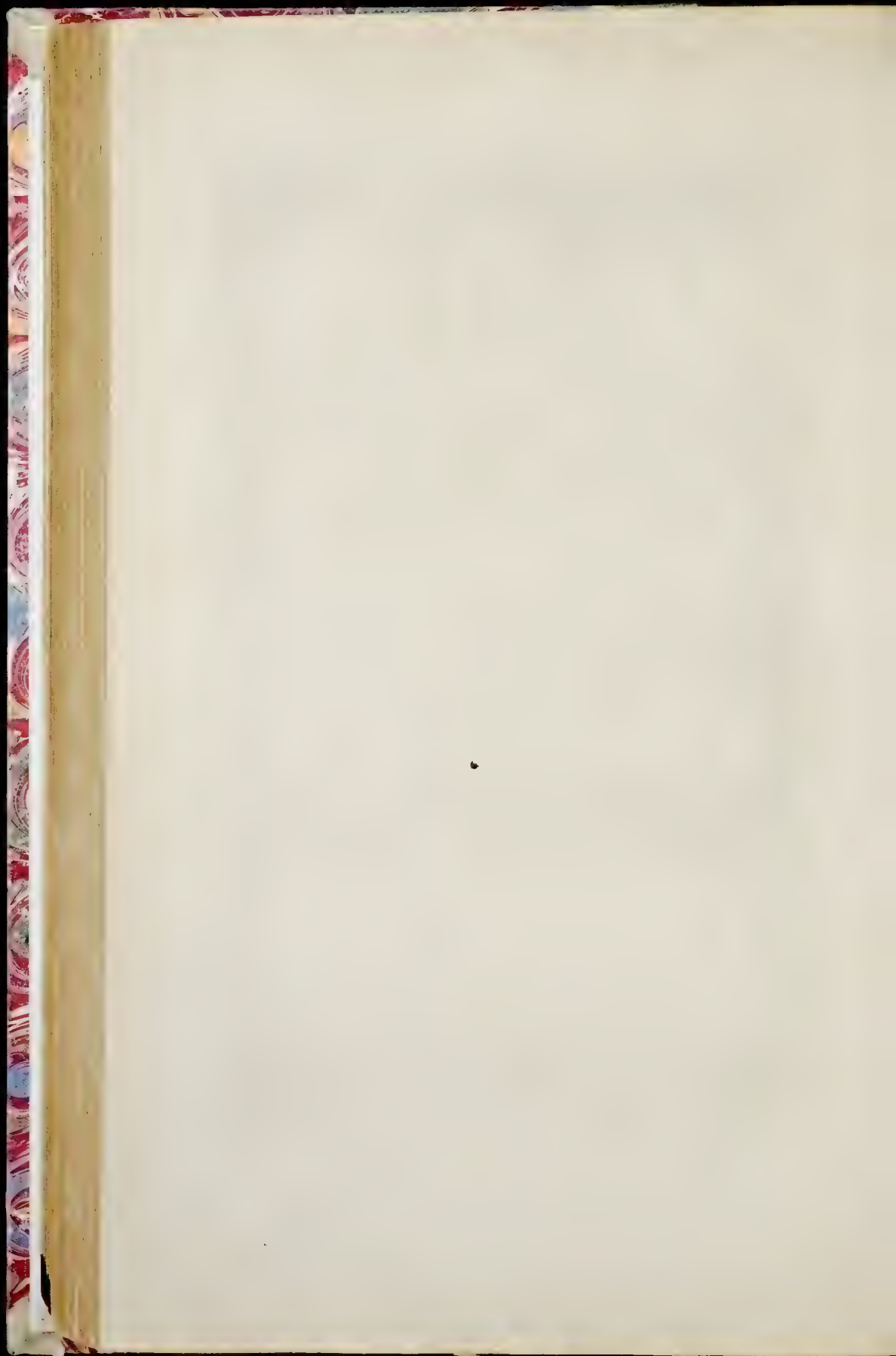


V



VI

J. P. Bouchard sculp



B O O K the Eighth.

D I A L. XV.

Of the Deities of the EARTH.

THE next morning Polymetis carried his two friends, to his temple of the Terrestrial Deities, opposite to that of the Water Deities; at the foot of the hill: and as they were going to it, "I need not now inform you, says he, that the antients abounded in this allegorical kind of beings, much more than is usually imagined. This is what I have observed to you on several occasions already: but it will be yet more evident from the class we are going to consider. For they had formerly some deities relating to our world, which, probably, you have never yet thought of; and perhaps may not be so easy to admit, when I tell you of them. Nature was certainly represented by them. There was a statue, supposed to be of this goddess, in the Queen of Sweden's collection (1); and another just like it, in the Marquis Cavalieri's, at Rome: and, if you should dispute both of these, you may find her, with her name (2) engraved under her; on that famous relievo at the Colonna palace, which represents the deification of Homer. The Great Diana of the Ephesians probably represented the same goddess; as appears, (I think, very plainly,) from the various (3) symbols on her figures: and, in particular, there is one in the Great Duke's collection at Florence, with different figures on it in four different compartments, signifying (4) the four Elements. The four Elements themselves are represented personally, in several (5) remains of the antient artists. They made a personage too, to represent our whole globe (6); and another, of the (7) habitable part of it: beside Cybele, who was the goddess most usually supposed to preside over the earth; and who is therefore, generally, represented with a crown of turrets on her head. The Earth itself, you know, was a goddess; and had temples consecrated to her at Rome. Each part of the then known world, (Europe, Asia, and Africa,) made their appearance among the imaginary beings of those days; and perhaps, every kingdom, and country, in each of them. Each celebrated city had its genius; and there were deities to preside over every street, every house; and each particular person in every house. Even the woods, the fields, and the gardens, had each their peculiar deities; and the very rocks, and mountains, were turned into personages. You will not expect that I should show you all the figures I could procure under every one of these heads. They would be too numerous for this, or any other temple: and I have only endeavoured to

get

(1) See Maffei's collection of statues; published by Roma, N^o 121, and 131.

nymphs with cornucopia's; and in the fourth, a Water-nymph. See Mus. Flor. Vol. III. Pl. 20.

(2) See, Admir. Pl. 81.

(3) The sun, moon, and stars; all sorts of animals, and fruits; and a number of breasts: to show, that she produces, and nourishes, all things.

(5) In the entrance of the Florentine gallery, there is a fine relievo, with three of them; and all the four, are represented Pl. 9, antech. and in the Admir. N^o 22, 66, &c.

There is a Diana Ephesia, in Montfaucon, (Vol. I. Pl. 96.) with this inscription, *ἡ ΤΥΣΙΣ ΠΑΝΑΙΟΛΟΣ. ΠΑΝΤ. ΜΗΤ.*

(6) See Pl. 32. Fig. 3. posth.

(4) In one of the compartments, is Sol and Lunus; in another, three winged youths: in a third, three

(7) There is a female figure, on the Colonna-marble; inscribed, *ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ*.

get either such of them, as were the most considerable; or such, as were the most likely to be of service to my present purpose.

Pl. XXXII.
fig. 1.

THIS figure in the center, (added he, as he entered the temple,) is the goddess of Nature. She is represented, you see, with great simplicity; her robes fall down to her feet, (partly perhaps for dignity, and partly to shew how much her ways are concealed from us :) and she has a basket with fruits, on her head; as the cause of plenty, and the producer of all things. The poets speak but very seldom of this goddess personally: and I remember only one picture of her, in any of their works; and that indeed is finely imagined. It is in Statius's *Achilleid*; where he is speaking of the rebellion of the giants: on which occasion, he represents Nature, as almost breathless with fear; and with her (8) eyes steadily fixed on Jupiter, as confiding solely in his assistance.

Pl. XXXII.
fig. 2.

THE fitting figure just opposite to the door, you see, is Cybele; and that, in a reclined posture, on her right hand, is Tellus. Cybele is distinguished sufficiently, from all the rest, by the pine-branch, in her hand; and the lion, on each side of her chair. The poets, and artists, sometimes gave her a chariot too drawn (9) by lions; and Ovid, in particular, describes her as descending from the heavens to the earth (10), in the same equipage.

EVEN some of the Roman prose-writers, speak of Tellus personally (11); and attribute passions to her. Her figures are frequently (12) to be met with, in the remains of the ancient artists. I never saw any figure of Tellus, which was not in a reclining posture: for much the same reason, I suppose, that River-gods are generally reclined; and the deities of the air, flying and alert. The only considerable description I can recollect from

(8) Sic cum bellantes Phlegreæ in castra coirent
Cœlicolæ; jamque Odrysiam Gradivus in hastam
Surgeret, & Lybicos Tritonia tolleret angues;
Ingentemque manu curvaret Delius arcum:
Stabat, anhelæ metu, solum Natura Tonantem
Respiciebat. —

Statius. *Achil.* 2. v. 489.

(9) Et juncti currum dominæ fubiere leones.
Virgil. *Æn.* 3. v. 113.
Alma parens Idææ Deûm; cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeraque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones.
Id. *Ibid.* 10. v. 253.
Hanc veteres Graiûm docti cecinere poetæ
Sedibus in curru bijugos agitare leones; —
Muralique caput summum cinxere coronâ: —
Quo nunc insigni per magnas prædita terras
Horribicè fertur Divinæ Matris imago.
Lucretius. 2. v. 609.

(10) Cum memor has pinus Idææ vertice cæcas
Sancta Deûm genitrix, tinnitibus æra pulsâ
Æris & inflati complexit murmure buxi;
Perque leves domitis invectæ leonibus auras,
“ Irrita sacrilegâ jactas incendia dextrâ,
Turne, ait: eripiam,” &c.
Ovid. *Met.* 14. v. 540.

The goddess Cybele, was one of the highest dignity, and worship, in the religion of the old Romans. I have often thought, that several of the honours paid by them to her, and several other of their deities, have been at different times, united and transferred to the worship of the Virgin Mary, by the artifices of the church of Rome. To mention a few instances, out of many: they now generally apply to the Virgin Mary all over Italy, for rain; just as the old Romans

did, to their Jupiter Pluvius.—The ladies at Rome who are desirous of having children, pay their devotions now, at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; as they did formerly, when it was the temple of Juno Regina.—They look on the Virgin now, as the most present aid to women in labour; as they did formerly, on their virgin-goddess Diana.—And they have now in Italy perhaps as many and as magnificent processions, in her honour; as they had formerly to Cybele.—There is some resemblance too in the titles given to Cybele of old, and to the B. Virgin now. The old Romans called Cybele, Domina; Mater; Mater Cultrix; Divina Mater; Alma Parens Deûm; Sancta Deûm Genetrix; & Mater Deûm. As to the titles given to the Virgin Mary in Italy at present, some that resemble these will occur to every one; and to reckon them up all, might make this note, (which is but too long perhaps already,) longer than my whole book.

(11) Persequimur omnes ejus (Telluris) fibras;
vivimusque super excavatam: mirantes deficere aliquando, aut intremiscere illam. Ceu verò non hoc etiam indignatione Sacræ Parenti exprimi possit.
Pliny, l. 33. *Proœm.* p. 329. Ed. Elz.

(12) In the gems, where Sol is represented as setting out in his chariot.—On Sarcophagus's; where you often have Tellus and Oceanus in the front; I suppose, to signify that the person inclosed in it was returned to his first elements.—In pieces, relating to the creation of man: and in many other subjects, where the four elements are introduced personally, by the artist.—See Pl. 9.—Pl. 25. Fig. 3.—Pl. 26. Fig. 4.—Pl. 27. Fig. 3, and 4, *antch.*

from the Roman poets relating to this goddess, is in Ovid's (13) account of the Fall of Phaëton. Ovid there hints, (I think, more than once,) at the low posture of her figures: but he has so often dashed the allegory and reality together, in that description; that it is difficult enough to distinguish, where he is speaking of the earth as an element, and where of Tellus as a goddess.

TELLUS is sometimes represented (14) with a globe, (or the *Orbis terrarum*;) in her hand; and sometimes the *Orbis terrarum* itself is personified, and appears under the figure of a man: as on this medal, in particular, where you see him quite naked; kneeling on one knee: and the emperor giving him his hand, to raise him up.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 3.

THE three great divisions of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa, were represented as persons by the ancient artists; and are sometimes spoken of as such, by their poets: tho' to say the truth this is much more common with the lower poets, than those of the more allowed ages.

I TAKE Europe to have been often meant, under the figure of Europa on her bull; as you see her on this gem. This is a very common subject with the old artists: and they seem to have been as fond of repeating it, as Ovid is; in whom we have three or four (15) several accounts of this story. There is however one thing observable enough on this gem; which I think he has not mentioned in any of them: and that is, the bull's walking over the surface of the water, as if it was firm land.—If you are not satisfied with this mistress of Jupiter, for a representative of our part of the world; you may see her as she was supposed to appear in person in the heavens, in a Greek relieve (16) relating to the deification of Hercules: where she seems to attend that great hero; and, (to prevent all disputes,) has her name engraved over her.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 4.

ASIA appears on this medal; standing on the rostrum of a ship; with a rudder in one hand, and a serpent in the other. The two former of these attributes may refer to the greatest improvements of navigation among the antients coming from that part of the world: for the Greeks and Romans owned themselves to be much inferior in that art, to the people of Tyre and Sidon; and what the Africans had of it, was brought originally from Tyre. As to her other attribute, (or the serpent,) I am at a loss to know what it means; unless it may possibly signify, that the art of physic came from the same quarter: for was it meant as a natural produce of that part of the world; it would, methinks, have been a more proper emblem for Africa, than for Asia. The figures of Asia are very uncommon. I never remember to have seen but three of them: that on this medal; another from a gem (17) representing Hector's being dragged behind Achilles's

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 5.

(13) Alma tamen Tellus ut erat circumdata ponto,
Inter aquas pelagi, contractos undique fontes,
(Qui se considerant in opacæ viscera matris.)
Sussulit omnisfero collo tenus arida vultus:
Opposuitque manum fronti. Magnoque tremore
Omnia concutens paulum subsedit; & infra,
Quàm solet esse, fuit: sicquæ ita voce locuta est.—
Ovid. Met. 2. v. 278:

Vix equilem fauces hæc ipsa in verba resolvit;
(Præferat ora vapor:) totos en aspice crines!
Inque oculis tantum, tantum super ora faville!
Hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem
Officiumque refers, quod adanci vulnera aratri
Rastrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno?

Ibid. v. 287.

Dixerat hæc Tellus; neque enim tolerare vaporem
Uterius potuit, nec discere plura; sumumque
Retulit os in se, propioraque Manibus antra.

Ibid. v. 303.

Ovid here plainly endeavours to bring in the Earth as a personage; so that, during this appearance of her, he should have considered her constantly as personified.

He speaks of the posture of her body; of her face, her forehead, her eyes, and her hands: and, in the same breath, talks of her being encompassed with the sea; of her being ploughed up; of her fruit-bearing face; and of her hiding her head, in herself. This is just that sort of confusion which Mr. Prior complains of so much, (and with so much reason,) in the Hind and Panther. It runs indeed throughout that whole poem. Very few of the antients are apt to be guilty of it: and there are more instances of it perhaps in the works of Ovid, than in those of all the Roman poets of the three good ages put together.

(14) See Oisellius's medals, Pl. 15. 1.

(15) Fast. 5. v. 605, to 614.—Met. 2. v. 870, to 875.—Ib. 6. v. 103, to 107.

(16) Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 141.

(17) In Baron Stofche's collection of drawings, at Florence.

les's chariot, round the walls of Troy; and the third on a fine relievo which I shall shew you by and by, relating to the destruction of that city, and the seat of Empire's being transferred from Asia into Europe. In both the latter, this goddess appears as in deep distress, for the sufferings and desolation of her people.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 6.

THE figures of Africa are common, both on gems and medals. On this medal, you see, she has her elephant-helmet, which is so often mentioned by Claudian; and a lion, by her; for the same reason that she is sometimes represented with a scorpion in her hand, or with an elephant at her feet. Oxen are also used as attributes of Africa, in the works of the ancient artists; and so is corn often: and, sometimes, a basket of several sorts of fruit; as you see it is, on the medal before you. As the antients were chiefly acquainted only with the lower Egypt, and the sea-coast of Africa toward the Mediterranean, this part of the world seems to have been distinguished among them, by its fertility and plenty. Were our modern artists to invent a personage for Africa, I question whether they would be so complaisant to her. They would, perhaps, make her hold a branch in her hand, without any leaves on it; and if they placed a basket by her, they would probably perhaps fill it with sand, instead of fruit. Which, (by the way,) would be but too just an emblem for our African company too, at present; in the poor, distressed, and neglected situation, it has been forced to be left, by the difficulties of the times: tho' it is much to be hoped, that a more proper season may soon offer, for reviving it; and making it, once more, one of the chief channels for wealth and plenty, to this nation.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 7.

SEVERAL kingdoms and provinces in each of these parts of the world, (as Cappadocia, Dacia, Arabia, Judea; Egypt; Italy, France, Spain; Germany, and our own Britain; and many others;) appear frequently in their personal characters on medals: all as ladies; tho' with some particular mark, or attribute, to distinguish each of them from the rest. The poets, of the better ages, mention most of these as persons: but it is very slightly; and scarce ever in that full and diffused manner, with which they are described by some of the lower poets; and particularly, by Claudian (18). I do not know of any one line, in which even Italy is spoken of personally, in all Virgil's works; nor in any one of his cotemporaries. Lucan indeed, in the next age, has a pretty full description of Italia. He makes her appear (19), in a distressed, melancholy attitude, to dissuade Cæsar from passing the Rubicon: and speaks of her being crowned with turrets; as her figure is, on the reverse of this medal: in which there is one thing so remarkable that I must just point it out to you. Italia, you see here, is seated on a celestial globe, instead of a globe of the earth: so that the Romans seem to have arrogated to themselves not only the dominion of our world; but that of the universe, or of all worlds; which is going in fact very much beyond, what was looked upon as a very preposterous wish even in Alexander the Great. Ovid speaks of Germania, personally, in two or three different places. He describes her sometimes as (20) kneeling or sitting in a dejected manner, at the feet of her conqueror; and sometimes as (21) recovering herself under the mildness of the Roman

(18) Whoever has a mind to see Claudian's manner of describing provinces personally, may meet with three or four instances of it, in his panegyric on Stilicho; lib. 1. (Italy, *Æt.* 262, &c. Spain, 228, &c. France, 240, &c. Britain, 247, &c.)

(19) *Ingens visa duci Patrie trepidantis imago,
(Clara per obscuram vultu mensurata noctem, &
Turrisque canos effundens vertice crines)
Cæsare lacerâ, nudisque altare lacertis.*

Lucan. 1. *Æt.* 189.

This was the manner in which the Roman matrons appeared, when they were lamenting the decease of their husbands, or best friends.

*Effusæque comas & apertæ pectora matres
Significant luctum.*

4

Ovid. Met. 13. *Æt.* 689.

*Circum omnis famulâmq; manus Trojanaqueturba,
Et medium Iliades cinem de more solute,
Ingentem gemitu tunsis ad sidera tollunt
Pectoribus.* —

Virgil. *Æn.* 11. *Æt.* 38.

Their arms were bare on this occasion, as well as their breasts; as you may see in the relievo's relating to this subject, in the Adm. Pl. 71, &c.

(20) *Jam fera Cæsaribus Germania, (totus ut orbis.)*

Vista potes flexo succubuisse genu.

Ovid. Trist. lib. 4. *Æt.* 2. *Æt.* 2.

Crinibus en etiam fertur Germania passis;

Et ducis invicti sub pede moesta sedet.

Id. *ibid.* *Æt.* 44.

(21) — *Sparfos Germania crines
Corrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis.*

Ovid. Fast. 1. *Æt.* 646.

Roman government: and this indeed is the general method of representing the conquered provinces on medals. They appear there almost always, either as depressed under one emperor; or raised up by the hand of another. It was a very old and constant opinion among the Romans, that they were a people designed by heaven (22) to subdue and govern the whole earth. It was they who were to give laws to all the different nations of it (23): "To spare the suppliant, and to quell the proud." This is the usual style of their poets; their artists; and even of their historians: and that so equally, that it would be difficult perhaps to determine, by which of them the Roman arrogance is expressed the most strongly and in the grossest manner.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 8, & 9.

I was just now saying, that the poets of the Augustan age have but very few personal descriptions of the different provinces of the world, in their poems: and their figures are as difficult to be met with in the medals of that time. As the succeeding emperors added any new province to the Roman empire, the artists began to compliment them with a figure of it on the reverse of their medals. This, I imagine, was done more sparingly at first; but when a few emperors had been complimented thus, others began to expect it as their due: and so by degrees it grew to be a thing scarce to be omitted. This, if true, may account for the silence on this head, in the better poets; and for their lower poets abounding so much more, in descriptions of this kind.

WHAT has been said of the descriptions of provinces, will hold equally of those of cities. Any personal strokes in relation to them are very uncommon in the good ages: but common enough in the lower ages; and particularly, in Claudian and Aufonius.

ROME indeed was always a subject for the medallists, and other artists: and we have more descriptive lines on her, even in the poets to whose works I have confined my enquiry, than of all the other cities put together. You see her there; sitting, on a heap of arms: with a sword in one hand, and a little figure of the goddess Victory in the other. She is frequently represented in this manner; only sometimes the Victory has a globe added in its hands. Her look and posture denote dignity: as those attributes of the Sword, Victory, and Globe, say very plainly (in the language of the statuary) that she made herself mistress of the whole world by her achievements in war. Accordingly, the Roman poets call her (24), the Martial City; the Eternal City; the Mistress of all Cities; and the Goddess, that presides over all countries and nations. By the way, this settled notion which prevailed so much among the Romans, that they were to become masters of the whole world, shews with how much more propriety the globe was given as an attribute to the city of Rome, when represented personally; than it is now to the statues of each little prince, or the rulers of any particular kingdom. It was a very significant emblem of universal monarchy; but has no significance at all, when applied to the rulers of any portion only of the earth: and is no more proper in the hands of the Grand-Signor, than in those of a king of Corsica.

Pl. XXXII.
Fig. 10.

OVID

(22) — Aspera Juno
Consilia in melius referet; necumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus ætas,
Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam claraque Mycenæ
Servitio premet.

Virgil. Æn. 1. 3. 285. Spoke by Jupiter.

Externi veniunt generi, qui sanguine nostrum
Nomen in ætra ferent; quorumque ab stirpe nepotes
Omnia sub pedibus, quæ sol utrumque recurrens
Ampicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.

Oracle of Faunus, lb. 7. 3. 101.

Livy speaks of this notion as early as in Romulus's time; and often afterwards in his history.

(23) Excudent alii spirantia mollis æra: &c.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;

Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacique imponere morem;
"Parcere subjectis; & debellare superbis."

Virgil. Æn. 6. 3. 854.

(24) Romulus excipiet gentem; & Mavortia condet
Mœnia.

Id. Æn. 1. 3. 277.

Romulus æternæ nondum formaverat urbis

Mœnia. — Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 5. 3. 24.

— O Tutela præfens
Italiam, dominæque Romæ!

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. 3. 44.

Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma.

Martial. Lib. 2. Epig. 8.

R r r

OVID describes Roma, (or the Genius of the city of Rome,) lying at the feet of Brennus (25), when the Capitol was taken by the Gauls; in the same manner as we see the conquered provinces at the feet of the Roman emperors, when they had extended their conquests so far. In another place, the same poet says her face was like that of Augustus Cæsar (26): and you will find that piece of flattery to have had some ground, if you compare their heads together; as you may, whenever you are looking over any tolerable collection of medals. Silius Italicus describes her with a crown of turrets (27) on her head. In all the figures I have seen of her, she appears always with a helmet: but the other is so proper for all the deities of cities in general, that it is highly probable that the artists represented Rome sometimes with it too: especially on some pacific occasion; or in any story, that had more relation to the gown, than to the sword.

HOWEVER that be, the appearance of this goddess is generally so martial, that it has made some of the most knowing antiquarians mistake the goddess Virtus for her: as Bellori in particular has done, several times (28), in speaking of the most celebrated reliefs in the Admiranda, and on the triumphal arches. The figure he calls Roma in these, is dressed partly like an Amazon. One of her breasts is bare; her garments fall only to the knee; she has buskins half way up the leg: a helmet on her head; a sword (or spear,) in one hand, and a globe in the other. This goddess, in the reliefs I am speaking of, is generally either going out with their emperors, on some expedition or other: or bringing them home, in triumph. I should therefore rather think that it is the goddess Virtus, than the goddess Roma: and indeed her dress agrees much better to the former, than to the latter. Rome is generally represented sitting; this appears always standing: Rome, is dressed to the feet; this, short, and in the Amazonian way: Rome, is still and imperial; this, like Virtus, always in action: and dressed fit for it.

PL. XXXII.
LIC. II.

WE find (29) Alexandria, on gems, and medals; as on this, in particular: where she is marked out, like Africa, by attributes of plenty. She has corn, and vines about her. Egypt, you know, was the granary of Rome; so that the corn, at least, is very proper. I have seen a statue at Rome, of a woman with a pigeon on her hand, which may signify (30) the genius of Naples. It was but a bad one; and so I did not get any copy of it. The figures of these deities of cities must have been (31) very common of old; but are either uncommon enough, or (32) not commonly known now. I have seen some other;

(25) — Alpino Roma sub hoste jacet.

Hæc est, cui fuerat promissa potentia rerum,
Jupiter! hanc terrens impositurus eras!

Ovid. Fast. 6. v. 360.

(26) Hunc ego cum spectem, videor mihi cernere Romanum;
Nam patriæ faciem sustinet ille suæ.

Id. ex Pont. Lib. 2. El. 8. v. 20.

(27) Ipsam turrigero portantem vertice muros
Credite submissas Romam jam tendere palmas.

Silius Ital. 4. v. 411.

(28) See Adm. N° 6, 12, & 24. Arc. Triumph.
N° 4, 28, & 42.

(29) Portus Alexandria supplex,
Et vacuum patefecit aulam.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. v. 36.

(30) Tu ductor populi longè emigrantis Apollo;
Cujus adhuc volucrum lævâ cervice sedentem
Respicies blandè felix Eumelis adorat.

Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 8. v. 49.

I know not, why Statius calls her Eumelis here; he uses the more known name of Parthenope, in another of his poems.

Parthenope, cui mite solum trans æquora vēstæ
Ipse Dionæa monstravit Apollo colombâ

Id. Lib. 3. Sylv. 5. v. 80.

(31) They were carried in their triumphs:

Hoc facio Armenios; hæc est Danæia Persis:
Urbs in Achæmenæis vallibus idâ fuit.

Ovid. Art. Am. 1. v. 226.

Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsaris eburnea opida essent translata, & post paucos dies Fabii Maximi lignea; "theas esse oppidorum Cæsaris," dixit. (Quintilian. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. p. 478. Ed. Hack.)—L. Sylla, qui plurima bella civilia consecit; cujus crudelissimi & infolentissimi successus fuerunt; cum consummata potentia suâ triumphum duceret, ut Græciæ & Asiæ multas Urbes, ita civium Romanorum nullum Oppidum vexit. Valerius Maximus, Memorab. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

The Romans of old had statues of their little cities, as well as of their more considerable ones. Seiam a ferendo, Segeſtam a segitibus appellabant; quarum simulacra in Circo videmus. Pliny; Lib. 18. c. 2.

(32) Seia probably was represented with seed-corn in her hand, and Segeſta with ears of corn: and who knows whether some of the statues, we now call by the name of Ceres, may not really be Segeſta's? A Parthenope, with a pigeon, would be apt generally to be mistaken for a Venus: and so, in many other cases.

others (33); especially on medals: but as the Roman poets scarce mention even their names, or at least not personally, they are nothing to my purpose.

Not only the cities of old were represented personally, and so helped to swell up the multitude of their gods: but every house and family had its presiding deities; and that of two sorts, their Penates and their Lares. These lesser Penates, or guardians of private families, (as the great Penates were of the state,) I take to have been nothing else but the souls of their departed ancestors: and in a picture in the Vatican Virgil, (which is the only certain representation I have ever met with of these deities,) their appearance agrees very well with this notion. The Roman poets say (34) but little of these deities, in a descriptive way: the other family-deities, the Lares, they describe much in the same manner as they (35) appear in this drawing. The Lares probably were supposed to preside over house-keeping, the servants in families, and domestic affairs; as the Penates were the protectors of the masters of families, their wives and children: and it may be on this account that the Lares are dressed in short, succinct habits, to shew their readiness to serve; and that they hold a sort of cornucopia in their hands, as a signal of hospitality and good house-keeping. I shall say nothing here of the Genius's, or Congenial Deities, supposed to attend each person born into the world from his cradle to his grave; and whose statues were sometimes placed with those of the Lares: having had an occasion of talking to you sufficiently, on that head, already (35).

PL. XXXII,
FIG. 12.

If you chuse to step from their cities and houses into the country, you will find that too all stocked with imaginary beings. There was no part of it so barren, as not to afford its deity. The very mountains and rocks were turned into personages. The gardens; the fields; the lawn; the arable; the vineyards; the groves and forests, were all assigned to their particular deities; and all abounded with this fictitious kind of inhabitants.

THIS drawing that I have in my hand is a copy of the Farnese-Atlas: supporting the celestial globe; which took up so much of your time, in my temple of the Constellations. The genius's of mountains, as well as those of cities, were carried (37) in the triumphs of the Roman generals; and the figures of them are still to be met with, in the remains

PL. XXXIII,

of

(33) These are generally of Greek, or Asiatic cities. I remember to have met with either the whole figures, or heads, of Silvium a city in Apulia; Tyana and Sparta, in Greece: Edeffa, Pergamus, Damascus, Smyrna, Tarsus, Tyre, and Sidon, in Asia: and any one, who is more versed in the study of medals, has no doubt seen a multitude of others, that have escaped me.

(34) Virgil, in that part of his *Æneid* which answers the picture above mentioned, is more express about these deities; than any passage I know of in the other Roman poets. He speaks of them, as some of *Æneas's* ancestors.

Effigies sacre Divum, Phrygiæque Penates,
Quos mecum à Trojâ mediisque ex ignibus urbis
Extuleram, vîsi ante oculos altare jacentis
In fomis; multo manifesti lumine——
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes, hinc Dardani ortus
Istiusque pater; genus à quo principe nostrum.—
Talibus attonitus vîsi, ac voce Deorum,
(Nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus,
Velatusque comas, præsentiaque ora videbar;
Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor:)
Corripio e stratis corpus.——

Æn. 3. v. 147—176.

(35) Natriat incinctos missa patella Lares.
Ovid. *Fast.* 2. v. 634.
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pendit.
Petrus, 5. v. 31.

The old Scholiast on this place, seems to confound them with the Penates. *Gabinò habitu, cinctoque, Dii Penates formabantur: obvoluti togâ, super humerum sinistrum; dextro nudo.*

According to Ovid, there was generally two of them, who were sometimes represented with a dog at their feet.

At canis ante pedes saxo fabricatus eodem
Stabat. Quæ standi cum Lare causa fuit?
Servat uterque domum; domino quoque fidus uterque;
Compita grata Deo; compita grata cani;
Evagitant & Lar & turba Diana fures;
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes.
Bina gemellorum quærebam signa Deorum,
Viribus annois facta caduca moræ.
Mille Lares, Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos,
Urbs habet; & vici numina trina colunt.

Fast. 5. v. 146.

(36) See *Dial.* X. p. 153. anteh.

(37) Quæ Loca, qui Montes, quæve ferantur Aquæ.
Ovid. *Art. Am.* 1. v. 220.

Is qui Sidonio fulget sublimis in ostro,
Dux fuerat belli; proximus ille duci:
Hic, qui nunc in humo lumen miserabile figit,
Non isto vultu cum tulit arma fuit.
Hic, Lacus; hi, Montes; hæc, tot Castellæ, tot Am-
nes, &c.
Id. Trist. Lib. 4. *El.* 2. v. 37.

of the artists, more frequently perhaps than has been generally imagined. The (38) Genius of Mons Palatinus makes its appearance on a famous altar belonging to the Mellini family at Rome. Mons Cælius is in another relievo, together with Jupiter Cælius; and both their names engraved under their figures. The Monte Citorio is wrought on the base of that great column, which was laying on a hill of the same name, when we were at Rome; and which has lately been set up there by the present Pope; who seems to emulate his predecessor in his care for the finer remains of antiquity. Mount Taurus appears much in the same manner on a fine relievo in the Capitol, taken from the triumphal arch which stood formerly in the Corso at Rome. The Genius of mount Ida, (or of one of the hills at least, belonging to that chain of mountains,) is represented on a fine relievo, in the Medici-gardens. The head of Timolus, a mountain-deity of Asia; and the whole figure of Rhodope, in Thrace; appear on medals. I mention only what I have seen; and, no doubt, there are a great many others.

OVID (39) has a description of mount Atlas, in a personal style; and there is another in Virgil (40), from which one might form a very good idea for a fountain-statue; as perhaps it was, originally, taken from one. However that be, the most usual way of representing Atlas among the antient artists, (as well as the modern,) was probably as supporting a globe: for the old poets (41) most commonly refer to this attitude, in speaking of him. Valerius Flaccus in particular, has a very remarkable description of a figure of Atlas; as standing in the midst of the waters; and supporting an armillary globe of the heavens, with all the planets making their proper motions round it: as I mentioned to you (42), on a former occasion.

UNDER that window, is a copy of the fine Medici-relievo: which, (tho' it has suffered so much in many parts of it,) I look upon as one of the most noble remains of antiquity; and which will therefore take us up more time than ordinary, to consider it as we ought. It is stocked with a great variety of imaginary beings; among which, there is one mountain-deity at least. This relievo contains two distinct stories; told too, very distinctly: but connected together, as cause and effect. The first, is the famous Judgment of Paris; in which that young Trojan prince, (tho' then looked upon only as a shepherd,) prefers the goddess of Pleasure, to the goddesses of Honour and Wisdom: and the second, seems to be Jupiter's giving his decree for the destruction of Troy, and the removal of the seat of the empire from Asia into Greece: which great revolution was antiently looked upon, as the fatal consequence of so imprudent a choice.

PL. XXXIV. HERE on your left hand, you see Paris, with his long dress and Phrygian bonnet; sitting on a rock: and his sheep, and cattle, round about him. Behind him, are two Dryades; (or rather Oreades; for that, I think, is the more proper name for the nymphs of the mountains:) and before him, stand Juno, Minerva, and Venus: introduced by Mercury. It is but the beginning of the story; for they are yet clothed.

However

(38) This figure of Mons Palatinus, is in the Adm. N° 5.—Mons Cælius, in Topham's collection of drawings, B. m. 10. N° 15.—Monte Citorio, is published by Bartoli, at the end of his Col. Anton.—and Mount Taurus, in his Arc. Triumph. N° 49.

(39) *Quantus erat, mons factus Atlas: jam barba comæque*

In sylvas abeunt; juga sunt, humerique manusque;
Quod caput ante fuit, summo est in monte cacumen;
Offa lapides sunt: tum partes auctus in omnes
Crevit in immensum, (sic Dii statuisse,) & omne
Cum tot sideribus cælum requievit in illo.

Ovid. Met. 4. v. 661.

(40) *Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris*
Piniferum caput & vento pulsatur & imbris;

4

Nix humeros infusa tegit: tum flamina mento
Præcipitant sevis, & glacie riget horrida barba.

Virg. Æn. 4. v. 251.

(41) ——— *Apicem & latera ardua cernit*

Atlantis duri, cælum qui vertice fulcit.

Ibid. v. 247.

—— *Ætherium qui fert cervicibus axem.*

Ovid. Met. 6. v. 175.

Atlas, ætherios humero qui sustinet orbes.

Virg. Æn. 8. v. 137.

—— *Atlas humeros oneratus Olympo.*

Ovid. Fast. 5. v. 169.

The seeming contrarieties, in these passages, are all reconciled by the Farnese Atlas: in which figure, he is represented as supporting the globe of the heavens, at the same time, with his head, neck, and shoulders.

(42) See Dial. XI. p. 180. antch.

However there is a figure of Victory, hovering over Venus; (and which, I imagine, originally held a crown of laurel in her hand;) to shew which way his determination inclined at last. This is what I call the first story, in this relievo; and what is contained distinctly, in the former part of it.

In the other part, to your right hand; you see Jupiter seated on high, and in great state. His feet are supported by a genius: rising, a little above breast-high, out of part of a rock; and holding a veil, almost streight, over his head. This I take to be the Genius of mount Ida; or rather of one of the risings in the range of hills, called in general by that name: as the veil, which he holds over his head, may signify the clouds that rest so often on the tops of such high mountains. Under this mountain-deity, are two River-gods, which may probably be meant for Simois and Scamander; both which rivers have their source from mount Ida: with a water-nymph, on one side of them; and a lady, (with her hair falling loose, and with a great deal of distress in the air of her face,) resting on a piece of the rock, on the other. This may possibly be the Genius of Asia; from whom the empire was to depart, in consequence of Paris's judgment. Venus is the principal figure below; and is introduced to the throne of Jupiter by Victory, in the very same attitude in which she is described by Ovid *, on this occasion. There are several other figures in this part of the relievo; who generally bear some relation to the subject, tho' they are not so nearly concerned in it as the former. Among these, Mars is distinguished by the eagerness of his look; and the cruel sort of joy expressed in it, for the slaughter that must ensue before so great a change can be brought about. The heads of Juno, and Minerva, appear here, in a line above that of Venus. The former, looks on Mars; and seems to be giving him some orders: as the latter, keeps her eye fixed upon Jupiter, and seems to be demanding the appointed vengeance of him. The goddess behind Jupiter, (with one of her breasts quite bare,) looks alarmed, and concerned; as the deities of the Trojan, (or Asiatic,) party generally are in this piece. Apollo may appear there, in the midst, with the Zodiac over his head; because it is time, that brings about all the revolutions decreed by Jupiter: as Diana may have a place here, for the same reason. Mercury stands by Jupiter, as the messenger already employed in this affair, or to be sent with farther orders: and Castor and Pollux may be introduced, as the brothers of Helena; the immediate cause of the war, which was to bring about this great revolution. They are extremely alike here, as they are in all their figures; and are to be distinguished only by their different attitudes. He of the two who is next to Jupiter, and regards him with so much attention, I should think is Pollux; the twin-brother of Helena, and son of Jupiter: and he, (who turns from Jupiter, and looks downwards,) may be Castor: who was only the son of a meer mortal father, as well as mother. This I take to be the intention of the artist, in the second part of this relievo; which, (tho' it is so fine, and on so great a subject,) has never been published or explained by any one that I know of.

THE face of the Mountain-genius, who supports Jupiter, has something of concern expressed in it; as I was saying all the deities of the Trojan party have: and indeed Jupiter himself looks with some concern; at granting a decree, which was to be followed with so much slaughter; and to end in the ruin of a whole nation, that had been formerly so dear to him. Was this mountain-deity a female, I should call it Ida, without any manner of reserve: because the scene of Paris's judgment was at the foot of that mountain; and because Homer so often describes Jupiter as sitting on the top of it, to observe the struggle for empire between the Trojans and Greeks. The Roman poets scarce say any thing in a personal manner, of mount Ida: unless, possibly, Virgil may be understood in that

* Victorem cælo rettulit illa pedem.
Her. Epist. 16. v. 88.

that manner; where he is speaking of the figures (43), wrought on the fore-part of Æneas's ship.

VIRGIL speaks of Timolus (44) in a manner, that cannot be understood literally of a mountain; but is very proper, if taken personally: and Ovid describes the same deity sitting as judge, in the dispute between Pan and Apollo, whether the pipe or lyre was the finer instrument. Ovid says that, on this occasion, he was crowned with oak only; having taken away (45) the other branches that were about his head. I have never seen any whole figure of Timolus: but his head is on the reverse of a Greek medal, in my collection. You see he is there crowned with vine-branches; which agree very well with the character (46) which Virgil and others give of the mountain he presides over.

PL. XXXV.
FIG. 1.

You may have observed that there are some among these mountain-deities, who should be females; as Rhodope in particular: of whom also I have another medal here, at your service. These must have been represented in statues, as of a large size; and sometimes no doubt there were vast colossal figures of this Rhodope, and of the other goddesses of mountains. As the ancients were familiarly acquainted with this sort of figures, I have sometimes thought; that the known fable, of (47) the Mountain in labour, carried a very different idea with it originally, from what is generally annexed to it at present. I always used to think it a very preposterous design for a fable: and could see nothing, either in nature; or in the imaginary world of the poets, (which is a kind of second nature,) whereon they could ground such an imagination. But when one considers that they had a settled notion of old, of such gigantic ladies as presiding over mountains; to suppose one of these in labour, and after all her vast pangs and groans to produce only so very small an animal, is no inconsistent thought like the other; and is extremely better fitted for true ridicule.

THE large size of the statues for the mountain-deities in general, will help to account too for several families of the ancient poets, in which they compare their heroes to mountains. When Æneas is going to engage Turnus, Virgil says that he moved on

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx; aut ipse coruscis
Cum fremit illicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras (48).

THIS simile cannot well be understood literally of those mountains; or will at least become much more poetical and just, if you understand it of the deities supposed to preside

(43) ——— Æneia purpura
Prima tenet; rostro Phrygiis subjoncta leones:
Imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.
Virgil. Æn. 10. v. 58.

It was called originally Timolus, and afterwards Timolus; according to Pliny. Lib. 5. c. 29.

(44) Sunt etiam Amminee vites; firmissima vina;
Timolus & assurgit quibus, & Rex ipse Phœneas.
Virgil. Georg. 2. v. 98.

(47) Mons parturit, gemitus immanes ciens;
Etque in terris maxima expectatio:
At ille murem peperit. Hoc scriptum est tibi,
Qui magna cum minaris extricas nihil.
Phædrus, Lib. 4. Fab. 21.

(45) Judice sub Tmolus certamen venit * ad impar.
Monte suo senior iudex confedit; & aures
Liberat arboribus: quercu coma cærulea tantum
Cingitur; & pendens circum cava tempora glandes.
* Pan. Ovid. Met. 11. v. 159.

I am apt to suspect that Ille, (in the third verse,) might originally have been written, Illa; and been changed by some wise transcriber, who thought it could not otherwise agree with mons: tho' it is not without authority from the best Roman writers, to turn a masculine substantive into a feminine one, when it is applied to any thing that is feminine. Thus Terence, for example, makes Eunuchus of the feminine gender; where it signifies not an Eunuch, but his comedy of the same name.

This idea of Mountain-deities, explains an expression just after in Ovid; which would be difficult enough to be understood without it.

Judicium sanctique placet sententia Montis
Omnibus ———
Ibid. v. 173.

(46) Virg. Georg. 2. v. 98.
Cumque choro meliore, sui vineta Timoli
Pactolusque petit. ———
Ovid. Met. 11. v. 87. (of Bacchus.)

——— Eas se non negat
Personas transulisse in Eunuchum suum.
Terence's Eun. in Prol.

(48) Æn. 12. v. 703.

side over them : whose statues were often of a vast size, among the antients ; as they are sometimes, even among the moderns. I never met with any antient figure of father Apenninus : but that famous modern one of him by John de Bologna, at a seat of the Great Duke's near Florence, if it stood up, would be above sixty foot high. As the antients were much more magnificent in their works of art than the moderns, they had probably figures of mountain-deities, even much larger than this : and you know there was actually a proposal made by one of their artists, to Alexander the Great ; for forming the whole mountain of Athos into a statue : which would have been so large, that it would have held a city, in one of its hands ; and a river, in the other.

I REMEMBER, says Philander, to have read the story in Vitruvius (49) ; and have sometimes puzzled myself in endeavouring to imagine, how it could ever have been put in execution. I do not think that so very difficult to be conceived, says Mysagetes : and if any body would give me a good rough mountain, in Wales ; and pay my workmen ; I would engage to direct them how to perform it. In the first place my figure should be represented in a reclined posture : as, I suppose, those of the mountain-deities generally were. This would take off a great part of the difficulty ; for the shape of a mountain would not serve for a standing figure, without paring away the greatest part of it, and immensely increasing the trouble and expence. In the second place, I should not think of forming the side of the mountain, which I found the most proper for my purpose, into the direct figure of a man ; but of altering and managing it in such a manner, that it should appear in the shape I designed, when you were at a certain distance from it. You may remember that as we were travelling thro' part of the Alps, between Lyons and Geneva, we thought we saw the ruins of a city, at a distance before us ; against the side of one of the mountains. The cathedral was very distinct ; and there were streets appeared on each side of it. As we drew near to it, this resemblance lessened by little and little ; till, at last, we were quite convinced, that it was nothing but the natural irregularities of the stones all along that part of the rock, which had represented the proper distance, a church and streets in ruins. It is partly in this way, that I would manage my mountain. When I had fixed the design for my figure, I would clear away all the trees from that part which was to be the face of it : only leaving a wood on the top ; some little hanging grove-work, for the eye-brows ; and a few thickets, perhaps, for a beard. As to the unequal risings of the hill, they should be pared off, where useless ; and where of use, they should be left : only assisted a little by art, where necessary. The face, when you were on the spot, would be a field ; and the arms, the swellings of a hill : but it might, I think, be managed so, that at a proper distance the whole should have the appearance of a man : and, if there was a village, on one side of the hill ; and a cascade of water, on the other ; one might possibly contrive it so, as to make out the whole design which Dinocrates proposed to Alexander.

I do not think your idea altogether impracticable, replied Polymetis ; but if you please, we will go on to consider a figure, pretty nearly related to these mountain-deities ; tho' of a more extraordinary make, than any of them. It is on this medal, struck in honour of Pompey, on his being declared prefect of the sea-coasts of Italy, and of all the Roman fleets. You see here the upper part of the figure, is like a woman ; but it goes off in two fish-tails ; between which are three dogs. This is the famous Scylla : who is, (most generally,) said to have been turned into a rock ; for her perfidiousness, to her father Nisus. Several of the Roman poets (50) mention these dogs, as part of her form ; but

Pl. XXXV.
Fig. 3.

(49) Vitruvius, Lib. 2. in Proem.

(50) Quid mirum in patrios Scyllam fuisse capillos ;
Candidaque in fœvos inguina versa canes ?

Propert. Lib. 4. El. 3. 40.

Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi ? quam fama secuta est,
Candida fœcundam latrantibus inguina monstris,
Dulchias vesasse rates ; & gurgite in alto
Ah timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis ?
Aut ut mutatos Tereti narraverit artus ? &c.

Virg. Ecl. 6. 3. 78.

—— Scylla, patri cano furata capillos,
Pube premit rabidos inguinibulque canes.

Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 12. 3. 22.

This is one of the very few stories, in which the poets of the Augustan age disagree with themselves. For Ovid, in his *Metamorphosis*, lib. 8. 3. 150 ; and Virgil, in his *Georgics*, lib. 1. 3. 404 ; speak of this Scylla's being turned into a bird.

but we might have been much puzzled in guessing at the exact manner of it, had it not been for this medal. I know not whether it may not be Charybdis, who appears on (51) another medal, of the Valerian family; much in the same manner, as Scylla does on this: only she has the two fish-tails, without any dogs between them. It is certain at least, that even Silius, (who deals very rarely in allegories), speaks (52) of Charybdis, as well as Scylla, in a personal manner.

You may perhaps think, that Scylla and Charybdis should have been taken notice of among the deities of the sea, rather than those of the land. Charybdis certainly belongs to the former; but as for Scylla, she is of a nature so mixed, that she may be classed indifferently under either. A rock in the sea, tho' it be all surrounded with water, is certainly as much a part of the earth, as an island is. However, if you please, we will get upon good firm ground again; where we have yet a large set of imaginary beings to consider. What I mean, are all such deities as were supposed by the ancients to preside over the country; and they had different ones, for each part of it. To Flora, they assigned the care of their gardens; and to Pomona and Vertumnus, their plantations and fruit-trees. Their vineyards and corn-fields, were under the tuition of Ceres and Bacchus; as all their pasture-ground, and the protection of their sheep belonged to Pan. Diana presided over the forests and the chase: Sylvanus, over the woods and groves. There was scarce a grotto perhaps without its family of nymphs in it: and all the woods, and mountains, were peopled with Dryades and Oreades. The Fauns and Satyrs, as a wanton sort of deities, ranged both over the plains and hills; and were dispersed all over the country: but swarmed chiefly about the vineyards, in autumn; and in the most usual haunts of the wood or mountain-nymphs, all the rest of the year.

Pl. XXXV.
Fig. 4.

THAT lady, just by you on the left hand, is Flora; copied from a statue in the Great Duke's gallery. You see she is almost naked; and is marked out by the loose nosegay of flowers; which she seems to have just gathered, and to hold up, as pleased with the beauties of them. She sometimes is crowned with flowers too; and at others, holds a crown, or chaplet of them, in her hands. Here she has only a little flying robe: but in her famous figure, at the Farnese-palace, she is fuller dressed. Her robe was of a (53) changeable silk; and of as many colours, as the flowers with which she was usually adorned; as we may learn from the poets, tho' we could not from the marble.

OVID gives us a delightful description of (54) the garden of Flora; with the Horæ gathering flowers in it, and the Graces composing garlands of them. I wish I had any ancient picture, to answer this description; and think it might afford a very pretty subject for

(51) See Oisilius's Thef. Pl. 28. 3.

(52) This is in a passage, where I imagine that Silius might have an eye toward his favourite, Virgil; tho' he is speaking of a man, long before that great poet's time. It is a poet; whom he calls, Daphnis: and in speaking of whom, he seems to have endeavoured to give his style a pastoral turn.

—— Daphnin amarunt
Sicelides Mæse: dextram donavit avenâ
Phœbus Castaliâ; & iussit, projectus in herbâ
Si quando caneret, lætos per prata, per arva
Ad Daphnin properare greges, rivosque silere.
Ille ubi septenâ modulatus arundine carmen
Mulcebat sylvas; non unquam tempore eodem
Siren adfuetos effudit in æquore cantus:
Scyllæ tacere canes; stetit atra Charybdis;
Et lætus scopulis sedavit júbila Cyclops.

Lib. 14. v. 476.

(53) Car tamen, ut dantur vestes Cerealius albæ,
Sic hæc est cultu versicolore decens;
An quia maturis albescit messis aristis?
Et color & species floribus omnis inest?
Annuit: & motis flores cecidere capillis,
Accidere in mœnas ut rosa missa solet.
Ovid. Fast. 5. v. 360. (speaking of Flora.)

(54) Est mihi secundus dotalibus hortus in agris:
Aura fovet; liquida fonte rigatur aquæ.
Hunc meus implevit gener so flore maritus;
Atque ait, arbitrium tu Dea floris habet.
Sæpe ego digestos volui numerare colores,
Nec potui; numero copia major erat.
Rofida, cum primum scilicet excussa pruina est,
Et variae radiis intepere comæ;
Conveniunt pictis incinctæ vestibus Horæ,
Inque leves calathos munera nostra legunt:
Protinus arripiunt Chærites; nectuntque coronas,
Sertaque coelestes implicitura comas.

Id. Ibid. v. 220.

for a painter now. This garden of Flora, I take to have been the paradise (55) in the Roman Mythology. Flora, according to the Roman poets was (56) a field-nymph; and was called Chloris, before she was made the goddess of gardens. Possibly, she did not much change her occupation: for the gardens of the old Romans, in the Augustan age, (if one could be allowed to judge of them in general, from that single one which (57) Virgil describes in his *Georgics*;) might have been nothing more than the natural face of the country, assisted a little by art where necessary, and sprinkled here and there with flowers.

THE figure which answers Flora on the opposite side, with a pruning-hook in her right hand, and a branch in her left, is Pomona. We learn from Ovid (58), that this goddess was of that class, which they antiently called, Hamadryades: a name which, (if it were only on her account,) I should think, did not absolutely signify (59) what it has generally

PL. XXXV.
FIG. 5.

(55) These traditions and traces of paradise among the antients, must be expected to have grown fainter and fainter, in every transfusion from one people to another. The Romans probably derived their notion of it from the Greeks, who seem to have been shadowed out under the stories of the gardens of Alcinoüs. In Africa, they had the gardens of the Hesperides; and in the east, those of Adonis: or, the Horti Adonis, as Pliny calls them. The term of Horti Adonides, was used by the antients, to signify gardens of pleasure; which answers strangely to the very name of paradise, or the garden of Eden; as Horti Adonis, does to the garden of the Lord.—Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est, quam Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis & Alcinoi. Pliny, Lib. 19. cap. 4. p. 349. Ed. Elz.—The same author tells us, very exactly, in what part of Africa the gardens of the Hesperides were supposed to have been. In Mauritania, Lixi oppidi æstuario; ubi Hesperidum horti fuisse produntur: 200 passuum ab oceano; juxta delubrum Herculis, antiquius Gaditano ut ferunt. Ibid. p. 352.

(56) Chloris eram, nympe campi felici; ubi audis
Rem fortunatis ante fuisse viris. —
Vere fruor semper; vere est nitidissimus annus.
Arbor habet frondes, pabula semper humus.
Id. Ibid. y. 261.

(57) Namque sub Oebalia memini me terribus alcis,
Qua niger homedat flaventia culta Galeus,
Corycium vidisse fenem: cui pauca reliqui
Jugera raris erant; nec fertilis illa juvenis,
Nec pecori opportuna seges; nec commoda Baccho.
Hic rorum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
Lilia verbenasque premens vescuque papaver,
Regum aquabat opes animis; feræque revertens
Nocte domum, dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.
Primus vere rosam, atque autumnò carpere poma:
I cum trillis hiems etiamnum frigore fusa
Rumperet, & glacie cursus frenaret aquarum;
Ille comam mollis jam tum tondebat acanthi,
Ætatem increpitans feram Zephyrosque moventes.
Virgil. Georg. 4. y. 138.

The picture of this garden, (in the Vatican Virgil, N^o 6.) is just such as is described above, in the text. In the younger Pliny's time, they were got into formalities, and cut box; according to the account he gives of his gardens, in one or two of his epistles. It was about the same time too, that the fountain of Egeria was almost spoiled, by adorning it with marble; according to Juvenal, Sat. 3. y. 20.

(58) Rege sub hoc Pomona fuit: quâ nulla Latinas
Inter Hamadryadas coluit solertiùs hortas,

Nec fuit arborei studiofior altera fetus;
Unde tenet nomen. Non sylvas illa, nec amnes;
Rus amat, & ramos felicia poma ferentes:
Nec jaculo gravis est, sed aduncâ dextera falce.
Ovid. Met. 14. y. 628.

(59) The vulgar notion of Hamadryads now, as I take it, is that of certain Genius's, or Nymphs, vitally annexed to trees.—The notion of the old scholasts, is that of a set of Nymphs coeval with certain oaks; or, at least, fated to perish with them.—Neither of these seem to me to agree with the notion of Hamadryads in the Mythology of the old Romans; which is the only Mythology that I have any thing to do with, at present.

The Roman poets use the word Hamadryades, rather as a character of the nymphs, in general; than as the name of any particular class of nymphs. They use it sometimes in speaking of the Dryads themselves; and sometimes of the other nymphs, the companions of the Dryads: as the word naturally seems to imply.

Virgil, I think, never uses the word Hamadryades but once: and that is where he seems to be speaking of the rural Nymphs, in general.

Jam mihi per rupes videor lucoque sonantes
Ire; libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu
Spicula, tanquam hæc sint nostri medicina furoris,
Aut deus ille malis hominum mittere dicit:
Jam neque Hamadryades rursus, nec carmina nobis
Ipsa placent; ipsæ rursus concedite sylvæ:
Non illum nostri possunt mutare labores.
Ecl. 10. y. 64.

In the two or three places where Ovid mentions them, he is speaking either of wood-nymphs, (see the quotation from him in the preceding note;) or of the followers of Diana:

Inter Hamadryadas jacularicemque Dianam
Callisto sacri pars fuit una chori.

Fast. 2. y. 156.

Inter Hamadryadas celeberrima Nonacrinæ
Naias una fuit: nymphæ Syringæ vocabant.
Non semel & Satyros eluserat illa sequentes;
Et quoscunque Deos umbrasque sylva, feræque
Ras habet; Orygiam studiis, ipsæque colebat
Virginitate Deam: ritu quoque cincta Dianæ.
Met. 1. y. 695.

It may be observed here, that this Hamadryad was a Naiad or water-nymph. Now the water-nymphs were such frequent companions of the wood-nymphs, or Dryads, that Virgil calls them sisters: Georg. 4. y. 382, & 383: and when the other Roman poets speak of nymphs, either as presiding over single trees, or as more intimately united with them; they men-

PL. XXXV.
FIG. 6.

generally been imagined to do. Pliny introduces this goddess personally, even in his prose⁽⁶⁰⁾; to make her speak in praise of the several fruits she presided over. Her lover, Vertumnus, shared with her in that charge; and was therefore represented, with the same attribute of a pruning-hook. I mean the principal Vertumnus; for there seems, according to Horace, to have been⁽⁶¹⁾ several inferior deities of the same name and character with him: in the same manner as there was a number of inferior Pans, and Faunus's; besides the principal Faunus of the Romans, or the great god Pan of the Greeks.

POMONA and Vertumnus, as well as Flora, had a share in presiding over gardens; and so had another deity, almost too mean to mention to you. You will easily guess that I mean Priapus. He held a pruning-hook⁽⁶²⁾ too in his hands; when he had hands; for he was sometimes nothing more than a meer log of wood; as Martial, somewhere humourously calls him⁽⁶³⁾. Indeed the Roman poets in general seem to have looked on Priapus as a ridiculous god; and are all ready enough, either to despise, or abuse him. What Horace says of him, contains as severe a stroke⁽⁶⁴⁾ on the worship of idols in general, as almost any I know of; even in those who have wrote professedly against idolatry. There is a passage in a very immodest book, (which has been attributed by some of the critics, to one of the modestest poets that ever wrote,) which mentions a very⁽⁶⁵⁾ proper offering to this god; and indeed, there were some other pieces of devotion paid to him, which were full as obscene as the deity himself. His business was⁽⁶⁶⁾ to drive away the birds, and guard the fruit from thieves; whence in some of his figures, he had a lap full of fruit before him. Trimalchio, in his ridiculous feast described by Petronius, had a figure of this god to hold up all his dessert. It was made of paste; and as Horace observes, on another occasion, that he owed all his divinity to the carpenter; Petronius seems to hint that he was wholly obliged for it to the⁽⁶⁷⁾ pastry-cook, on this.

CERES

tion Naiads under these characters, just as freely as Dryads.

Naiada vulneribus succidit in arbore factis:
Illa perit; fatum Naiadas arbor erat.

Ovid. Fast. 4. v. 232.

Quid te, quæ mediis fervata penatibus arbor
Testa per & postes liquidas emergis in auras,
Quæ non sub domino feras passura secures?
Et nunc ignaro forsan, vel lubrica Nais,
Vel non abruptis tibi demet Hamadryas annos.

Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. v. 63.

This common idea among the antients, (of Nymphs, or intellectual Beings, annexed to trees,) must have made the story of Erichthon in Ovid, and that of Polydorus in Virgil, appear much more natural and obvious to their readers then, than they do to us now. It will account too for their worshipping of trees; as we find they sometimes did, not only from their poets but their historians. Livy speaks of an embassador's addressing himself to an old oak, as to an intelligent person, and a divinity. Tum ex legatis unus abiens; "Et hæc, inquit, sacra quereus, & quicquid deorum est, audiant foedus a vobis ruptum." Lib. 3. §. 25.—Among the several modes of heathen worship, kept up so carefully by the Roman Catholics, they have not wholly neglected this: a very particular instance of which, in our own times and near our own country, is related by Monsieur de la Colonie, in his Memoirs; Vol. II. p. 56, to 62. Ed. Brussels, 1737.

(60) Non efficit his Pomona.—Plurimum inquit, homini voluptatis ex me est. Ego succum vini, liquorem olei gigno. Ego palmas; & poma; totque varietates: &c. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 23. in Proem.

(61) — Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natos iniquis.
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 7. v. 14.

(62) Invitent croceis halantibus floribus hortis;
Et cultos furum atque avium, cum falce saligna,
Hellepontiaci fervet tutela Priapi.
Virgil. Georg. 4. v. 111.

(63) Non horti neque palmicis beati,
Sed rari memoris, Priape, cultos!
Ex quo natus es, & potes renasci:
Furaces, moneo, manus repellas;
Et sylvam domini focus referves:
Si defecerit hoc, & ipse lignum es.
Martial. Lib. 8. Ep. 41.

(64) Olim truncus eram ficulnus; inutile lignum:
Cum faber incertus scammum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse Deum; Deus inde ego.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. v. 3.

(65) Infamous books of pictures, mentioned in the collection of inscriptions under the figures of this god. Pria: Carm. 3. Some of the editors ascribe this piece to Virgil, without any manner of foundation.

These antient pictures, were of the same kind with those modern ones, mentioned by Vafari; in his Lives of the Painters. Part 3. p. 307. 4to.

(66) — Deus inde ego; furum aviumque
Maxima formido. Nam fures dextra coerces;—
At importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa, vetatque novis considere in hortis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. v. 1.

(67) Medium Priapus, a pistore factus, tenebat: gremioque, satis amplo, omnis generis poma & uvæ sustinebat, more vulgato. Petronius Arb. p. 99. Ed. Lond.

CERES was the goddess that presided in chief over corn-fields, as Flora did over gardens. I have no figure of Ceres here; because she has a place among the twelve Great Deities (68), in my celestial temple. There was another deity received among the Romans, for this district, of a very different character: and who must have made a very mean appearance, as I imagine; for I have never met with any figure of her, among the remains of the artists. The Romans, you know, in general had their bad gods, as well as their good ones: and so they had a deity to cause the rust in corn, as well as to preserve it and make it flourish. The former was the goddess Robigo: a deity, mentioned, very gravely, by Ovid (69); and very much ridiculed, by some of the fathers of the church.

THE figures of Bacchus who presided over vineyards (70), and of Diana who ranged the forests, are omitted here; for the same reason as that of Ceres. You have seen them already in making the rounds of my first temple. Sylvanus, as his name imports, presided over woods; and the fruits, that grew in them. Agreeably to which, you see here, he has a lap full of fruit: his pruning-hook, in one hand; and a young cypress-tree, in the other. Virgil mentions the latter (71), as a distinguishing attribute of this god. The same poet, on another occasion, describes him as crowned (72) with wild flowers; and mentions his presiding over (73) the corn-fields, as well as the woods. That might be occasioned by the manner of cultivation used in Italy in his time (74): and indeed at this day they plant rows of olive-trees, mulberries, elms and vines, so generally and so near together, in their corn-fields; that the whole vale of Lombardy, (one of the most cultivated parts of Italy,) when viewed from the first ridings of the Apennine, near Bologna, looks all like one continued wood.

PL. XXXV.
FIG. 7.

THE Fauns were a sort of woodland deities. They ranged all over the country: but seem more particularly to have delighted in the vineyards; and in these fields, interspersed with vines. You see them in some of the works of the ancient artists even eating the grapes in the hands of Bacchus; and they appear generally as attendants of that god, in the representations of Bacchanal feasts and processions. I have here, you see, a Faun and a Fauness. The Faun is a copy of that famous one in the Great Duke's collection at Florence; and is dancing with some of the musical instruments in his hands that were used in the feasts of Bacchus: as the Fauness shews the playfulness, which makes one of the

PL. XXXV.
FIG. 8, & 9.

(68) Pl. 14. Fig. 3. anteh.

(69) Hæc mihi Nomento Romam cum * luce redirem,
Obstitit in mediâ candida pompa viâ:
Flamen in antiquæ lucum Robiginis ibat;
Extra canis flammis, extra daturus ovis.
Protinus accessi; ritus ne nefcius effem:
Edidit hæc flamen verba, Quirine, tuus.
"Aspera Robigo, parcas Cerealis herbis,
Et tremat in summâ læve cacumen humo!
Parce, precor; scabraque manus a mæssibus aufer;
Neve nocere cultis: possis nocere fat est! &c."

* (Apr. 24.)

Ovid. Fast. 4. v. 901, to 942.

The whole prayer of the priest is there: he calls her expressly, Diva timenda, v. 920.

The Romans had a god Rubigus, as well as this goddess Robigo. Among the antiquities of Aquileia, there is a marble inscribed, DEO RVBIGO. Can. Bartoli. Antich. d'Aquileia. This god is spoken of by Varro; de Ling. Lat. 5. 3.

The Rubigalia, were instituted by Numa; Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. 18. cap. 29. p. 319. Ed. Elz. and are ridiculed by St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. 4. cap. 21. —Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 5. —& Lactantius, Lib. 1. cap. 20.

(70) This Bacchus is in Pl. 20. Fig. 1, and the Diana, Pl. 13. Fig. 4. anteh.

(71) Et teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cypressum.
Georg. 1. v. 20.

(72) Venit & agrestis capitis Sylvanus honore
Florentes ferulas & grandia lilia quassans.
Virg. Ecl. 10. v. 25.

(73) He calls him Arvorum Deus. Æn. 8. v. 601.

(74) Virgil often speaks of their vines, and corn together; in the same mixed manner, as they were planted.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus hæc segetes? En quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros! En quis confestim agros!
Inferre nunc, Melibœe, pyros; pone ordine vites!
Ecl. 1. v. 75.

Quin age & ipsâ manu felices erue sylvas;
Per stabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice mæsses:
Ure sata, & validam in vites molire bipennem:
Tanta mæx si te coeperunt tædia laudis.

Georg. 4. v. 332.

the chief part in the character of this class of deities. The Fauns were partly of the *ferine* nature; as you see by their tails, little horns, and pointed ears. They have all the agility and playfulness of the Satyrs; but they were not so savage and horrid, in their form; nor so abandoned, in their

passion (75), both of the Fauns and Satyrs, seems to have been for the Nymphs; tho' there were female Satyrs, as well as Faunesses. I have often wondered how it comes about that these Nymphs and Fauns should be so common a subject with the ancient artists, and so very uncommon in the poets. However it happened, the latter have very few passages that are descriptive either of the personage or attributes of these deities; and indeed not any thing, that I know of, worth mentioning.

One of the chief characters of the Satyrs, or Pans, (for the Romans called them all (76) by that name, as well as their chief,) is their lasciviousness: which is but too strongly expressed in the famous Satyr (77), instructing a youth to play on the shepherd's reed; in the *Lodovisian* gardens: whose face only is represented, in this drawing; for a very obvious reason. The poets have an epithet for the (78) Satyrs, which includes both their characters in one word.

THE great god Pan himself is not wholly exempt from the worst of these characters: and indeed it is he who is supposed by some, to be meant in this very figure in the *Lodovisian* gardens. His figures are usually naked, to express his agility; and *Silius Italicus* speaks of him, as flying, (or bounding,) from the top of one rock to another. That poet gives us (79) the most particular description of Pan, that I know of in all the Roman poets. He speaks of his head being crowned with pine-branches, and his forehead shaded with them. He gives him a doe's skin, over his left shoulder; and a pedom, in his right hand. One might form several distinct pictures out of this description: which is the more particular, because *Silius* is not usually very picturesque. In one part of it, you see this god poised on one foot, as just ready to take one of his leaps: in another, he is regarding his flocks, that feed at a distance; and shading his face, from the sun, with his hand. Here, he is in a wanton attitude, looking over his shoulder, and laughing at his own tail; and there you see him sitting on an eminence, playing on his pipe, with his flocks listening all about him.

Silius introduces this account of Pan into his poem, on an occasion where I should not have expected to have heard of this god. Just after Hannibal had quitted Italy, as the Roman army was drawing toward Capua with a full design of destroying that city, the

(75) Faune, nympharum fugientium amator.

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 18. §. 1.

The Satyrs were so fond of them, that they extended their passion even to the nymphs of another element from their own; according to what *Status* says, of some water-nymphs:

Itæ Dæx vrides, liquidosque advertite vultus!
Velle nihil tædæ; quales emergitis albis
Fluctibus, et visu Satyrus torquetis amantes.

Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. §. 18.

(76) ——— Panæque biformes.

Columella, §. 427.

——— Pina præcincti cornua Panes.

Ovid. Met. 14. §. 638.

(77) Maffei's Statues, N° 64.

(78) Lascivi Satyri. Lascivus, & Lascivia, in Latin, signify either playfulness, or lewdness; as the words, wanton, and wantonness, do also in our language. Lascivus is often used in the poets, of Cupid; only to signify his nimbleness: and so it is sometimes used too, of the Satyrs.

(79) Pan Jove missus erat, servari testâ volente

Troia. Pendenti similis Pan semper; & imo
Vix ulla inscribens terræ velligia cornu:
Dextera lascivæ casâ Tegeatide capræ;
Verbera læta movens festâ per compita caudâ.
Cingit acuta comas & opacat tempora pinus;
Ac parva erumpunt rubicundâ cornua fronte.
Stant aures; imoque cadit barba hispida mento.
Pastorale Deo baculum: pelliſque finitrum
Velat grata latus tæneræ de corpore damæ.
Nulla in præruptum tam prona & inhospita cautes:
In quâ non librans corpus, similisque volanti,
Cornipedem tulerit præcisa per avia plantam.
Interdum inflexus medio nascencia tergo
Respicit adridens hirtæ ludibria caudæ:
Obtendensque manum, solem efferverescere fronti
Arceat; & umbrato perlustrat pascua visu.
Hic postquam mandata Dei perfectæ, malamque
Sedavit rabiem & permulſit corda furentum;
Arcadæ volucris saltus & amata revisit
Mœnala: ubi argutis longè de verrice sacro
Dulce sonat calamis; ducit stabula omnia cantu.

Silius Ital. 13. §. 347.

the inhabitants came out in a body, and in the most suppliant manner, to deprecate their wrath. Jupiter, (says the poet,) was moved with the distress of the Capuans; and sent Pan to soften their incensed enemies. This god breathed a sudden spirit of relenting into all the Roman army. They felt a strange compassion (80) rising in their breasts; and were surprised to find all their wrath turned into pity. Silius on this occasion calls Pan, the mild god, or the inspirer of mildness. There is a terminal figure, in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence; which they call, a Pan: and whose face agrees very well with this character. He looks like a good honest shepherd: and has a goat on his shoulder; and a little milking vessel (81), in his right hand.

Pl. XXXV.
Fig. 11.

As mild as this god looks here, he is better known at present I think under a more formidable character; as the inspirer of sudden frights, and terrors. The ancients used to attribute to Pan a thousand little idle tricks (82), (as frightening their cattle, and the like,) in the same manner as our common people did formerly, to Robin Goodfellow. Pan too, I suppose, was a giver of frightful dreams, as well as (83) the Fauns. All great frights, which happened in an army without any real foundation; and all such as we still call, Panic Fears; were attributed to the operations of this deity. These horrors caused by Pan are, very particularly (84), described in the little romance wrote by Longus; who, I should think, lived in an higher and better age, than is generally (85) allowed him. However that be, the Roman poets of the good ages, sometimes describe Pan as striking greater terrors into an army (86), with causeless alarms; than any enemy could do, with real ones: and the artists, agreeably to what they say, sometimes give him a face that is much more terrible than that of Mars himself. It was on this account, that the Athenians had statues of this god (87), carrying a trophy on his shoulders; like the figures of Mars. He had often assisted them, in their wars; and particularly, in gaining their most celebrated victory over the Persians (88), at Marathon. His face, you see, in this drawing carries a great deal of horror with it. So much, that I have sometimes been apt to suspect that it was from some of these more terrible representations of this god, that our later artists might first borrow their idea of a Devil. If you consider, that the ancients

Pl. XXXV.
Fig. 12.

always

(80) Atque ea dum miles miratur inertia facta,
Expectatque ferox sternendi monia signum:
Ecce repens tacito percurrit pectora sensu
Religio, & sevas componit nomine mentes;
Ne flammam tædæque velint, ne templa sub uno
In cinerem transisse rogo. Subit intima corda
Perlabens sensum mitis Deus.——

Silius Ital. 13. v. 320.

(81) See Mus. Flor. Vol. III. Pl. 61.——This may be the Pan, which Virgil invokes in the beginning of his Georgics.

Ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycæi,
Pan ovium custos! Tua si tibi Menala curæ
Adsis, O Tegeæ, favens.——

Georg. 1. v. 18.

(82) Ludas & ille Deo, pavidum præsepibus aufert
Cum pecus; & profugi sternunt dumtaxat juvenci.
Val. Flaccus, 3. v. 56.

(83) Hæc medetur & Faunorum in quiete ludibriis,
Plin. Lib. 25. Cap. 4.——Qui a nocturnis Diis, Faunisque agitantur. Id. Lib. 30. Cap. 10.

(84) In the long account of Pan's terrifying the captain of the pirates, that had carried away Cloe, Lib. 2.

(85) Longus has been generally supposed to have wrote about the end of the fourth century. The only reason given for this is, that he has some passages which seem to have been copied from Heliodorus: but why might not Heliodorus as well have copied from Longus, as Longus from Heliodorus? The reason why I think Longus of the higher ages, is the natural ease and simplicity of his style; in which he seems to me not to be inferior to any one, except Theocritus.

dorus: but why might not Heliodorus as well have copied from Longus, as Longus from Heliodorus? The reason why I think Longus of the higher ages, is the natural ease and simplicity of his style; in which he seems to me not to be inferior to any one, except Theocritus.

(86) Pan nemorum, bellique potens; quem lucis ab horis
Antra tenent: pater ad medias per devia noctes
Setigerum latus, & torve coma fibilla frontis.
Vox omnes super una tubas: quæ conus & ensis,
Quæ trepidis auriga rotis, nocturnaque muris
Plaustra cadunt. Taleque metus non Martia cassis,
Eumenidumque comæ, non tristis ab æthere Gorgon
Sparferit; aut tantis aciem raptaverit umbris.

Valerius Flaccus, 3. v. 54.

(87) This appears from an inscription; in the collection of Greek epigrams.

Πάνης ἐκ Πάριος με πάλιν καὶ Πάλλας ὁ ἀκρὸν
Σύων Ἀθηναῖοι Πανα τραπαιζοῦσι.

(88) As this does, from another; in the same.

Γλαῦκος, διλοφίδεος, ἐπιστάτης ποσειδ Ἀχαιῶν,
Παισέσσει, εὐκέρει μαλοφυλάξ ἀγέλας,
Πανὸ δ' ἀπαινεῖται, ὁ πολυπορὸς ὅς μεταμαρῶς
Εὐσεμῶς ἀρχαῖαν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ Ἀσσυρίων
Μικτιάδην συστατὸς οὐραστίδι Περσὶ διακλῖν,
Ἰταμαί' ἀκλήτῃ ζῆνιτι συμμάχῳ.
Ἄλλοις Ἀκροπόλιν· ὁ Μινδάρῳ δὲ δέδωκε
Ζῶντος ἐμὴν Μαρσῶν, καὶ Μαρσῶν μαχῶν

U u u

always gave Pan a tail, horns, and cloven-feet, it would make such a conjecture yet the more probable. One might add, that in the old stories of the Sabat, the devil is most usually said to have appeared in the shape of a goat: now Ovid calls Pan, the Goatish god (89); as one of the fathers of the church (90) chuses to distinguish him, by his cloven feet. This deep conjecture of mine might, perhaps, be carried much farther; but I shall quit that, and Pan together: which we may do with the more pleasure, because his is the last statue I had to shew you. You have proved that you have a great deal of patience, in attending me so long; thro' my temple of the Celestial Beings; that of the Constellations; the Beings of the Air; those of the Waters, and these of the Earth. We have now completed our whole round; and I heartily wish you joy of it: for to say the truth, I begin to be a little tired of my office, as you may very well be, with hearing me.

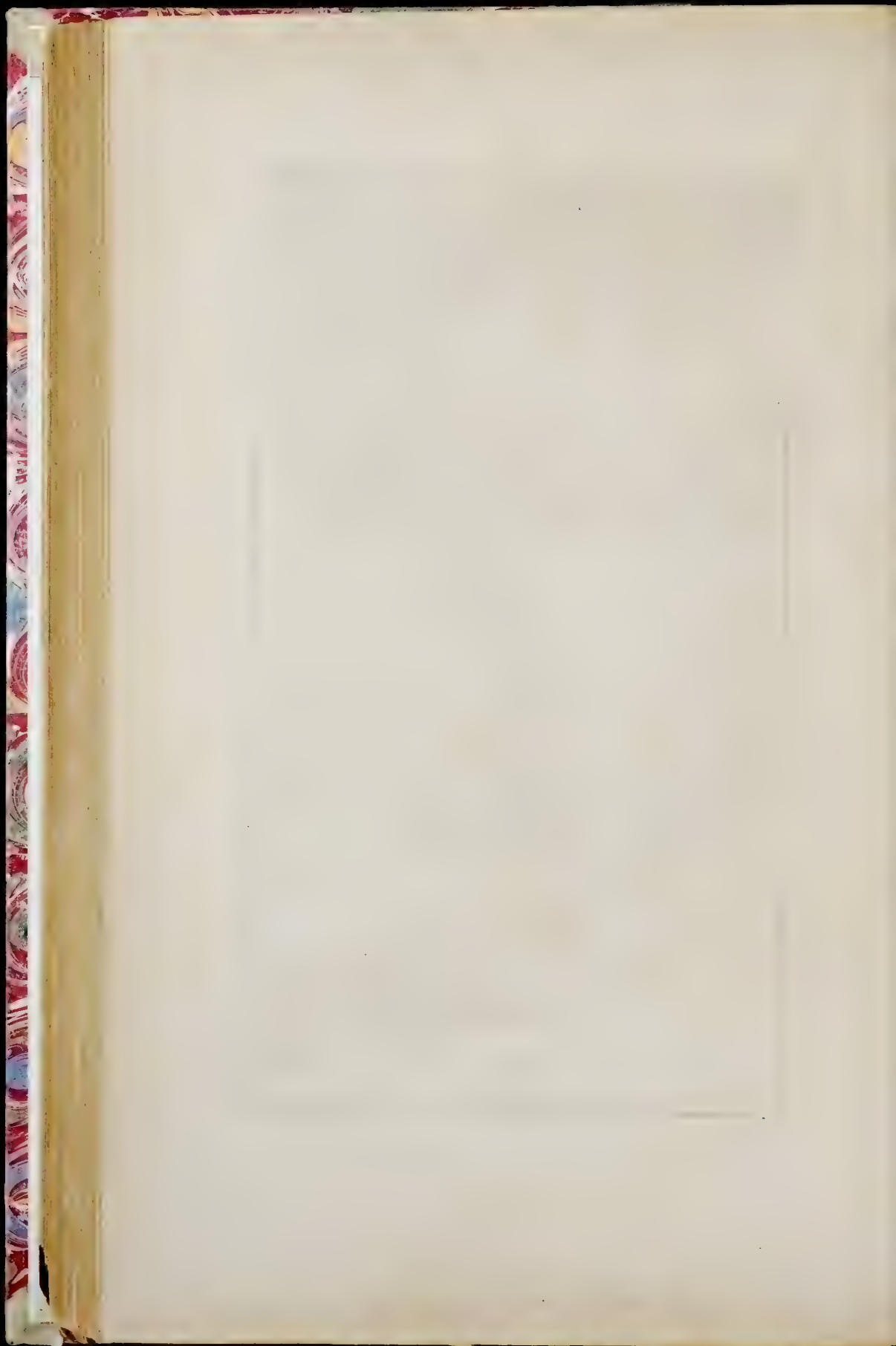
(89) Semicaper Pan.

Met. 14. p. 515.

(90) Minutius Felix; See Dial. VII. Note 81, anteh.

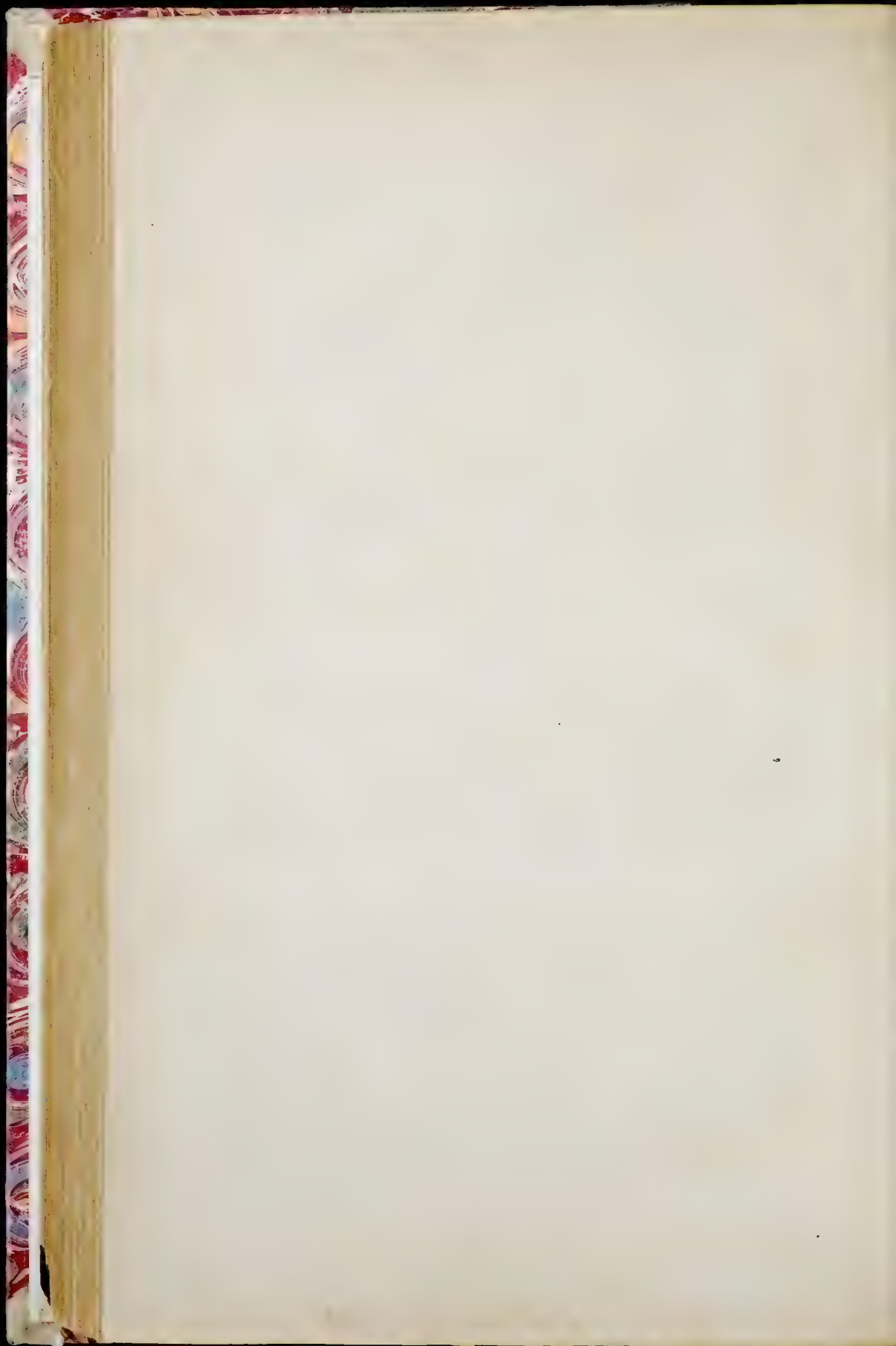


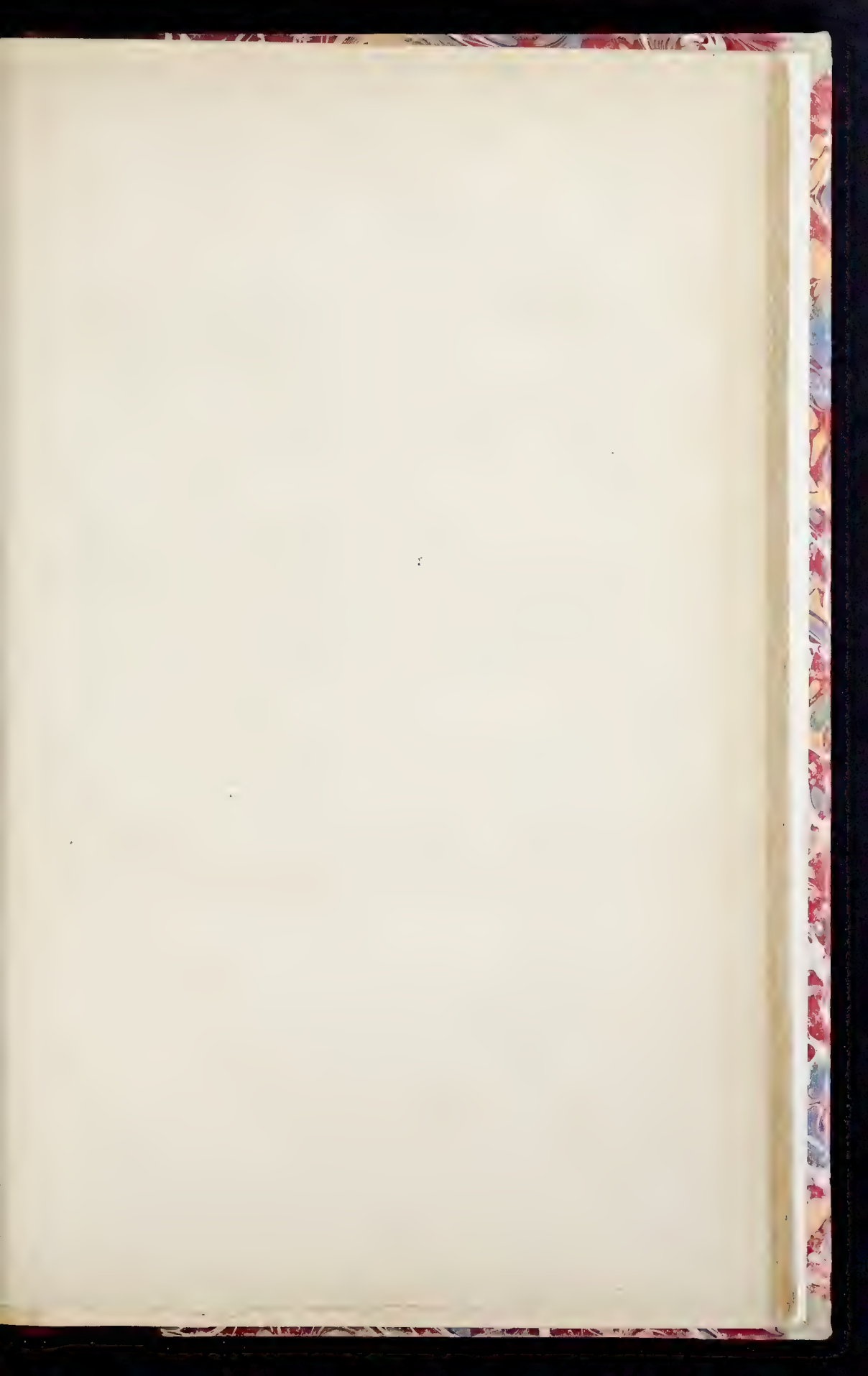






L. P. de la Roche







C. Bultrui del.

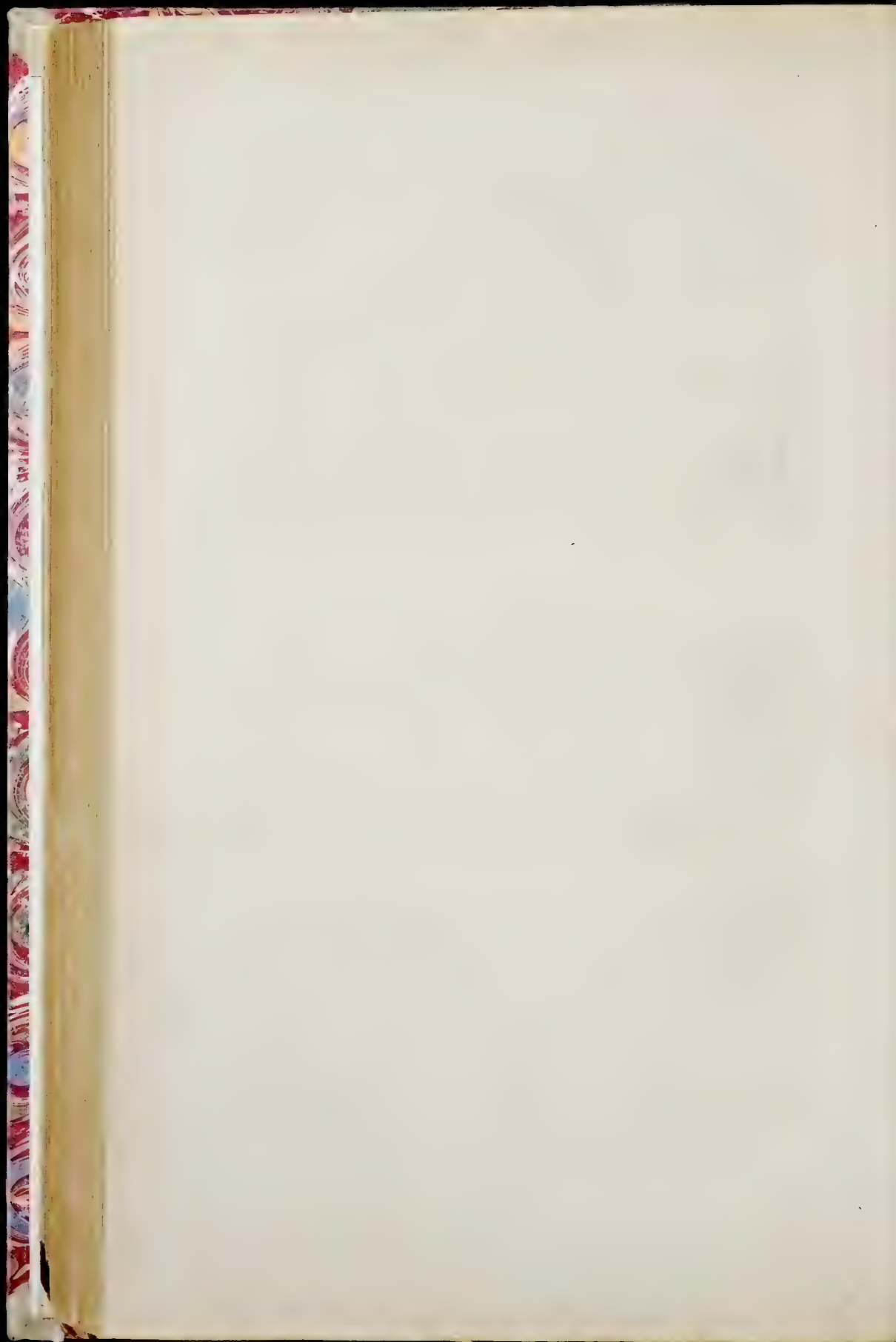


J. R. Bouchard & Co.





J. G. Girard Sculp.



DIALOGUE the Sixteenth.

BOOK the Ninth.

D I A L. XVI.

Of the Deities, and Inhabitants, of the LOWER WORLD.

POLYMETIS had now carried his two friends through all his collection, as far as it was disposed of in his gardens; so the next day was to be a day of rest to them: but as they had got into a train of diverting their time in this one kind of manner, they found this day hang more upon their hands than any of the former. Philander, in particular, wanted very much some of the same diversion they had now been used to for some time; and could not help mentioning it to Polymetis, as they were sitting in the library, after supper. I wish, says he, you had followed the taste of the emperor Adrian ⁽¹⁾, who is said to have furnished one part of his gardens with nothing but infernal deities, and such beings as were supposed to inhabit the lower world. We might then have had some of our old employment for to-morrow. Besides, it would finish the whole series of imaginary beings, that we have been conversing with these seven or eight days; and yet I do not know how it is, I am so far from being tired of their company, that I am at a loss how to do without it. If you are so very desirous of going on with them and completing our enquiry, says Polymetis, you need only turn round, and hand me that drawer,—the lowest of the six, just behind you;—in which are all the drawings I could get in relation to this last class of imaginary beings. As this was what Philander wanted, he did not lose any time; but took out the drawer immediately, (which looked better stocked than they expected,) and set it before Polymetis: who, as all these drawings were ranged there to his hand in their proper order, began his lecture on them in the following manner.

In talking of the poetical hell of the old Romans, I know not how one can do better, than to follow exactly the account which is given us by the best poet that the Romans ever had. I have therefore ranged these drawings of mine into distinct parcels, according to the different divisions which Virgil has given us of the infernal regions. Virgil's general character is exactness; and he seems to have shown it particularly on this occasion. His account of the subterraneous world is much the most regular and the most complete we meet with in any of the Greek, as well as Latin poets, that remain to us. Hence it is, that Silius Italicus, (who ought perhaps to have more the authority of an historian, than that of a poet,) sets Virgil's account of hell on a level with the principal subject of his *Æneid*: and seems to insinuate, that he laid out all the parts of it in as ⁽²⁾ exact order, before he saw it; as he could have done, after he was an inhabitant of those lower regions.

THE

(1) At his Villa, near Tivoli. See Spartian, T. II. p. 193.

(2) Atque hic Elysi tendentem limite cernens
Effugiem * juvenis castam, cui vitta ligabat
Purpurea effusus per colla nitentia crines;
Dic ait, hic quidem, Virgo? nam luce refulget
Præcipua frons sacra viro; multæque sequuntur
Mirantes animæ, & læto clamore frequentant.

* Scipio.

Qui vultus! Quem, si Stygia non esset in umbræ,
Dixissem talis esse Deum. Non falleris, inquit
Docta comes Trivia: meruit Deus esse videri;
Et fuit in tanto non parvum pectore numen:
Carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes,
Et cantu Musas & Phœbum æquavit honore.
Atque hæc cuncta prius quàm cerneret ordine terris
Prodidit; & vultum talis ulque ad sidera Trojam.
Silius. Ital. 13. v. 791.

THE whole imaginary world (3) beneath the surface of the earth, which we call Hell, (tho' according to the antients it was the receptacle of all departed persons, of the good as well as the bad,) is divided, by Virgil, into five parts. The first may be called the Previous Region. The second is the Region of Waters; or the River, which they were all to pass. The third is what we may call, the Gloomy Region; and what the antients called, Erebus (4). The fourth is Tartarus, or the Region of Torments: and the fifth, the Region of Joy and Bliss; or what we still call Elysium.

IT may be worth while to enquire a little more particularly into the disposition which Virgil has made of the nether world, into these five parts; and what sort of personages, or inhabitants, he assigns to each of them.

THE first part in it, (which I call the Previous Region, as being only the suburbs of the Realms of Death,) Virgil has stocked with two sorts of beings. First, with those which make (5) the real misery of mankind upon earth; such as War, Discord; Labour, Grief, Cares, Distempers, and Old-age: and secondly, with (6) fancied terrors, and all the most frightful creatures of our own imagination; such as Gorgons, Harpies, Chimæra's, and the like.

THE next is the Water, which all the departed were supposed to pass, to enter into the other world. This was called Styx; or, the Hateful passage. The imaginary personages of this division are (7) the souls of the departed, who are either passing over, or suing for a passage; and the master of the vessel, who carries them over, one freight after another, according to his will and pleasure.

THE third division begins immediately with the bank on the other side the river; and was supposed to extend a great way in. It is subdivided again into several particular districts. The first (8) seems to be the receptacle for infants, or the *Limbo Infantum*.—Then is the *Limbo* for all such as have been (9) put to death without a cause.—Next, is the place for those who have (10) put a period to their own lives: a melancholy region; and situated amidst the marshes, made by the overflowings of the Hateful River, or passage into the other world.—After this, are the (11) fields of Mourning; full of dark woods and groves, and inhabited by those who died for love.—Last (12) of all, spreads an open champion country, allotted for the souls of departed warriors. The name of this whole division is (13) Erebus.

THE

(3) The antients seem, most commonly, to have considered the earth, as a vast plain, spread out every way; and hell, as spread out, at an equal depth, all under the surface of it. Hence they had vents, or passages, that were supposed to lead directly to hell, in every country; and several in some: as the lakes of Avernus and Amfanctus, in particular, for Italy. "It is indifferent to me, where you bury me, (says Anaxagoras) for my journey to the other world will be just the same." Undique enim ad Inferos tantundem viæ est. Cicero's *Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 1. p. 365.* Ed. Blacq.

(4) Erebus is most commonly used for this particular part of the subterraneous world, by Virgil and the rest of the Roman poets; tho' they may possibly sometimes use it for the subterraneous world, in general. The persons placed by Virgil in this part, seem to me not to have been supposed to be in torments; but only to abide in a dark, and melancholy way. The derivation of the words Tartarus and Erebus, according to the critics in that sort of knowledge,

agrees very well with this distinction: for Erebus, say they, is derived from עֶרֶב, which signifies Night, or Obscurity; and Tartarus, from τάρταρος, to disturb, or torment.

(5) *Æn. 6. v. 274, to 281.*

(6) *Ibid. 286, to 289.*

(7) *Ibid. 295, to 316.*

(8) *Ibid. 427.*

(9) *Ibid. 430.*

(10) *Ibid. 434, to 439.*

(11) *Ibid. 441.*

(12) *Ibid. 477.*

(13) Virgil shews plainly that this division was called Erebus, in his account of the descent of Orpheus into hell. Compare *G. 4. v. 471, and 478;* see too *v. 481, ibid.*

It

THE several districts of this division seem to be disposed all in a line, one after the other (14). But after this, the great line or road divides into two: of which, the right-hand road leads to Elysium, or the place of the blest; and the left-hand road to Tartarus, or the place of the tormented.

THE fourth general division of the subterraneous world is this Tartarus; or the place of torments. There was a city in it (15), and a prince to preside over it. Within this city was a vast deep pit, in which the tortures were supposed to be performed. In this horrid part, Virgil places two sorts of souls: first of such, as have shewn their impiety and rebellion (16) toward the gods; and secondly, of such, as have been vile or mischievous among men. Those, (as he himself says of the latter, more particularly,) who hated their brethren; used their parents ill; or cheated their dependants: who made no use of their riches; who committed incest, or disturbed the marriage-union of others: those who were rebellious subjects, or knavish servants; who were despisers of justice, and betrayers of their country; and who made and unmade laws, not for the good of the public, but only to get money to themselves. All these, and the despisers of the gods, Virgil places in this most horrid division of his subterraneous world; and in the vast abyss, which was the most terrible part even of that division.

THE fifth division is that of Elysium, or the place of the blest. Here Virgil places (17) those who died for their country; those of pure lives; truly inspired poets; the inventors of arts; and all who have done good to mankind. He does not speak of any particular districts for these; but supposes that they have the liberty of (18) going where they please in that delightful region, and conversing with whom they please. He only mentions one vale, toward the end of it, as appropriated to any particular use. This is (19) the vale of Lethe, or Forgetfulness; where many of the ancient philosophers, and the Platonists in particular, supposed the souls which had passed thro' some periods of their trial, were immersed in the river which gave its name to it; in order to be put into new bodies, and to fill up the whole course of their probation in our upper world.

IN each of these three divisions on the other side of the river Styx, (which perhaps were comprehended under the name of Ades, as all the five might be under the name of Orcus,) was a prince, or judge (20): Minos for the regions of Erebus; Rhadamanthus, for Tartarus; and Æacus, for Elysium. Pluto and Proserpine (21) had their palace at the entrance of the road to the Elysian fields; and presided, as sovereigns, over the whole subterraneous world.

My

It is said before, that the name of this division is derived from a Hebrew word signifying Night, or Darkness; which agrees particularly with a line of Virgil, in another part of his works.

Pallentes umbras Erebi; noctemque profundam.
Æn. 4. l. 26.

(14) Virgil. *Æn.* 6. l. 540, to 543.

(15) Ibid. l. 549, and 566.

(16) The impious; see Virgil, *Æn.* 6. l. 580, to 607: and the unjust; *ibid.* l. 608, to 624.

Virgil plainly had this distinction in his thoughts, from his not mixing them at all with one another; and seems even to express it, in that exclamation which he puts into the mouth of one of the tormented:

Dicite iustitiam moniti; & non temere Divos!
Ibid. l. 620.

(17) Virgil. *Æn.* 6. l. 660, to 664.

(18) *Nulli certa domus: lucis habitamus opacis;*
Riparumque toros, & prata recentia rivis
Incolimus. —

Ibid. l. 675.

(19) Ibid. v. 679, 703, and 749.

(20) *Nec vero hæc sine forte datæ, sine iudice sedes:*
Quæstor Minos uram movet. —

Ibid. l. 432.

Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna;
Calligatque auditque dolos. —

Ibid. l. 567.

Quàm penè furvæ regna Proserpinæ,
Et judicantem vidimus Æacum,
Sedesque discretas piorum! —

Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. l. 23.

(21) *Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas;*
Dextera quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit;
Hæc iter Elysium nobis. —

Virgil. Æn. 6. l. 542.

My drawings here are ranged exactly according to the map which Virgil has given us of this imaginary country. The first of them represents his Previous region. You know there are two manuscripts of Virgil's poems, in the Vatican library; each with ancient pictures in them, relating to the most remarkable passages. This is taken from the better of those two manuscripts: which is said to have been wrote about the time of Constantine the Great; as the pictures in it are supposed (22) to have been copied from some of a higher date: at least as high, as the reign of Septimius Severus.

S. XXXVI. You see here the two sorts of inhabitants, assigned by Virgil to this first division of the nether world. That line of naked ladies above are the real Evils and distresses of human life; as (23) Want, Diseases, Grief, Old-age, and the like: and the rest of the picture is almost wholly furnished with meer terrors of the imagination; such as Harpies, Centaurs, monstrous Giants, Hydra's, and Chimæra's,

THE former are the more remarkable, because their figures are scarce any where to be met with but here. As for the Virtues, and beings which make the happiness of life, one had a large resource in the medals of the Roman emperors; who were all complimented in their turns, with being the hope, the joy, the safety, and security, of the kingdoms under their command. This was obviously expressed by having the emperor's head, on one side of a medal; and the figure of the goddesses Spes, Lætitia, Salus, or Securitas, on the other. But tho' they had so many bad, and even so many monstrous emperors, I believe no artist ever ventured so far as to place a virtuous or hurtful being on the reverse of any of their coins: and this is one great reason why the figures of these bad beings are so much more difficult to be met with, than their opposite virtues. Indeed I have never seen any groupe of the Vices and hurtful Beings, but in this Vatican picture: and in this, they are not sufficiently distinguished from one another; being drawn without any attributes, and almost all alike. There are eight of them; of whom I can say nothing in particular, except that the two who are sitting and looking downwards, pretty much in the same attitude, may possibly be the *Cura* Virgil speaks of; for he gives them seats: which, you see here, are no better than the bare rocks; and even on them, they seem to be placed in an uneasy posture. Some of the other poets, as well as Virgil, speak of the *Cura* personally (24); but there is very little that is any way descriptive of their persons, in any of them.

VIRGIL places Death (25), and his relation Sleep, among the evil beings of this region. They make not their appearance in the Vatican picture; but may be supplied from other remains of the ancient artists.

THE figures of Mors, or Death, are very uncommon; as indeed those of the (26) evil and hurtful beings are in general. They were banished from all medals, for the reason I have just mentioned to you: on seals and rings they were probably considered as bad omens;

(22) See Dial. VIII. Note 121.

(23) ——— Primis in faucibus Orci
Luctus, & ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus;
Et Metus, & malefuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas;
Terribiles visu formæ. ———
Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 277.

It must be owned, that Virgil here is more distinct and picturesque, than the painting in the Vatican manuscript. The epithets of *Pallentes Morbi*, *tristis Senectus*, & *turpis Egestas*, might have furnished the artist with hints how to distinguish these beings from one another, much more than he has done.

(24) ——— Curas, laqueata circum
Teſta volantes.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 16. *l.* 12.

—— Curæque ſequaces.

Lucretius. 2. *l.* 47.
Poſt equitem ſedet atra Cura.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 1. *l.* 40.
Scandit æratas vitioſa naves
Cura, nec turmas equitum relinquit;
Ocyor cerviſ, & agente nimbos
Ocyor Euro.
Id Lib. 2. Od. 16. *l.* 24.

(25) ——— Lethumque, Laborque;
Et conſanguineus Lethi Sopor. ———
Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 278.

(26) Theſe are almoſt as uncommon in the deſcriptions of the poets, as they are in the works of the ancient artiſts. The moſt remarkable that I remember of this kind, are the deſcription of Party-Rage in Virgil; *Æn.* 1. *l.* 292. and thoſe of Diſcord;
Æn.

omens; and were perhaps never used: as for pictures, they might be introduced there on many occasions; but we have so few remaining to us of the antient paintings, that we can expect but little assistance from that quarter. Among the very few figures of Mors I have ever met with, that in the Florentine gallery, is I think the most remarkable. It is a little figure in brass, (in the apartment which they call the Madama,) of a skeleton; as sitting on the ground (27), and resting one of his hands on a long urn.

I FANCY Mors was common enough in the paintings of old; because she is so frequently mentioned in a descriptive manner, by the Roman poets: who, by the way, sometimes make a distinction (28) between Lethum and Mors, which the poverty of our language will not allow us to express; and which it is even difficult enough to conceive. Perhaps, they meant by Lethum, that general principle or source of mortality, which they supposed to have its proper residence in hell; and by Mors, or Mortes, (for they had (29) several of them,) the immediate cause of each particular instance of mortality, on our earth.

THE face of Mors, when they gave her any face, (and the painters probably represented her sometimes with a very meagre body, as well as like an absolute skeleton,) seems to have been (30) of a pale, wan, dead colour. The poets describe her as ravenous, treacherous, and furious. They speak of her (31) roving about open-mouthed (32), and

Æn. 6. v. 278, and 8. v. 702.—The Envy, and Hunger, in Ovid; Met. Lib. 2. v. 775; and 8. v. 799.—and the groups of Evil Beings mentioned by the same, in his Met. Lib. 1. v. 130: by Statius, Theb. 4. v. 661: Valerius Flaccus, Argon. 2. v. 205: Petronius Arbitr. v. 254, to 263; and the author of Œdipus, Aët. 3. v. 590, to 594.

There is a prose-writer among the Romans, that I think speaks more descriptively of these evil beings than most of their poets have done. The person I mean is Valerius Maximus. According to him, (if he speaks regularly enough to be depended upon,) Sloth was sometimes painted of old, in a retired cave; from his Memorab. Lib. 2. Cap. 6. §. 3. and Perfidy, in a dark corner: Lib. 9. Cap. 6. Proem. Luxury, and Lust, each with a loose, flowing robe; with a wanton look; and eyes fixed on some new object, that hits their appetites. Lib. 9. Cap. 2. Proem. To the two latter, he opposes the appearance of Cruelty; in the following words. Cruditatis verb horridus habitus; truculenta facies; violenti spiritus, vox terribilis; ora, minis & cruentis imperiis referta. (Ibid.)

It is very remarkable, that where Lucian describes the clearest picture I remember ever to have read of, as to these bad beings; he speaks, as if their characters were not well ascertained nor readily known, even in his time.—The imaginary beings represented in this picture, were Calumny; Ignorance, Suspicion; Envy, Treachery, Falshood; Repentance, and Truth.—It was a work, of Apelles, the Ephesian; in the time of Ptolemy Philopater: in whose court that painter had been, for some time, very well received; but was afterwards like to lose his head; on a false accusation for treason, from a brother-artist who envied his reputation. The king at last was convinced of his innocence; and sent him home with a great reward. When he was got safe there, he drew the picture I am speaking of; which Lucian describes in the following words. Εὐ δὲ ξία τις ἀνὴρ καθήμενος ἐν αἰετῇ, ἡν ἔχων, μικρὰ δὲν τοῖς σὺν Μιδῇ περὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν χροὴν περιέλαυνεν πορρωθεν ἐπὶ πρυμνῶν τῶν διαβόλων. Πῶς δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν

Ἀλγία μὲν δακρυ, καὶ ὕποληψις. Ἐπερωδὸν δὲ, προσέειπε, ὡς διαβόλον, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐκπεσόντων παλαιῶν, ὑποδύμενον δὲ καὶ παρρησιόχον, οἷον δὲ τὸν λατύνει καὶ τὸν ὀργὴν δεικνύοντα· τὴ μὲν αἰετῇ, δαδὰ καίμασιν ἔχοντα· τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ, νεανίαν τινὰ τὸν τοῖχον σκῆπτρον, τὰς χροὴς οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὸν ἑλάνο, κυμαίνοντα τῶν δόλων. Μυσταὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ ὥρεσι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω. Ἐξ δὲ δόλων, καὶ τοῖσιν τοῖς ἐκ νόστος μακροῖς κατασκληροῖσι· τὸν γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ θόδου αὐτὸς εἰκασεν. Καὶ μὲν δὲ σκληρὰ τῶν δόλων παρρησιόχοι, πρυμνῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖσιν ἐλλοίσιν, καὶ κατακλυσμῶν τὸν διαβόλον· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἐμμανὲς οὐ πεινυρῆτος τῆς ἐκείνου, ἢ μὲν ἡττοῦσθαι τῆς νῆς, ἢ δὲ ἀπαυτῇ. Κατόπιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, πᾶν πνέοντος, τὸς σκηνάσμενον, μελάνθρον, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αἵματι μὲν Μῆδισι δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ἐλπίστον. Ἐπερωδὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αἵματι, δακνύοντα· καὶ μὲν αἷματι τῶν, τὴν Ἀλκυονίδαν περὶ τοῦ αἵματος. Τοῦτ. 2. p. 404. Ed. Blac.

(27) See Pl. 41. Fig. 1.

(28) Et Bellona minax, facibusque armata Megæra; Lethumque; Infidique; & lurida Mortis imago. Petronius Arb. v. 263.

(29) Securæ procul hinc abite Mortes! Statius. Lib. 2. Sylv. 7. v. 131. Stant Furæ circum, varique ex ordine Mortes. Id. Theb. 8. v. 24.

(30) The epithets of Pallida, and Lurida, (pale and wan,) are frequently applied to Mors, by the Latin poets; and occur in quotations on this article. This dead colour of her cheeks, &c. I take to be meant by Lucretius; where he says, Omnia denique sancta Deum delubra repleat Corporibus, Mors exanimis. Lib. 6. v. 1271.

(31) ——— Cur anni tempora morbos Adportant? Quare Mors immatura vagatur? Lucretius. 5. v. 222.

(32) Et cum Mors avidis pallida dentibus. Herc. Fur. Act. 2. Chor. Mors alta avidos oris hiatus Pandit, & omnes explicat alas. Œdipus, Aët. 1. Chor. Mors

and as ready to swallow up all that comes in her way. They seem to give her (33) black robes; and (34) dark wings: and represent her often, as of an (35) enormous size. Statius gives her arms too; and in particular (36), a sword; like a destroying angel: for it is where he is describing a pestilence. I do not know how far this is to be depended upon; for we have only the single authority of Statius for it; and his authority is not great with me.

As the antients had more horrid and gloomy notions of death, than we have at present; most of their descriptions of Mors, are of a more frightful and dismal turn. They sometimes describe her as coming to the (37) doors of mortals, and thundering at them to demand the debt which they owe her: sometimes as approaching (38) to their bed-sides, and leaning over them: and sometimes, as (39) pursuing her prey; or as hovering in the air (40), and ready to make a swoop upon it. There is another idea, not uncommon in the Roman poets, and which they seem to have borrowed from that sort of their gladiators who were called Retiaries, from the nets in which they used to entangle their adversaries: for Mors is represented by them (41) as pursuing men with a net; as catching them; and as dragging them to their tombs. This, possibly, may be what Catullus means by his expression of (42), "the Whirl of Death;" or at least, I know not how to account for that expression so well, any other way.

THERE is yet another idea of Death in the Roman poets, which they seem to have borrowed from the ancient manner of hunting. They used of old to surround (43) a considerable tract of ground, with a circle of nets; and afterwards contracted the circle by degrees, till they had forced all the beasts of that quarter together into a narrow compass:

Mors fruitur cœlo, bellatoremque volando
Campum operit; nigroque viros invitat hiatu.
Statius. Theb. 8. v. 378.

This particular idea of Death's gaping and swallowing every thing, comes naturally enough from the old notion of the place of the dead.

— Domus omnibus una;
In medio vultum late se tendit inane:
Huc, quicquid terræ, quicquid freta, & igneus æther
Nutrivit, primo mundi genitalis ab ævo,
Mors communis agit: descendunt cuncta; capitque
Campus incers, quantum interit restatque futurum.
Silius Italicus. 13. v. 530.

— Illatrat jejunis faucibus Orcus.
Id. Ib. v. 845.

(33) Omnia sub leges Mors vocat atra suas.
Ovid. Consol. ad Liv. v. 360.
In speculis Mors atra fedet; dominique silentes
Adnumerat populos. —
Statius. Theb. 4. v. 529.

(34) Mors atris circumvolat aliv.
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 1. v. 58.

(35) See Notes 36, and 40, posth.

(36) — Mors filia Sororum
Ense metit; captamque tenens fert Manibus urbem.
Statius. Theb. 1. v. 633.

(37) Cum Mors vicina flagitabit debitum.
Phædrus, Lib. 4. Epil.
Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres. —
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. v. 14.

Ovid uses the same expression, of Proserpine:
Et mihi conjugii tempus crudelis ad ipsum,
Persephone nostras pulsat acerba fores.

Her. Ep. 21. v. 46. Cydippe, Acont.
And Statius, of another fatal Deity:
Jam trepidas Bellona fores, armataque pulsat
Limina.

Theb. 8. v. 349.

(38) — Mors ad caput astitit —
Lucretius. 3. v. 492.

(39) Mors & fugacem persequitur virum;
Nec parvit imbellis juvenetæ
Poplitibus, timidique tergo.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 2. v. 16.

(40) Ecce Necem intentam cœlo, terræque, fretoque!
Ovid. Consol. ad Liv. v. 361.
Mors fruitur cœlo, bellatoremque volando
Campum operit. —
Statius. Theb. 8. v. 378.

(41) Hic, illic, ubi Mors deprenderat, exhalantes.
Ovid. Met. 7. v. 581.
Non Mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 24. v. 9.
Mors tamen a templis ad cava busta trahet.
Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. v. 58.

(42) Certe ego te in medio versantem turbine lethi
Eripui, —
Catullus. Nupt. Pel. v. 150.

(43) This way of hunting is very distinctly described by one of the Roman poets.

— Sic curva feras indago latentes
Claudit; & admotis paulatim cassibus arstat:
Ille ignem sonitumque pavent; diffusaque linquant
Avia; miranturque suum decreverunt montem;
Donec in angustam ceciderunt undique vallem.
Inque vicem stupere greges, socioque timore
Mansuescunt: simul hirtus aper, simul ursæ lupusque
Cogitur; & captos contemnit cervæ leones.
Statius. Achil. 1. v. 466.

The compass of ground at first taken in, was sometimes very considerable. Plutarch speaks of toils, for this kind of hunting, that were above 12 miles long.
In Vita Alex. p. 22.

pais: and then it was that the slaughter, or the height of the sport, (as they called it then, and as we still to our shame call the murdering poor innocent creatures for our diversion,) began. This manner of hunting was used in Italy of old; as well as all over the more eastern parts of the world: and it was from this custom, I suppose, that the poets sometimes represent Death as (44) surrounding persons, with her nets; and as encompassing them, on every side.

I HAVE observed to you already, that the poets do not confine themselves to one imaginary being, to represent Death; but that they speak of (45) several of them. Statius, (who gives us a greater variety of descriptions relating to this subject, than perhaps all the other Roman poets taken together, speaks of a Mors (46), like Quies. In another place, he describes a Mors, (perhaps the chief over all the rest,) as sitting on an eminence (47); and giving in her tale of ghosts, to the rulers of the lower world. In another, he speaks of her as like to be shut up (48), and confined from doing mischief, in a dark prison there. But of all his pictures of this deity, the most particular I think is where (49) he represents her as standing by the bedside of a youth, just in the flower of his age; accompanied by Envy, and (50) Vengeance. These horrid deities show a great deal of friendship to one another, in the execution of their cruel office; and Vengeance, in particular, after having embraced the goddess of Death, seems according to his account to take the fatal net out of her hand, and to perform her office for her.

LETHUM is described by the poets, in general, much in the same manner as they describe Mors. They give him a robe; but mention his arms (51) being exerted out of it, as reaching at his prey. They hint at his (52) catching people in a net; and his hunting men, (as they did beasts,) within his toils. As they speak of a Mors like Rest, so they say that Lethum is nearly (53) related to Sleep; and Valerius Flaccus, in particular, acquaints us that they were (54) brothers.

SLEEP, as so nearly related to Death, may very well have a place in the same region of the nether world: Virgil places him there (55), and seems to hint at this very reason for doing so. His general character, it must be owned, is of a softer nature; and deserves a better situation for him. According to which, Statius and Ovid place the chief residence or great palace of Somnus, on our earth. However, as it is sufficient to consider him in either of the places assigned for him; and as there were no terrestrial deities he was

so

(44) — Furvæ miseram circum undique Lethi
Vallavere plagas. —

Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. §. 156.

This custom came from the East; and is still continued there: and the idea of it is applied to Death by the sacred writers, just in the same manner as it is by the Roman poets. "The snares of death compassed me round about," Ps. cxvi. §. 3.

(45) See Note 29, anteh.

(46) — Te torpor iners, & Mors imitata quietem
Explicuit; falsoque tollit sub Tartara somno.

Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. §. 261.

That poem is on the loss of his father, who died of a lethargic disorder.

(47) See Note 33, anteh.

(48) — Cæco gemeret Mors clausa barathro.
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. §. 168.

(49) Attendit torvo tristes Rhamnusia vultu:
Ac primum implevitque toros, oculisque nitorem
Addidit; & solito sublimius ora levavit;
Heu misero letale favens! seseque videndo

Torfit; & Invidiam Mortemque amplexa, jacenti
Iniecit nexus: carpitque immitis aduicâ
Ora verenda manu. —

Statius. Lib. 2. Sylv. 6. §. 79.

(50) The goddess that I call Vengeance here, is called by Statius, Rhamnusia: who, in the heathen scheme, seems to have been much the same with Nemesis; or the Divine Vengeance.

(51) Et Dolus, & Rabies; & Lethi major imago
Visa, truces exserta manus. —

Val. Flaccus. 2. §. 207.

(52) See Note 42, 43, 44, anteh.

(53) — Confanguinei mixtus caligine Lethi,
Rore madens Stygio, morituram amplectitur urbem
Somnus. —

Statius. Theb. 5. §. 199.

(54) Nunc age major ades, fratrique simillime Letho!
Val. Flac. 8. §. 74.

(55) Terribiles visa forme! Lethumque, Labosque;
Et, confanguineus Lethi, Sopor. —

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 278.

so nearly allied to; I have chose to rank his figure with these subterraneous ones: and only mention this, that you may not consider him absolutely as an infernal deity; or forget his milder and better character; from finding him in so bad company.

Pl. XXXVI.
Fig. 2.

SOMNUS is most commonly represented by the artists, as you see him in this drawing: a soft youth, stretched at his ease on a couch: resting his head on a lion's skin; and sometimes on a lion, as in the figure before you; with one arm either a little over, or under his head, and the other dropping negligently by the side of the couch; and either holding poppies, or a horn with the juice of poppies, in it. He is often winged; and extremely like a little Cupid. So like, that he has been frequently mistaken for one: in spite of that lizard, by his feet; which has no relation to Cupid, tho' (as it is one of those creatures which sleeps half the year,) it is a very proper attribute of Somnus. I do not know that the poets ever mention the lizard as an attribute of Somnus; and therefore imagine it might be used by the artists merely to distinguish the figures of this god from those of Cupid: tho' the poppy, one would think, should be sufficient for that purpose; except in some few pieces, where we meet with the distinguishing attributes of Somnus, and those of Cupid, blended together: and of such perhaps we may say, that as Venus is sometimes represented under the character of the goddess Desidia, these may be Cupids under the character of Somnus.

THERE is scarce any one of the Deities that is more fully and particularly described by the poets, than this deity of Sleep. They sometimes speak of him, as large; and probably he was represented so in some of his figures, to denote his (56) great power: which is signified too, by his resting on a lion; which shews that the strongest and most furious of all animals is subdued by him. But the most common way of representing Somnus, is just as you see him here; young (57), soft, placid, and (58) resting on his couch. The poets speak often of his (59) wings; and mention their being black: that colour (60) is the most proper for this god, as his empire is chiefly by night: and it is for the same reason I suppose, that the statuarys so often chose to make his figures of ebony, basalt, or any dark-coloured marble. Such is the fine statue of this god in the Great Duke's gallery; which, as you may remember, holds a horn in one of his hands, in such a languid and remis manner, that the poppy-juice is running out of it. The poets hint even at (61) this little circumstance too. They speak frequently (62) of his horn in general; and

(56) Somne Pater! Somne omnipotens! Te Colchis ab omni
Orbe voco, inque unum jubeo nunc ire draconem!
Quæ freta sæpe tuo, domui quæ nubila cornu;
Fulminaque, & toto quicquid micat æthere.——

Medea's invocation of Somnus, in Valerius
Flaccus's Arg. Lib. 8. v. 73.

(57) ——— Juvenis placidissimus ———

Stattius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 4. v. 1.
Cum tener ad partes tu quoque, Somne, venis.

Ovid. Art. Am. 2. v. 546.
——— Placidissime Somne Deorum!

Id. Met. 11. v. 623.

(58) ——— Soporifero stipatus flore, tapetis
Incubat.———

Stattius. Theb. 10. v. 108.
——— Rursus molli languore solutum

Deposuitque caput; stratoque recondidit alto.

Ovid. Met. 11. v. 649.

(59) Virgil calls Somnus winged, or Volucris;
Æn. 6. v. 701: and Ales; Æn. 5. v. 861: and Ti-
bullus, speaking of the attendants of the chariot of
the Night, says:

Postque venit tacitus, fulvis circumdatus alis,
Somnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.

Tibull. Lib. 2. El. 1. v. ult.

(60) At medio torus est ebene sublimis in atrâ,
Plumeus, atricolor, pullo velamine testus;
Quo cubat ipse Deus, membris languore solutis.
Ovid. Met. 12. v. 612.

(61) ——— Manus hæc, fufos a tempore levo
Suffentat crines; hæc, cornu oblita remisit.
Stattius. Theb. 10. v. 111.

(62) Et Nox, & cornu fugiebat Somnus inani.
Stattius. Theb. 6. v. 27.
——— Illos, post vulnera fessos
Exceptamque hiemem, cornu perfuderat omni
Somnus.———

Id. Ib. 2. v. 145.

——— Implacido fundit gravia otia cornu.
Id. Ib. 5. v. 199.

As this is so usual an idea in Stattius's Thebaid, I
think it may help us to alter a line in the same poem;
which is scarce Latin, as it stands at present. It is in
the 12th Book, v. 307.

Hunc quoque, qui carru madidas tibi pronus habenas
Duci, in Aonijs Vigiles demitte Soporem.

If one was to read cornu, instead of carru, here;
one might perhaps relieve the passage from one of
those amendments, that transcribers and editors are
too often fond of making.

and sometimes, (63), of his *Virga*: but as I have never yet observed a wand, in any of the poets; I am apt to imagine, that the poets by that word may mean no more than the poppy (64) on the stalk; which he frequently holds in his hand. The poets supposed that this deity communicated sleep to mortals (65) by pouring out of his horn on them; by touching them with his *Virga*; or by only passing gently by their bed-side. When he intended to give troubled sleep, and tumultuous dreams, they seem to say that he made use of water from (66) some of the infernal rivers, mixed with his juice of poppies.

Tho' this deity is generally represented by the artists in a profound sleep, yet the poets now and then give us descriptions of him as engaged in some sort of action; but his very actions should be performed with a great deal of indolence; and should shew his disinclination to action.

STATIUS is more frequent in his descriptions of *Somnus*, as well as *Mors*, than any other of the Roman poets. In one place, he represents him, as taking his stand on the very highest point in all the course of the moon; and (67) hovering down from thence, with his wings spread over the earth, just at midnight. In another, he speaks of several relieves relating to this god; in each of which he was joined with some companion or other (68), with much propriety. In the first he was with *Voluptas*, considered as the goddess of feasts and entertainments; in the second, with *Hard Labour*, represented as tired and inclining to rest; in the third, with *Bacchus*; and in the fourth, with the God of Love. This would be a pretty subject for a painter now; and puts one in mind of the ancient paintings on ceilings, in which there often are four little subjects of this kind, in so many different compartments; to answer the four angles of the room. They have nothing to do with a fifth subject mentioned by the same poet, of *Somnus*, with a milder kind of death; for that, as he expressly says, was (69) in a different apartment.

ALL

(63) — Extremo me tange cacumine *virgæ*,
(Suffici) aut leviter suspenso poplite transi.
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 4. 5. ult.
Oculis—quietem
Irrorat, tangens *Lethæa* tempora *virgâ*.
Silius Ital. 10. 5. 357.

(64) What Silius here calls *Virga*, Virgil calls *Ramus*:
— *Ramum*, *Lethæo* rore madentem.
Æn. 5. 5. 855.
And he calls Poppy, *Lethæa papavera*; (*Georg.* 4. 5. 545.) And, *Lethæo* perfusa *papavera* *somno*.
(Ib. 1. 5. 78.)

(65) See Note 62, anteh.

(66) Rore madens *Stygio* morituram amplectitur urbem
Somnus, & implacido fundit gravia *otia* cornu.
Statius. Theb. 5. 5. 199.
Imperium celer exequitur: curvoque volucris
Per tenebras portat medicata *papavera* cornu.
At ubi per tacitum allapsus tentoria prima
Barcae petit juvenis, quatit inde soporas
Devezo capiti pennas; oculisque quietem
Irrorat tangens *Lethæa* tempora *virgâ*:
Exercent rapidam truculenta infomnia mentem.
Silius Ital. 10. 5. 358.

It seems to have been an oversight in Silius (in the passage last quoted) to call *Somnus*, celer. The other poets generally represent him as inactive, even when he is forced to do any thing: and tho' they often call him *Volucris*, that may signify winged rather than swift. Ovid expresses the inactivity of this god, very strongly, in his description of him.

— Vefis fulgore reluxit
Sacra domus; tardâque *Deus* gravitate jacentes

Vix oculos tollens, iterumque iterumque relabens,
Summaque percussiens nutanti pectora mento,
Excussit tandem sibi fe.—
Morphea, qui peragat *Thaumantidos* edita, *Somnus*
Eligit; & rursus molli languore solutum
Deposuitque caput, stratoque recondidit alto.

Met. 11. 5. 649.

This, excepting the *nutanti mento*, which may be rather too low; and the *excussit sibi fe*, which is as bad as well can be; (and one must not expect to quote any long passage from the *Metamorphosis* without some such blots in it;) is a very beautiful description: and extremely agreeable to the general character of this god.

(67) Scandebat rofeo medii fastigia cœli
Luna iugo: totis ubi *Somnus* inertior alis
Defluit in terras; mutumque amplectitur orbem.
Statius. Achil. 1. 5. 621.

(68) — Hic hæret lateri redimita *Voluptas*;
Hic comes, in requiem vergens *Labor*: est ubi *Baccho*,
Est ubi *Martigenæ* socium pulvinar *Amori*
Obiinet.—
Id. Theb. 10. 5. 104.

(69) — Interius testum, in penetrabilibus altis,
Et cum *Morte*, jacet: nullique ea tristes imago.
Id. Ib. 5. 105.

This *Mors*, should be of as gentle an appearance, as *Somnus* himself; like that Statius speaks of, in another part of his poems:

— Torpor iners, & *Mors* imitata *Quietem*.
Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. 5. 260.

This

ALL these fine images are in Statius's description (70) of the palace of Sleep; which is a very full one: and seems to be borrowed from one, which is yet fuller, in Ovid. Statius places it in the (71) unknown parts of Ethiopia: and Ovid in Italy, near the lake Avernus: possibly in the very place which is now shewn there, for the Descent into Hell. We learn, from Statius, that the attendants and guards before the gates of this palace, were (72) Rest, Ease, Indolence, Silence, and Oblivion; as the ministers or attendants within, are a vast multitude of dreams; in different shapes, and attitudes. Ovid teaches us who were the supposed governors over these; and what their particular districts or offices were. The three (73) chiefs of all, are Morpheus, Phobætor, and Phantasos: these inspire dreams into princes and great persons only: Morpheus, such as relate to men: Phobætor, such as relate to other animals; and Phantasos, such as relate to inanimate things. They have each their particular legions under them to inspire the sort of dreams, which belong to their province, into the common people and the vulgar of mankind. You see here a well-regulated allegory, on a very odd and diffused subject. The artists do not seem to go so deep into it, as the poets; and I do not know that I have ever met with a single figure in their works relating to these beings. The poets certainly speak, not only of the three Great Chiefs, but even of all the inferior populace of Dreams, in a personal manner. Tibullus reckons them among the (74) attendants of the chariot of Nox; and says they are black: and Statius describes them as sticking (75) against the columns, and walls, in the palace of Somnus; not unlike the bats, to which Homer (76) compares the spirits in Ades.

I HAVE not yet said anything of the second sort of inhabitants in this Previous region; and indeed have very little to say of them. They consist of the Terrors of the Fancy; and what the poets themselves always considered as mere creatures of the imagination. Even Death, and Sleep, and Dreams, they supposed to be realized; and worshipped them in the vulgar religion: but these they speak of as mere (77) fancies; existing no where

This sort of death is far from being dismal in reality, as well as in the representation of it; it being more like the continuation of sleep, than the finishing of life. Such was the death of Statius's father:—and such the death of the great father of poetry, in our days! Which, tho' easy and imperceptible to him, must still lay heavy on the hearts of all, who had the happiness of knowing him.

(70) See Statius's Theb. 10. *l.* 84, to 117; and Ovid's Met. 11. *l.* 592, to 645.

(71) Stat super occiduae nebulosa cubilia Noctis,
Æthiopsque alios, nulli penetrabilis astro
Lucis iners; subterque cavis grave rupibus antrum
It vacuum in montem: quâ desidis atria somni
Securumque larem segnis natura locavit.

Statius. Theb. 10. *l.* 88.
Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,
Mons cavis; ignari domus & penetralia Somni:
Quo nunquam radiis oriens mediæ cadente
Phæbus adire potest; nebulae caligine missæ
Exhalantur humo: dubiaque crepuscula lucis.

Ovid. Met. 11. *l.* 596.
Virgil's description of the Descent to hell near Avernus; (and in the very part, inhabited by the Cimmerians;) agrees in several particulars with this from Ovid.

Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatus,
Scrupa: tuta lacu nigro; nemorumque tenebris,—
Ibant obscuro, solâ sub nocte, per umbram.—
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
Est iter in sylvis.—

Æn. 6. *l.* 271.

(72) Limen opaca Quies, & pigra Oblivia servant;
Et nunquam vigili torpens Ignavia vultu;

Otia vestibulo, pressisque Silentia pennis
Mata sedent.—

Statius. Theb. 10. *l.* 92.

(73) Ovid's Met. 11. *l.* 633, to 645.

(74) — Nox jungit equos; currumque sequuntur
Matris lascivo sidera falva choro:
Postque venit tucitus, fulvis circumdatus alis,
Somnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.
Tibullus. Lib. 2. *l.* 1. *l.* ult.

(75) Assant innumero circum vaga Somnia vultu;
Noctis opaca cohors: trabibusque, aut postibus
herent.

Aut tellure jacent.— Statius. Theb. 10. *l.* 815.

The epithet of Vaga here, may help to explain that of Incerto, in Tibullus: they are described as wavering and uncertain in their motion; as all the beings relating to Time are, with the same propriety, said by the poets, to glide on in an even and silent motion.

(76) See Homer's Odyssey; B. 24. *l.* 9, &c.

(77) Ovid reckons them in the catalogue of things that he could never believe,

Sphyngeaque, & Harpyiæ, serpentipedesque Gigantas,
Centimanumque Gygen, semibovemque virum;
Hæc ego cuncta prius quàm te, carissime, credam
Mutatum curam deposuisse mei.

Trist. Lib. 4. *l.* 7. *l.* 20.

It is to this sort of fancies too, that what Balbus the Stoic says in Cicero's Treatise de Naturâ Deorum, seems to relate. Quis Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimæram putat? Quæve anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa quæ quondam credebantur apud Inferos portenta extimecat? Lib. 2. sub Init.

where out of the minds of men. I shall just point out to you some of these Portenta, (as Cicero calls them,) in the drawing before us; that we may have done with them, as fast as we can. You see here the Chimæra, with her mixt form (78), and breathing fire; as the poets describe her: two Centaurs, a male and a (79) female: the monster of Lerna, with its (80) snaky heads; and Geryon, with his (81) three human ones: Briareus, to whom the poets give a hundred arms: tho' the artist was obliged to retrench a great many from that number: Scylla, half fish, and half human: and one of the Harpies, half human, and half bird. These answer all that Virgil mentions (82) in his catalogue of monsters inhabiting this part of the infernal world; except the Gorgon: which may be very well supplied from (83) this little drawing.

We may now go on to the second division of the subterraneous world; the Hateful Passage into the kingdom of Ades; or, as they called it, the river Styx. One of the pictures in the old Vatican Virgil represents it as a torrent, pouring down a precipice: and then as rolling on, to take its course along the boundaries of Ades. Here you see the Ghosts waiting, on the hither side, in a croud (84); just as Virgil describes them: and there, a part of that region beyond the farther bank: the figures in which are the lefs to be minded, because this painting relates to the story of Orpheus's descent into hell; when his music caused such strange effects there, and put things (85) out of their common order.

Pl. XXXVII.
FIG. 1.

THE sole governor of this part, and director of the passage, Charon, does not make his appearance in this picture. His dominion lays down lower; where the river has recovered itself from the turbulence occasioned by its fall, and begins to grow navigable. In other remains of antiquity we see him, and his boat; both receiving passengers in, and landing them on the farther shore. Virgil describes him (86) as strong, and in all the vigour and firmness of old age; meanly clad: and with a large, rude beard, and matted grey hair; and his eyes, fixed and fiery. That poet's description of the roughness and furliness of this deity, agrees very well with the figures that we see of him. Charon's character was probably supposed to be rough, for the same reason that the passage he presided over was called the Hateful Passage.

Pl. XXXVII.
FIG. 2, & 3.

WITH

(78) Triformis Chimæra. ———

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 27. y. ult.
Prima, Leo; postrema, Draco; media, ipsa Chimæra.
Lucretius. 5. y. 903.
Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimæram
Sustinet, Ætæos efflantem faucibus ignes.
Virgil. Æn. 7. y. 786.

y. 202; and Horace, Ter amplius, Lib. 2. Od. 14.
y. 8. In the Vatican picture he is not well represented;
tho' it appears even there, that he has more bodies
than one.

(82) Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum;
Centauri in foribus stabulant. Scyllæque biformes,
Et centumgeminus Briareus, ac Bellus Lerne
Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma tricornis umbræ.
Virgil. Æn. 6. y. 289.

(83) See Pl. 41. Fig. 2.

(84) Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat:
Matres atque viri, &c. ———
Æn. 6. y. 306.

(79) Female Centaurs are not uncommon in the works of the ancient artists. Lucian describes a very fine picture of a whole family of Centaurs, done by the famous Zeuxis: in which the male was represented as returning home from the chase, with a lion's whelp; and the female, pressing one of her little ones to her breast, as frightened at it. Tom. I. p. 579. Ed. Blacu.

(80) There are but fix in the Vatican picture. Perhaps one of them is twisted behind so as not to appear: or the trunk they rise out of, might have been originally a female head; tho' so much defaced at present, that one cannot well determine how it was originally. See Dial. IX. Note 24.

(81) ——— Forma tricornis umbræ.
Virgil. Æn. 6. y. 289.

Geryon, in the relievo's relating to Hercules's labours, has generally three bodies, as well as three heads. Hence Virgil calls him, Tergeminus, Æn. 8.

(85) The figure of Ixion in particular, in that picture, is not at all in the place that belongs to him: and must be brought thither, either by the magick of Orpheus's lyre, or the mistake of the artist.

(86) Portitor has horrendus aquas & flumina fervat
Terribili qualore Charon: cui plurima mento
Canities incolta jacet; flant lumina flammæ;
Sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus.
Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat;
Et ferrugineâ subvectat corpora cymba:
Jam senior, sed cruda Deo virilisque senectus.
Æn. 6. y. 302.

Z z z

PL. XXXVIII.
FIG. 1.

WITH the farther bank of this river begins the third division, or Erebus; which is subdivided into several districts: the Limbo for infants; that for innocent sufferers; and the rest in the same order, that I mentioned to you before. In this drawing, from another picture in the Vatican Virgil, we have only the beginning of this third division. Here is Cerberus, as guarding the entrance to it; to prevent any one's coming in, that ought not to be admitted. Immediately behind him, are some of the infants; and just over him, is Minos: who directs each person that arrives, to the particular part of Ades in which he is to reside.

MINOS, you see, is sitting: which was one of the methods used by the statuary and painters of old (87) to characterise a judge. By him, stands the (88) urn; used antiently (89) in giving judgment. There is a line of spirits you see before him, who wait his sentence; to have their proper place allotted to them: and beyond him, is one who seems to have had his case determined; and to be going on to the place assigned him. He is met on his way, by another spirit; perhaps formerly acquainted with him: for he takes him by the hand, and seems to be giving him a friendly welcome, on his arrival to that unknown world.

STATIUS speaks of Minos and Æacus sitting in judgment, as assessors to Pluto, in his palace; situated (as I have observed already,) near that point, where all the three regions of Ades meet together. I do not take that palace to be the proper residence of Minos; but that he is meant to have been there only occasionally, and to assist in council. We find by what Statius says there (90), that the character of Minos was a good-natured character: much the same with that which Plato gives him in his Gorgias (91); where he makes him preside over what one may call, The Court of Equity of the other world.

JUST under Minos here, you see Cerberus: not only with three heads, but with three distinct necks too; as he is also described (92) by the Roman poets. Horace, as well

(87) Thus Paris is always represented sitting, when he is to determine the dispute between the three contending goddesses.

— Fatalis sedet
Inter potentes arbiter pastor Deas.
Agamemnon, *Æd.* 3. Chor. *Æ.* 731.
Nec si Dardaniâ pastor temerarius Idâ
Sedisset. —

Statius. *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 2. *Æ.* 44.

Where (by the way) sitting, is used for sitting in judgment: as we may know in some single statues of Paris, what the artist meant it for; only by his being in this posture.

(88) It is standing, or rather hung upright, which may be what Statius means, by

— Stat Gnosia judicis urna.
Theb. 11. *Æ.* 571.

(89) Nec verò hæc sine forte datum, sine judice sedes;
Quæstior Minos urnam movet. —

Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *Æ.* 432.
— Stat, ductis fortibus, urna.

Id. *Ib.* *Æ.* 22.
— Senatorum (eum) urna copiosè absolvit. Cic.
pro Q. Fratr. 2. 6.

Minos's urn had the knack of always turning out the right mark; or always telling the truth.

— Scit judicis urna
Dilecti; verumque potest dependere Minos.
Statius. *Theb.* 8. *Æ.* 103.

(90) Forte sedens mediâ regni infelicitis in arce

* Dux Erebi, populos poscebat crimina vitæ;
* Plato.

Nil hominum miserans, iratque omnibus Umbris.
Stant Furie circum, varisque ex ordine Mortes;
Sævaque multifonas exercet Pœna catenas:
Fata ferunt animas, & eodem pollice damnant;
Vincit opus. Juxta Minos, cum fratre verendo,
Jura bonus meliora monet; regemque cruentum
Temperat. —
† Æacus. Id. *Ibid.* *Æ.* 28.

(91) Εγώ μιν ὡς ταῦτα εὐχόμενος προέειπον ὑμῖν, (says Jupiter, to Pluto and the other governors of Elysium,) ἐταίρους μιν Διόσκουτος ἡμῶν ἐμὴν δὴ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Μινώ τε καὶ Ραδάμανθυον, εἰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἴακον. Οὗτοι μιν, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι δικαστοὶν ἐν τῷ λαίμῳ. ἐν τῇ τριῶν, ἐξ ἧς φερέται τὸ εἶναι ἢ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν τιάνην, ἢ δὲ εἰς Τάρταρον. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ραδάμανθυος κοῖται· τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, Αἴακος. Μινὼ δὲ πρὸς βίῳ δέστω· ἐπιδιόκλειεν, καὶ ἡ ἀποβολὴν τι τῷ εἶναι ἢ ἐκ δικαιοσύνης ἢ ἐκ κρίσεως, περὶ τῆς πέρας, τὰς ἀνθρώπων. Plato. *Vol.* I. p. 523. *Ed.* Seir.

(92) Cerberus hæc ingeni latratu regna trifauci
Perfonat; adverso recubans immanis in antro.
Cui vatis, horrere videns jam colla colabris,
Melle soporatum & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit: ille fame ravidâ tria guttura pendens
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi; totoque ingens extenditur antro.
Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *Æ.* 422.

— Nec uti villosa colabris
Terna Medusæ vincirem guttura monstri.
Ovid. *Met.* 10. *Æ.* 22. (of Orpheus.)

well as Virgil and Ovid, speaks (93) of his being encompassed with serpents, as he appears both in this drawing, and in the last that I shewed you; and it may be from these serpents that Ovid calls Cerberus, the Medusean, or snaky (94) beast. Horace gives him yet more terrors than we see here; and speaks of him once in particular, as having (95) a hundred heads: which is perhaps (96) double the number, that ever was assigned to him before his time.

THE antient poets seem to have delighted particularly in setting off the power of their own art, (which originally consisted in poetry and music united together,) by shewing that it was capable of taming even this hideous monster. In this drawing of Orpheus playing and singing to obtain his entrance into the kingdoms of Ades, Cerberus shews a snarling sort of satisfaction; and seems very angry, at finding himself so much pleased. Mercury won his (97) great passage, by the same means: as Hercules, (and perhaps Bacchus,) did by meer force. I have long wanted to meet with some good piece of antient painting of Hercules dragging Cerberus to the light. The Roman poets, as I have observed to you (98) on a former occasion,) describe this in a (99) very picturesque manner; and I doubt not there were some very fine paintings of it at Rome, in the Augustan age. This drawing of it is from a gem; where, (tho' his eyes are finely expressed,) they must lose a great deal of that dread and horror, which might have been added to them by colours.

P. XXXVII.
Fig. 2.

P. XXXVII.
Fig. 3.

I WISH too that there were more pictures, relating to this region of Ades in general, in the Vatican Manuscript. Numbers are lost out of it; and probably, several that belonged to this part. There are five distinct districts in Virgil's account of this region; and we have a picture to answer only one of them. Had they been better preserved, I doubt not but that we should have seen Dido, in the district of lovers, with that angry, averse air with which Virgil describes her; and several of the Grecian and Trojan warriors, in the last. But as these are wanting, we must leave this region: only I would willingly take notice of one thing first; which is this: That, I think, we ought not to regard the persons in this region, as criminals. The whole receptacle for departed souls is laid out by Virgil into three great or general divisions. Of these, Elysium is for the very good; and Tartarus, for the very bad. What then can Erebus be for, but the indifferent? Such as were not bad enough, to be flung into Tartarus; nor good enough to be admitted into Elysium. Accordingly the persons whom Virgil places in Erebus, are infants; innocent sufferers; such (100) suicides, as the Romans thought were excusable for what they did; unfortunate lovers; and common warriors; a profession which was one of the most virtuous, according to the chief idea of virtue among the Romans.

That

(93) *Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulae
Cerberus: quamvis furiale centum
Mulant angues caput ejus; atque
Spiritus reter, sanieque mauci,
Ore trilingui.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 11. 3. 20. (of Mercury's
great descent into Hell.)*

(99) *Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincta petivit
Ipsius a folio regis; traxitque tremement.
Virgil. Æn. 6. 3. 395.
Est via declivis, per quam Tyynthius heros,
Resistantem contraque diem radiosque micantes
Obliquantem oculos, nexis adamante catenis
Cerberon abduxit. Ovid. Met. 7. 3. 413.*

(94) See Note 92, anteh.

(95) *— Illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atra bellua centiceps
Aures; & intorti capillis
Lumenidam, recreantur angues.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. 3. 36. (of Sappho's poetry.)*

(96) Hefiod had given him fifty. *Θεογ. 312.*

(97) Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 11. 3. 1. to 24.

(98) Dial. IX. p. 120.

(100) Tho' the crime of suicide is always horrid, and what nature ought to start at: it is far from being equally horrid; and admits of a great many degrees of aggravation, or alleviation. There is a vast difference between a Cato's killing himself, when he thinks he can serve his country no longer; and a Nero's killing himself, only to avoid being made a public example for enslaving his country: in a Lucretia's putting an end to her life, because she has lost her honour; or in such a one as Messalina's hastening her end, by taking drugs only to inflame her the more, for a favourite vice.

That class of all these which to us would seem the most guilty, Virgil absolutely declares to be (101) innocent.

SUPPOSING them to be so according to his ideas, says Myfagetes, pray how comes he to place them in hell? That, answered Polymetis, is very easily accounted for. On the heathen scheme, he must place them there; and I think seems to have placed them in a very proper part of it. Ades, which we interpret, (not quite so exactly as we should do,) by our word hell, antiently signified the grave; or place of the dead in general. All therefore that die, must go to Ades. The very good, are in one part of it; as well as the very bad, in another: and the indifferent must be in some part or other, as well as the good and the bad. It is the common receptacle for all that are born in our world; and even the great heroes, who were supposed to go to heaven or to preside over stars, had their airy representation in Ades. As all mankind may be divided into three general classes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent; Ades is laid out by Virgil into three general divisions; Erebus, Tartarus, and Elysium. The indifferent he places neither in the clear light of Elysium, nor in the solid darkness of Tartarus; but in a twilight sort of world: of a melancholy air indeed, (for the general notion of death among the antients was sad and gloomy;) but not incapable of (102) some pleasure and consolation. In Erebus, (or this division for the indifferent,) Virgil places the infants, as not deserving death, first and nearest to the land of the living. Next to the infants, he places such as had been condemned to death without a cause. Then such suicides as he looked upon as least guilty; such as had the most reason for quitting the station, which the great leader had assigned them in the upper world. Then are those, whose lives were shortened either by love, or in war. These might very well not be criminals; they have not in general the appearance of being so: and as there are many warriors, as well as lovers, that fling away their lives without any great merit too, there will be enough of each to stock their particular districts in this region of the indifferents; where Virgil plunges them deeper and nearer the borders of Tartarus, than the little innocents and unjustly condemned persons we have been speaking of.

I SHALL only just add here, that Menippus's account of hell in Lucian, agrees very much with Virgil's; as to these three regions on the other side of Styx. He says, that as soon as he and his guide had passed that river; they went on, thro' a gloomy mead of Asphodil, to the tribunal of Minos:—that they went thence to the region of the tormented:—and thence, to the Elysian fields; from whence they mounted up to our world again. All his remarks indeed of what they saw in each of these regions are adapted by the author to his favourite turn for ridicule: but he agrees in the general disposition of the place, exactly with Virgil's account; and points out the same three regions, and in the same order (103); the first, for judgment; the second, for punishment; and the third, for rewards. The same author, in another part of his works (104), makes the same distinction of good, bad, and indifferent; for the inhabitants of these three

(101) Qui sibi lethum

Infantes peperere manu.

Æn. 6. Ƴ. 435.

(102) Illa solo fixos oculos averſa tenebat:—

Tandem corripuit ſeſe, atque inimica reſugit

In nemus umbriferum; conſox ubi prillinus illi

Reſpondet curis, æquatque Sicheus Amorem.

Virgil. Æn. 6. Ƴ. 474. (of Dido; in Erebus.)

(103) Ομοίως· νυν ο βαλτιπός Χαρων ως εἶδε τὴν λείονην, ἀπείκει μὲν τὴν Ἡρακλείαν εἶναι, ἐπιδείξοντά μιν καὶ διεπύρεθ' ἑκαστὸν τῶν στυγίων· καὶ ἀποδίδει δίκην ὡς αὐτὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἐπει δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ σκίῳ, προσηύκει οὐ Μιδροδωρεῖαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐγὼ κατέπιν' ἐχόμενος αὐτῇ· εὐς πρὸς λειμῶνα μισγίον ἀφικόμεθα, τῷ ἀσφοδύλῳ καθ' αὐτὸν.—Καὶ ὅτε ἐλθόντες δὲ προίοντες, παρεγόμεθα πρὸς τὸν Μῖνον δι-

κρίνον.— Ἀτίσαντες τε Φαλαργίαν, πρὸς τὴν κολά-
σινον ἀφικόμεθα.— Διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τῆτις, (Ταν-
ταλὸς, Σίσιφος, & Ἰξίων, ἃς τὴν πιδίον ἐσκαλλόμεν τὸ
Ἀχέρουσιον· εἰρησόμενον τε αὐτῇ διὰ τῆς νηίδος, καὶ τῆς
πρῶτης. Lucian's Νεκρομαχίαι. Tom. I. p. 332, &c.
Ed. Blau.

(104) Τὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν τῶν αἰδῶν, καὶ δικαίαν, καὶ
καλὴν ἀρίστην βεβιωκυῖαν, πέμπουσιν εἰς τὸν Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον·
— ἀν δὲ τινὰς τῶν πονηρῶν λαβῶσι, ταῖς ἑστυαῖς παρο-
δοῦντες εἰς τοὺς τῶν ἀσφύλων γὰρ ἐκαμπύσι.— Οἱ δὲ τῶν
μισῶν οἱ, πολλοὶ οὗτοι ἐντὶ, ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι πλανῶνται·
αὐτοὶ τῶν σαρκῶν σκίαι γινόμενοι, καὶ ὑποτὶ τῇ ἀν' ἡμᾶς
πρὸς κατὰς ἀφαιρίζονται· τρέφονται δὲ οὗς τῆς σαρ-
κὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν γινόμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Id. Tom. II. p. 301, & 302.

three regions : and he places the good, in Elyfium ; the bad, in Tartarus ; and the indifferent, (which he fays are very numerous,) in the wide plains of Erebus.

BUT it is time now to go on to the fourth general divifion ; or Tartarus. I have faid before, that the different diftricts of Erebus feem to lay one after another, in a ftrait line : at the end of it, the road, which leads thro' all thefe diftricts, branches into two : one, to the right hand ; and the other, to the left. The former goes to Elyfium ; and the latter to Tartarus, or the region of torments. I do not know whether it may be worth while to obferve to you, that this manner of difpofing the way thro' the three feveral divifions of Ades, may poffibly have fome reference to that famous Pythagoric emblem, which marked out the whole courfe of a man's life by the figure of a fingle letter (105) in the Greek alphabet. If this was not originally the defign of it, it will at leaft answer pretty exactly : but I mention this only by the way. Virgil does not make his hero enter into this horrid region, on the left hand : it was too terrible, and too bad, for a good man (106) even to fet his foot in it. He only fees the entrance to it, at fome diftance (107). According to Virgil, it begins with a city, encompassed with a river of fire ; and guarded by one of the chiefs of the Furies. This is all that Æneas fees of it ; and all that appears in the drawing I have in my hand. The Sibyl gives him an account of the reft : that Rhadamanthus had his refidence in this city ; and that there were much more terrible (108) monfters in it, than thofe he had feen in the Previous Region ; that it ended in a vaft gulph or abyfs (109), twice as far below the earth, as the heavens are above it ; and that there, the wicked were tormented.

Pl. XXXIX.
FIG. 1.

THE miferable inhabitants of this horrid region, are chiefly of two forts. The fouls of fuch as are tormented : and thofe infernal deities, the Furies : who attend there either to inflict, or aggravate, their torments.

THE defcriptions of Furies are much more commonly to be met with in the works of the Roman poets, than their figures are in the remains of the antient artifts : and any painter now, that fhould be inclined to employ himfelf on fo terrible a fubject, might get more helps from the former than the latter. The poets fpeak of (110) great numbers of Furies ; and indeed in their fcheme a great number of them was neceffary : not only for this region, where there were fo many criminals to be tormented by them ; but for other parts (111) of Orcus, as well as this : befide which they fupposed many of them wandering over the earth to tempt, or punifh the wicked here ; and fpeak of them fometimes (112) even as attending on Jupiter in heaven itfelf. Thefe goddeffes ——— Goddeffes, do you call them ? fays Myfagetes. — Yes, answered Polymetis : the Romans

(105) The antient Upsilon.

(106) Nulli fas caftro fcleratum infiftere limen.
Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 563.

(107) Refpicit Æneas fabitò, & fub rupe finiftrâ
Mœnia lata videt triplici circumdata muro ;
Quæ rapidis flammis ambit torrentibus, amnis
Tartareus, Phlegethon ; torquetque fonantia faxa.
Porta adverfa ingens, folidoque adamante colum-
næ : —
Tifiphoneque fedens, pallâ fuccincta cruentâ,
Vellibulum exfomis fervat noctefque diefque.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, & fava fonare
Verbera ; &c. ———
Id. Ibid. §. 558.

(108) In the Previous Region they had feen, among the other monfters, the Hydra of Lerna with its feven heads : but here ;
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
Sævior intus habet fedem. ———
Id. Ibid. §. 577.

(109) — Tum Tartarus ipfe
Bis patet in præceps tantum cenditque fub umbras,
Quantus ad ætherium cœli fufpectus Olympum.
Hic genus antiquum Terræ, &c.
Id. Ibid. §. 580.

(110) — Agmina fava fororum.
Id. Ibid. §. 571.

(111) Virgil fpeaks of apartments for Furies, in the Previous Region :
Ferreique Eumenidam thalami. ———
Id. Ibid. §. 280.
And Statius fpeaks of them as ftanding round Pluto's throne ; in Elyfium. See Note 116, poft.

(112) — Trifefque ex æthere Diræ.
Virgil. Æn. 8. §. 701.
Hæ Jovis ad folium, favique in limine Regis,
Apparent : acunteque metum mortalibus ægis ;
Si quando letum horridum morbofque Deum Rex
Molitur, meritis aut bello terreat urbes.
Id. Ib. 12. §. 852.

Romans (113) looked upon them as such : and I do not pretend to enquire into the propriety of their theology, but only to give it you just as I find it. These goddesses therefore, (if you will yet allow me to call them by the titles which were given them of old,) were looked upon by the Romans, as the dispensers of (114) the divine vengeance; the punishers of wicked actions, both here (115), and hereafter (116) : and the inflictors (117) of terrors, wars, and pestilence.

Two Furies are very uncommon in the works of the antient artists, yet there is one subject in which they are generally introduced by them. What I mean is the death of Meleager; in the relievos of which they are often represented, as encouraging, or urging Althæa, to burn the fatal brand; on which the life of her only son depended. Even a woman's resentment you see could not go so far, without a little help of the devil. In a copy of one of these relievos, published in the Admiranda, there are two women standing by the altar with Althæa; who are probably meant for Furies in the original; (for who but Furies would assist at such a sacrifice?) tho' the copy scarce represents them horrid enough for that character: but what is most to be observed in that piece is a round, or medallion, about the midst of it, with the evident head (118) of a Fury upon it. This might be what Althæa addressed her prayers to, whenever she wished ill to her neighbours; or whenever she was going to do any very evil action. Ovid introduces her as invoking the Furies on this occasion, in particular (119); and makes her give more than one reason, for her doing so.

As the poets, in their disposing and peopling the subterraneous world, seem to have been particularly fond of flinging things, in general, into (120) Triads; so they have not failed to make three chiefs, over all the other Furies. These are Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megæra. They were supposed to exceed all the rest in cruelty, and malice, and the power of doing mischief: and are called, by way of eminence, The Furies; and sometimes, the (121) Diræ; a name peculiar to these three. They were all three sisters; and born at one birth, of the goddess of Night.

THE

(113) *Protinus hinc fuscis tristis Dea tollitur alis.*
Virgil. *Æn.* 7. *l.* 409. (of Alecto.)

Cotta, in Cicero's Dialogues of the Nature of the Gods, speaks of a temple dedicated to the Furies at Athens; and looks on the *Lucus Furinæ* among the Romans as sacred to the same. Lib. 3. p. 69. Ed. Ald.

Furiæ Deæ sunt; & speculatrices credo, & vindices, facinorum & sceleris. Id. Ibid.

There is the beginning of a prayer to one of these goddesses, preserved among the fragments of Lucilius:

Tisiphone, te pulmonibus adirem! Unguentum excoctum attuli Eumenidibus! Sanctissima Erinnyes! —
Lucilius, Sat. Lib. 4.

They were worshipped at Athens under the name of the *Σεπαι* at *Θεαι*. Lucian. Tom. II. p. 215. Ed. Blacut.

(114) See Note 112, anteh.

(115) As in the known stories of Pentheus, Œdipus, and Orestes, &c. Hence it may be too, that Prometheus, (when chained down against mount Caucasus and tortured there,) calls that place of his punishment, "the Encampment of the Furies."

— *Castrum hoc Furiarum incolo.*

Aëlius, in Prom.

(116) Statius calls them, "The Ministers of Pluto's cruelty."

*Ipsum * pallentem folio, circumque ministras*
Funeorum operum Eumenides; Stygizque severos
Junonis thalamos & mœsta cubilia cerno.

* Plato. Theb. 4. *l.* 527.

(117) See note 112, anteh.

(118) See Pl. 41. Fig. 3.

(119) *Utque manu dirâ lignum fatale tenebat;*
Ante Sepulchrales infelix addidit aras:
Pœnarumque Deæ triplices, furialibus (inquit)
Eumenides facris vultus advertite vestros!
Ulciscor, facioque nefas.

Ovid. Met. Lib. 8. *l.* 483.

(120) The kingdom of Ades itself is divided into three regions, Erebus, Tartarus, and Elysiûm; and governed under three judges, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus: not to speak of the three rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, and Phlegethon; and other less particulars of the same kind.

(121) *Dicuntur geminæ pestes cognomine, Diræ;*
Quas & Tartaream Nox intempesta Megæram
Uno eodemque tulit partu: paribusque revinxit
Serpentum spiras, ventosæque addidit alas.

Virgil. *Æn.* 12. *l.* 848.

THE Furies are described by the poets, as of a vast (122) size; and very (123) terrible to behold. Their look was very much like that, which might make any unfortunate woman pass for a witch, in any of our country-villages at present. They are old (124), squalid (125), and meagre (126): their cheeks pale (127); and sometimes with a sort of feverish (128) flush on them. The poets give them a dark robe (129), such as was worn usually at funerals,) bound round them (130) with a serpent; and vipers (131) about their heads. They sometimes too hold vipers in their hands (132); and sometimes common whips, or torches: all, as instruments of punishment. The poets generally speak of them as tormenting the wicked for their crimes, or precipitating them into mischief: and, (on some particular occasions,) as attending (133) on the throne of Jupiter; as standing round the throne of Pluto (134), in his great council-hall: and as waiting (135) at the gates of Tartarus; as you see Tisiphone is represented, in the drawing before us.

THE vipers about the head of Tisiphone are represented two different ways, by the poets: sometimes as loose (136) serpents, intermixed with her hair; and sometimes as serpents growing (137) from her head instead of hair, in the same manner that you see them in this drawing. As she is one of the chief of all the infernal executioners, the poets describe her robe either dropping (138) with fresh blood, or (139) stiff with human gore. This is fastened round her with a serpent (140) instead of a girdle; as she has sometimes vipers (141) twisted round her arms, instead of bracelets. They give her sometimes

a torch

(122) ——— Ingens urbem cingebat Erinny,
Excitans pronam flagranti vertice pinum
Stridentemq; comas. ———
Lucan. 1. *℥*. 574.

(123) ——— Taleque metas non Martia castis,
Eumenidumq; comæ, non triftis ab æthere Gorgon,
Sparferit. ———
Valerius Flaccus, 3. *℥*. 54.
——— Qualem jussu Junonis iniquæ
Horruit Alcides, viso jam Dite, Megæram.
Lucan. 1. *℥*. 577.

(124) Tisiphone canos ut erat turbata capillos
Movit, & obstantes rejectit ab ore colubras.
Ovid. Met. 4. *℥*. 474.

(125) Crinem solutis squalidæ serpentibus.
Medea, Act. 1. Sc. 1. *℥*. 14.
Infant forores squalidæ. ———
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. *℥*. 759.

(126) ——— Vestis atrî faneris exesa cingit illa
Ibid. *℥*. 764.

(127) Savit & in locum, Stygiis emissa tenebris,
Pallida Tisiphone. ———
Virgil. Georg. 3. *℥*. 553.

(128) ——— Ardentque pallentes genæ.
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. *℥*. 762.

(129) See Note 126, anteh.

(130) See Note 121, anteh. and 140, posth.

(131) ——— Cæruleos implexæ crinibus angues
Eumenides. ———
Virgil. G. 4. *℥*. 483.
——— Intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. *℥*. 36.

(132) Stipite te Stygio, tumidifque afflavit echidnis,
E tribus una foror. ———
Ovid. Met. 10. *℥*. 314.
——— Sanguinea jactant verbera :
Fert lava femiuitas faces. ———
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. *℥*. 761.

When Orestes sees his mother as an avenging Fury,
he sees her holding torches and serpents :
Armata facibus matrem, & serpentibus atris.
Virgil. Æn. 4. *℥*. 482.

(133) See Note 112, anteh.

(134) See Note 116, anteh.

(135) Quasque serunt torto vitatis angue capillis
Carceris obscuras ante federe fores.
Ovid. Ibis. *℥*. 78.
——— Cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedet; facies quæ limina fervet.
Virgil. Æn. 6. *℥*. 575. (of Tisiphone, sitting
before the gates of Tartarus.)

(136) ——— Inamenam forte sedebat
Cocytus juxta : resolutaque vertice crines
Lambere sulphureas permiserat anguis undas.
Statius. Theb. 1. *℥*. 91. (of Tisiphone.)

(137) Cæsariem excussit. Motu sonuere colubræ :
Parsque jacens humeris, pars circum tempora lapsæ,
Sibila dant; saniesque vomunt, linguaque co-
ruscant !
Inde duos mediis abruptit crinibus angues,
Pestiferâque manu raptos immisit. ———
Ovid. Met. 4. *℥*. 495. (of the same.)

(138) ——— Tisphonæ madefactam sanguine sumit
Importuna facem; fluídoque cruore rubentem
Induit pallam, tortoque incingitur angue;
Egrediturque domo. ———
Id. Ibid. *℥*. 483.

(139) ——— Riget horrida tergo
Pala. ———
Statius. Theb. 1. *℥*. 111.

(140) ——— Cærulej redeunt in pectora nodi.
——— Ad insaniam magni
Regna redit Ditis; sumuntque recingitur anguem.
Ovid. Met. 4. *℥*. 510.

(141) Oblitit infelix, aditumque obfedit Erinny;
Nexaque vipereis distendens brachia nodis, &c.
Ovid. Met. 4. *℥*. 490.

a torch in her hand (143) fresh from the torture, and still wet with blood; sometimes, a torch in one hand (143) and a serpent in the other; and sometimes, serpents (144) in both. Here you see her shaking her horrid head of hair (145), to rouse up all the vipers about it; and there, running on impetuously (146), with the air of a Bacchanal, to incite men to deeds of blood and fury. Here (147), urging on the torments of the condemned; and there, whirling her torch (148), and exulting in the mischiefs she has done. Here, she is represented as a growing figure; and there, as setting out, in state (149), with all her horrid attendants in her train.

I do not yet rightly conceive what it is you mean by a growing figure, says Philander. They are very uncommon, and not very easy to be conceived, replied Polymetis. There are but three of them, that I can recollect at present: those are all described by Virgil; and are, perhaps, some of the strongest instances of that poet's imagination, of any thing in all his works. One of them is in his description of Fame; and the other two, relate both to Furies. In his description of Fame, he speaks of that goddess as appearing small to you at first; but as growing upon you continually, till her head reaches the clouds. He represents Tisiphone (150) much in the same manner: terrible indeed, when she first appears on the earth; but growing every day larger, and more and more terrible. This is where he introduces this Fury as bringing a pestilence upon the earth: which gives it a great deal of propriety, from the allegory and the reality's answering so well to each other. The third instance is in his account of Alecto's appearance to Turnus; where he says, that her face grew still larger and larger, as he looked upon it; as I have had occasion to observe to you, once or twice before.

I SHALL mention but one description more in relation to Tisiphone: and that is almost the only one that I was ever glad to read of her; because she is the sufferer in it. It is in a story, perhaps half Greek and half Egyptian, which is preserved to us by Valerius Flaccus. Io, (as that poet says,) after the death of Argus, was restored to her human shape by Jupiter. In the height of her joy for the recovery of all her former beauties, as she went along exulting and triumphing in her mind, she was met on a sudden by Tisiphone; who was sent by Juno to renew her sufferings. Io was so astonished at the sight of this Fury, that she turned into a Cow again; but a much less handsome one, it seems, than she had been before. In this her second state of brutality, she wandered for some time: unhappy, and unknown to her friends; even on the banks of Inachus. She therefore left those parts, which only increased her affliction; and betook herself toward the sea-coast. Where, as she was moving along one day, full of melancholy thoughts and not minding where she trod, she made a false step and fell into the sea. The sea received her safe; and carried her for Egypt. Tisiphone, (who was constantly watching all her motions,) on seeing her make toward Egypt, flew over the sea; and got before her to Memphis: where she stood on the shore to prevent her landing. On Io's arrival toward the shore, the deity of the Nile saw and pitied her distress; and hastened

(142) See Note 138, antech.

(143) Tum geminas quatit illa manus: hæc igne rogali
Fulgarat; hæc vivo manus ætra verberat hydro.
Statius. Theb. 1. 7. 113.

(144) It geminum excutiens anguem.—

Id. Ib. 7. 7. 466.

(145) See Note 137, antech.

(146) — Bacchatur utrisque
Tisiphone castris.—
Statius. Theb. 7. 7. 467.

(147) — Sontes ultrix armata flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans; corvosque sinistra

Intentans angues, vocat agmina fæva fororum.

Virgil. Æn. 6. 7. 571.

(148) Tum face jactatâ per eundem sæpius orbem,
Consequitur motos velociter ignibus ignes:
Sic victrix, jussique potens, ad inania magni
Regna redit Diis.—

Ovid. Met. 4. 7. 510.

(149) — Luctus comitantur euntem
Et Pavor, & Terror, trepidoque Infamia vultu.
Id. Ibid. 7. 484.

(150) Sævix & in locem, Stygiis emissâ tenebris,
Pallida Tisiphone: morbos agit ante, metumque;
Inque dies avidum furgens caput altius effert.
Virgil. Georg. 3. 7. 554.

The other two instances are in his Æn. Lib. 4.
7. 175; and Lib. 7. 7. 448.

hastened to her assistance. He engaged the Fury; and drove her back to hell. *Iö*, thus delivered from her tormentor, landed at last on the Egyptian coast; where, by the will of *Jove*, she was made one of the principal divinities of that country. This engagement between *Nilus* and *Tisiphone* I should be mighty glad to meet with in any old painting, or relief: the subject being as great a one for either, as the story is uncommon. *Flaccus* says, that (151) the Fury's torches lay scattered in one place, and her avenging scourge in another; that several of her vipers were torn from her head; and that she herself was pressed down into the sand-bank, on the sea-shore: whence she sunk to hell, defeated and wounded; and calling in vain on the infernal deities for assistance. This you will say is a very ridiculous legend! Heaven knows, what mysterious traditions may be wrapped up under it: but it was certainly a very remarkable story, in the earlier ages of the world; for (as *Flaccus* assures us,) it was from this very affair, that those seas acquir'd one of their most celebrated names of old; and which it is still known by (152), to this very day.

Thus much for *Tisiphone*. Her sister *Alecto*, (who seems to have been (153) yet more terrible than herself,) is described, in much the same manner in general. She has vipers about her (154) head; and about (155) her very wings; and is armed (156) with vipers, scourges, and torches: as we learn from that fine description of this Fury in *Virgil*, where he makes her begin the war between the followers of *Æneas*, and the old inhabitants of *Latium*.

As this is one of the noblest parts in all *Virgil's* works, and perhaps the finest description of a Fury that ever was wrote, I shall beg leave to consider every part of it in order. *Juno*, (willing to destroy the good understanding that was like to be established between the *Trojans* and *Latians*,) raises *Alecto* from (157) *Tartarus*: who, as soon as she had received her orders, flies immediately to the queen of *Latium*, and darts one of her serpents into her bosom, the terrible effects of which are admirably described by *Virgil*. It first (158) occasions melancholy, and complaints, in her; then rage; and at last open acts of violence. From the queen, *Alecto* flies to *Turnus*; at *Ardea*. It was then about midnight: and the Fury appears to him in his sleep, under the form of the priestess that presided over the temple of *Juno*, in that city. She makes a speech to him, as such, to stir him up to raise troops against *Æneas* and his allies; and says she was commanded by the goddess whom he served, to admonish him of his duty. *Turnus* at first treats her as an impertinent woman, and a false prophetess. On which she is instantly enraged; quits the shape she had put on; and re-assumes her own, with all its terrors about it (159).

Her

(151) *Contra Nilus adeit; & toto gurgite torrens
Tisiphonem agit, atque imis illidit arenis,
Ditis opem ac sævi clamantem numina regni:
Apparent sparæque faces; disjectæque longè
Verbera: & abruptis excussit crinibus hydri.*
Valerius Flaccus, 4. 5. 413.

(152) The Thracian Bosphorus, or Bosporus.

(153) *Odit & ipse pater Platon; odere sorores
Tartareæ monitum: tot sese vertit in ora,
Tam sævæ facies, tot pullulat atra colebris!*
Virgil. Æn. 7. 5. 329.

(154) — Geminis crexit criabibus hydros.
Virgil. Æn. 7. 5. 450.

(155) *Illa autem attollit fridentem anguibus alas.*
Id. Ibid. 5. 561.

(156) *Hæc Dea cæruleis unum de crinibus anguem
Conjicit.* — *Ib. Ibid. 5. 347.*
Verberaque infonuit. — *Id. Ib. 5. 451.*

Facem juveni conjecit. —

Ib. 5. 456.

(157) *Luctificam Alecto Dirarum ab fæde fororum,
Inferniq; ciet tenebris.* —
Virgil. Æn. 7. 5. 325.

(158) *Ac dum prima lues udo sublapfa veneno
Pertentat sensus atque offibus implicat ignem,
Necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam;
Mollius & solito matrum de more locuta est,
Multa super natâ lacrymans.* —

Id. Ibid. 5. 358.

*Tum verò infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,
Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.*

Ibid. 5. 377.

*Quin etiam in sylvas simulato numine Bacchi,
Majus adorta nefas majoremque orsa furorem,
Evolat; & natam frondosis montibus abdit;
Quo thalamum eripiat Teucris, tædæque moretur.*

Ibid. 5. 388.

(159) *Talibus Alecto didis exarsit in iras:
At juveni oianti subitus tremor occupat artus,
Diriguere.*

Her face grew larger, and larger, every instant; her eye-balls, from the languid look they had before, became like flames of fire; and her snakes rose about her head, in all their fury. She then speaks to him, in her own character, and in very few words, "to bid him observe who she is; the dispenser of wars and destruction:" and concludes with darting her burning torch against his breast. He starts, with the fright, out of his sleep; calls aloud for his arms; excites his people; and breathes nothing but slaughter and revenge. Alecto flies from him towards a party of Æneas's soldiers; occasions a quarrel between them, and some of the natives of Latium; and when she sees them sufficiently provoked on each side, she herself sounds the onset, for their fighting. On this occasion she seems to have snatched up one of the horns, which the countrymen use to direct their cattle; for I do not know any other passage in all the Roman poets that ever speaks of a horn as one of her attributes. But whoever the instrument belonged to, the voice and sound was her own: it was a true infernal blast (160); that made the woods tremble, and was heard with horror, for a vast compass round about. As she sees the war is begun, she flies from thence to heaven; tells Juno, that her commands are obeyed; and wants (161) to do more mischief. Juno says, it is enough; and bids her return to Tartarus. On which she immediately flies down toward the earth again: and plunges herself into a horrid sulphureous lake (162), in the eastern parts of Italy; which was formerly

Dirigere oculi; tot Erinys sibilat hydris!
Tantaque se facies aperit! Tum flammea torquens
Lumina, cunctantem & querentem dicere plura
Reppulit; & geminos erexit crinibus angues,
Verberaque insonuit: rabidoque hæc addidit ore.
Ibid. §. 451.

(160) At fœva e speculis tempus Dea nacta nocendi,
Ardua testâ petit stabulit de culmine summo
Pastorale canit signum; cornuque recurvo
Tartarcam intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
Contremuit nemus; & sylvæ intonuerunt profundæ.
Audiit & Trivie longe lacus; audiit amnis
Sulfuræ Nar albus aquâ, fontisque Velini;
Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos,
Ibid. §. 518.

(161) Hec etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa voluntas;
Finitimas in bella feram ramoribus urbes,
Accendamque animos infanti Martis amore;
Undique ut auxilio veniant, spargam arma per
agros.
Ibid. §. 551.

(162) Est locus Italiæ medio, sub montibus altis,
Nobilis & famâ multis memoratus in oris;
Amfancti valles. Densâ hunc frondibus atram
Urget utrimque latus nemoris; medioque fragor
Dat sonitum faxi & torto * vertice torrens.
Hic specus horrendum, & fœvi spiracula Ditis,
Monstratur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces. Quæ condita Erinys,
Lavifam numen, terras cælumque levabat.

* So the famous Flor. MSS. Ibid. §. 571.

Virgil says expressly that this descent of Alecto to Hell, was in the vale of Amfanctus. Amfanctus is placed, both by the antients and moderns, in the kingdom of Naples; between Trevicum and Acherontia. There was antiently a temple built to Mephitæ here; as the deity who presided over noisome and pestilential smells. Hence the place is to this day called, Nefanto, and Mustito.

Virgil says, it was under the mountains in the midst of Italy:—that it was inclosed with woods, on each side:—that there were hollows and several spiracula about it:—and that the waters burst up into the air; and then fall down again, in a broken manner, for so I think one ought to understand his

torto vertice torrens, and——rupto Acheronte vorago.

Both the spiracula, and this broken spout of water falling in upon itself, are described by another poet, of the greatest credit for the times he lived in; which was about 400 years after Virgil.

Tunc & pestiferi pacatum flumen Averni
Innocue, transitis, aves! Flatumque repressit
Amfanctus; tacuit, fixo torrente, vorago.

Claudian, de Rapt. Prof. 2. §. 350.

Virgil alludes to the pestilential stench there, in the word pestiferas. The words Amfanctus, and Mephitæ, were used for a stench by the Roman writers; and the smells in this place were looked upon antiently, as mortal. —Taceo, quod alarum specubus hircosis atque ascendentibus latera captiva vallatus, nares circumfidentium ventilatâ duplicis Amfancti peste fœnebat. Sidonius Apollinaris, Lib. 3. Ep. 13. —Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim. Virgil, Æn. 7. §. 84. —Spiracula vocant; item in Hirpinis, Amfancti ad Mephitæ ædem locum; quem qui intrant, moriuntur. Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 93.

The place which is now called Nefanto, (as supposed by corruption from Amfanctus; see Leon. Alberti f. 101.) is in a dark vale, near Treviso; inclosed on each side by hills, and gloomy woods. In the midst are two or three filthy holes; in one of which the water bursts up to the height of three or four feet, (sometimes more, and sometimes less,) and then falls in again upon itself. It smells horribly: the earth being all impregnated with sulphur. There are several vents of wind in the sides of the hills near this odious basin: which you find to come out with a good deal of force, if you hold your hand to the vent; and they make more noise than a smith's bellows. A particular friend of mine, who has been there, says he found out the place by the noise. The water, in the holes above mentioned, is generally of a black look; and is still so much regarded as infectious, that the country-people do not much care to go with you to it. I know not whether it may be worth mentioning, that they have still stories and pictures in those parts, of a faint driving the devil, (who had been very troublesome, it seems, in the country,) back again to hell; thorough one of these holes.

merly always looked on, (by the common people at least,) as a vent of the river Acheron: the very river, which was supposed to surround the city of Rhadamanthus, in the region of Tartarus; and so must lead Alecto, directly, to her usual place of abode.

THE last of these three horrid sisters, called by the particular name of Diræ as executioners of the divine vengeance, is Megæra. She has serpents on her head (163), and two distinguished ones over her forehead, as her sisters have; and is represented, like them (164), with torches. The Roman poets speak much less of her than of the others: and I know of but one description of her that would make a good picture, in all their works. That is in Virgil too, where he is speaking of the punishment of the Lapithæ: who were said to be always placed round a table very richly and plentifully set out: with a loose piece of rock hanging over their heads, as just ready to fall; and (165) this Fury attending close by, to watch and menace them, the moment they endeavour to taste any one of the tempting things set before them.

SUCH are the chiefs of the many executioners supposed to be employed in the great abyss of Tartarus. As to the persons tormented there, Virgil seems to have distinguished them into two general classes: the first, of such as have been ungrateful or impious (166) toward the gods; and the second, of such as have been mischievous and hurtful (167) among men.

THE most impious of the former class of criminals, were the rebel giants. The poets frequently speak of their attempt to scale heaven, and of their battle with the great Celestial

No one piece of ground now can I think answer to an antient description more punctually and exactly than this does to Virgil's account of Amfancus. I know but of one objection that can be made to it, which is from Virgil's saying that it is situated—*Italiæ medio*. Nefanto, you may say, is very far from being in the midst of Italy: and tho' the other circumstances of the place all tally so well; yet its failing in one point, and that so material and unchangeable an one, must destroy the whole. This objection would be very strong, if no place could be said to be in the midst of Italy, except what was so, taking it in length: but may not a place be said to be in the middle of Italy, taking the country in breadth, as well as in length? I do not know whether that expression would be so proper now; but antiently they said the Apennines lay in the middle of Italy, which must be understood of the breadth:

*Umbrosi mediâ quâ collibus Apenninus
Erigit Italiam.* —

Lucan. Lib. 2. v. 397.

And Dionysius in his geography, says that this mountain lays as exactly in the midst of Italy, as if it had been directed by a line:

*Μεση δ' ἀμφέβαν παρατεταμένη Λυσάνης αἰα
Πλούτωνος· τὴν μὲν δὲ μέσην οὐκ ἀνδρὶ χαίρει
Οὐδὲν, αἳ ἐκ σπιδμῆς ἰδυμένων· ἐκ αὐτοῦ
Ἰδρὶς μορμασσοῦ οὐκ ὑποτρύγει Ἀδύνης
Ὅν παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλινούσιν Ἀπέννινον.* —

Περικλ. v. 338.

Now Nefanto, (or the vale of Amfancus,) does not only lay among the Apennines; but is situated too, at near an equal distance from the Mare Superum, and the Mare Inferum; and so may the more strictly be said, to be in the midst of Italy: *Italiæ medio, sub montibus altis*.

If there is any thing in this long note, which may give any new or stronger lights to this noted passage in the *Æneid*; I am obliged for it to a very particular

friend of mine; a gentleman * of our own country: who has travelled often into Italy, and who, (I believe,) is much better acquainted with it as classic ground, than any man now living. He had the opportunity, in one of his voyages, to go to Nefanto: and it is from him that I have given the above account of the appearance, which that place makes at present.

* The late Mr. Holdsworth; author of the *Muscipula*, the dissertation on the two *Philippi's*, &c.

(163) *Quænam ista, torquens angue vipereo comam,
Temporibus atras squalidis pinnas quatit?
Quid me flagrantî dira persequeris face,
Megæra!* — *Herc. Oët. Act. 3. Sc. 2.*

(164) *Et geminas faces Megæra quatens,
Thyelles, Aët. 2. Sc. 1.*

(165) *Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?
Quos super atra flix, jam jam lapsura, cadentique
Imminet assimilis. Lucent genialibus altis
Aurea sulcra toris; epulaeque ante ora, paratæ
Regisq; luxu. Furiarum maxima juxta
Accubat, & manibus prohibet contingere mensas:
Exurgitque, facem atollens; atque intonat ore.*
Virgil. Æn. 6. v. 607.

It appears from Statius, that this Fury, (whom Virgil does not name,) was Megæra.

— *Ultrix tibi torva Megæra*

*Jejunum Phlegyam, subter cava laxa jacentem,
Æterno premit accubito; dapibulque profanis
Inflummat: sed mista famem fastidia vincunt.*

Theb. 1. v. 715.

Virgil on this occasion calls her, *Furiarum maxima*; which may signify either a chief, or the chief, of the Furies: but considering her sisters characters, (who are, at least, her equals,) I think it should be taken in the former sense here.

(166) See *Æn. 6. v. 580, to 607.*

(167) See *Ibid. v. 608, to 614.*

Celestial Deities. The gods did not conquer them so easily as might be expected; or some poets, at least, (as is (168) insinuated by Ovid,) have described that affair as attended with more difficulty than they ought to have done: however, at last, they got a total victory; and cast the rebels down to Tartarus: where they were to receive the full punishment of their enormous crime. The poets, in speaking of these monsters, say that they had (169) snakes instead of legs. How that could be is not so easily conceived without the assistance of the works of the ancient artists; in which they are often represented going off at the thighs into two vast serpents; as you see one of them does (170), in this drawing.

TYPHOEUS seems to be distinguished by the poets, as one of the chief leaders in this attempt for the sovereignty of heaven. Horace mentions him first (171) in his account of the battle: and gives us the names of four more of them; Mimas, Porphyryon, Rhæcus, and Enceladus. Virgil adds (172) Cæus and Iapetus, to this class of daring monsters; and (173) Ægeon; and the (174) two sons of Aloeus. We learn from Ovid, that Gyges was a principal (175) in this affair: and that Typhon (176) was concerned in it. I have never met with any one of the above-named Giants, represented in their state of punishment: but there is a fine relievo of Tityos, at the Villa Borgheze; in which you see him laying on a rock; and the vultur, plunging (177) his beak into his side: in the same manner as he is described by Virgil, in his account of this region of torments.

VIRGIL

(168) Just before the terrible account, given by one of the Pierides in Ovid, of the gods being drove by Typhæus into Egypt; and forced to change themselves there into the shapes of such and such animals, to escape his fury; that poet observes, "That she raises the achievements of the giants, and extenuates the actions of the gods."

— Falso in honore Gigantas
Ponit; & extenuat magnorum facta Deorum.
Met. 5. §. 320.

(169) — Centum quisque parabant
Injicere anguipedum captivo brachia cælo.
Ovid. Met. 1. §. 184.
Terra ferax, partus (immania monstra!) Gigantas
Edidit; ausaros in Jovis ire domum:
Mille manus illis dedit; & pro cruribus angues.
Id. Fast. 5. §. 37.
— Phlegraon stantes serpente gigantes.
Lucan. 9. §. 656.

These strange monsters in the ancient mythology, seem to have been pretty exact emblems of the disbelievers so much in fashion in our times.—Gigantes quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quam hominum quandam impiam gentem, Deos negantem; & ideo existimatam Deos pellere de cælesti sede voluisse? Horum pedes in draconum volumina desinebant: quod significat, nihil eos rectum, nihil superum cogitasse; totius vite eorum gressu, atque progressu, in inferna mergente. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

(170) See Pl. 41. Fig. 4.

(171) Magnum illa terrore intulerat Jovi
Fidens juvenus horrida brachiis;
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhæus, & validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyryon statu;
Quid Rhæcus, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Pulsent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus; hinc Matronda Juno: &
(Nunquam humeris positurus arcum)

Qui rore puro Castalie lavit
Crines solutos. —

Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 4. §. 62.

Ovid mentions Typhæus, as the chief terror of the gods.

Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhæa narrat;
Et te mentitis Superos celsæ figuris.
Met. 5. §. 326.

(172) — Partu Terra nefando
Cæumque Iapetumque creat, sævomque Typhæa;
Et conjuratos cælum rescindere fratres.
Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossa frondosum involvere Olympum;
Ter pater exstructos disjecit fulmine montes.
Virgil. Georg. 1. §. 283.

(173) Ægeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt
Centenasque manus; quæque, ænta omnibus ignem
Pectoribusque arsisse: Jovis cum fulmina contra
Tot paribus streperet clypeis, tot stringeret enses.
Id. Æn. 10. §. 568.

Homer makes Ægeon the same with Briareus; or the Centum-geminus Briareus, as Virgil calls him, Æn. 6. §. 287.

(174) Hic & Aloïdas geminos, immania vidi
Corpora! Qui manibus magnum rescindere cælum
Aggressi, superisque Jovem detradere regnis
Id. Ib. 6. §. 584.

(175) Quid gravius victore Gyge captiva tulisset,
Quàm nunc, (te cæli iceptura tenente!) tulit?
Ovid. Fast. 4. §. 592. (An exclamation of Ceres, against Jupiter; on the rape of her daughter.)

(176) Terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione,
Tunc cum pro cælo Jupiter arma tulit; &c.
Id. Ib. 2. §. 562.

(177) Nec non & Tityon, terræ omniparentis alumnus
Cernere erat: per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur; rolloque immanis vultur adunco,
Immortale jecur tendens sacundaque panis
Viscera, rimaturque epulis habitaturque sub alto
Pectore; nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 600.

VIRGIL speaks of the variety of tortures in this horrid place (178) as vastly numerous; but he gives us an account of but very few of them. I believe if one was to make a list of all the particular punishments in Tartarus mentioned by him and all the other Latin poets, there would scarce be half a score of them. Whatever was the reason of this; one may easily say, that Dante in his hell, has much more variety of punishments, than all the ancient poets put together. They are so uncommon in the remains of the ancient artists drawing (179) of Tityos, and this other representing the tortures of Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tantalus, are all that I have got to shew you, on this subject.

Pl. XXXIX.
Fig. 2.

TANTALUS is represented here as hanging over the waters, which are always flowing thro' his hand, and gliding from him. You may see desire, and disappointment, on his face; and a sort of stupidity, contracted by being baulked so perpetually. I scarce doubt that Horace had some representation of this kind, in his thoughts; where he compares (80) the tortures of a miser in this world, to those of Tantalus in the other. I said, some representation of this kind; because Tantalus was probably represented sometimes in a different manner: as standing under a tree, and some of the branches, loaded with the finest ripe fruits, hanging down just before his mouth (181); which, the moment he endeavoured to take, always waved away out of his reach. This I have never seen in any of the works of the artists; any more than a third sort of punishment for Tantalus (182), of quite a different nature: which is only mentioned by some of the elder Roman writers, before the Augustan age; and which I therefore suppose might possibly be rejected in the better ages.

OVID in one passage seems to describe Sisyphus, in the same manner that you see him represented here, as bending under (183) the weight of a vast stone. The more common way of speaking of his punishment agrees with the fine description of him in Homer; where we see him labouring to heave the stone, that lies on his shoulders here, up against the side of a steep mountain; and which always (184) rolls precipitately down again, before he can get it to fix on the top. Lucretius makes him only an (185) emblem of the Ambitious: as Horace too seems to make Tantalus, only an (186) emblem of the Covetous.

IXION,

(178) Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferreæ vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
Omnia peccatorum percurrere nomina possum.

Virgil. *Æn.* 6. v. 627.

(179) See Pl. 41. Fig. 5.

(180) Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia capta
Flumina.—Quid rides? Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur. Congestis undique saccis
Indormis inhians.

Horat. *Lib.* 1. *Sat.* 1. v. 71.

So Lucretius too.

Et sitis æqua tenet, vitæ semper hians.

Lib. 3. v. 1097.

(181) ——— Qui fallentibus undis
Imminet, aut refugæ sterilem rapit æræ sylvæ.
Stattius. *Theb.* 6. v. 281.
Nec bibit inter aquas, nec poma natantia carpit
Tantalus. ———

Petronius. *Arb.* p. 23.

Quis me furor nunc sedit ab insula extrahit
Avido fugaces ore captantem cibos?
——— Pejor inventum est fidi

Arente in undis aliquid, & perjas fame

Hians semper? ———

In quod malum transcribor?

Thyestes, *Act.* 1. *Sc.* 1. v. 13.

——— Tibi, Tantale, nulla

Deprendunturque; quæque imminet, effugitarbos.

Ovid. *Met.* 4. v. 458.

(182) Nec miser impendens magnum timer æræ saxum
Tantalus, (ut fama est,) cassâ formidine torpens.

Lucretius, 3. v. 994.

Cicero speaking of ote, who is in strong apprehensions of a great evil, just coming upon him; says his case is like that of Tantalus. Quam vim mali significantes poetæ, impendere apud Inferos saxum Tantalus faciunt. Tusc. Quæst. *Lib.* 4. p. 460. Ed. Blacu.

(183) ——— Æoliden saxum grave Sisyphon urget.
Ovid. *Met.* 13. v. 26.

(184) Aut petis, aut urges ruiturum, Sisyphæ, saxum.
Id. *Ib.* *Lib.* 4. v. 459.

(185) Sisyphus in vitâ quoque nobis ante oculos est,
Qui petere à populo fascis sevasque securis
Imbibit; & semper victus tristisque recedit:
Nam petere imperium quod inane est nec datur
unquam,
Atque in eo semper durum sufferre laborem;
Hoc est adverso nixantem trudere monte
Saxum, quod tamen à summo jam vertice rursus
Volvitur; & plani raptim petit æquora campi.
Lucretius, 3. v. 1015.

(186) This, I think, appears from the words, Quid rides, in the passage quoted from Horace. (Note 180, anteh.) He begins formally, to tell the story of Tantalus's punishment.——He then breaks off short, and says; “Why are you laughing at me? As much a fiction as this is, it is really verified in the lives of the covetous. They are always hanging over their treasure, and never enjoying any of it.”

IXION, (who was condemned to his torture for impiety and ingratitude,) appears here as fixed in his wheel; which was said to hurry him round (187), in one perpetual whirl. This would be no bad emblem of those in our days who are so fond of being distinguished by the name of Men of Pleasure; and seem to value themselves for losing every moment of their lives, in a round of insignificant diversions: but as this was a vice perhaps not known among the antients, we must not expect any such application in their writings.

I DO not know any of the antients that speak of any other punishment for Ixion, but his wheel; and the rapid eddies he is always whirled in, by it. Virgil, in particular, mentions this, as his punishment, in his fourth (188) Georgic; and I suppose had done so (189) in his third, till some over-wise transcriber was pleased to correct what he had originally written.

I AM apt to imagine that the antient painters sometimes inserted some deity of the winds in their representations of Ixion's punishment; as directing a strong blast against his wheel, to drive it round the more rapidly. This would account to the eye, for an effect which would otherwise seem unaccounted for: and Virgil may hint at some such representation, in the word (190) Vento,) where he is speaking of the strange effects of Orpheus's music, even on Ixion, and other of the inhabitants of the deepest abyss of Tartarus: but I only mention this as a mere conjecture; and as unsupported by any authority from the remains of the artists I have seen.

IT is high time for us now to quit this horrid region, and all the shocking ideas belonging to it; and to change them for the milder air of Elysium. Elysium, or the subterraneous heaven of the antients, is represented in the drawing I am going to shew you. You must not expect any thing very fine in it; for if you do, you will be greatly disappointed. The antients never failed more in any thing than in making a heaven; and if one was to consider all the modern descriptions of the same, we should find most

(187) *Volvitur Ixion, & se sequiturque fugitque.*

Ovid. Met. 4. v. 461.

— *Cur avidis Ixiona frango*

Vorticibus? —

Statius. Theb. 8. v. 51. (Spoke, by Plato.)

(188) — *Ixonii vento rota constitit orbis.*

Georg. 4. v. 484.

(189) *Invidia infelix Furias amnemque feverum*

Cocyti metuet; tortosque Ixionis orbes,

Immanemque rotam; & non exsuperabile saxum.

Georg. 3. v. 39.

All the editions of Virgil at present, (and indeed several of the manuscripts, and even some of the oldest,) read *angues* here instead of *orbes*.

The reason why I suppose that some critics of late who have thought it was originally *orbes*, are in the right; is because the latter agrees with Ixion's punishment, and the former does not.

The punishment of Ixion consisted in being attached to a wheel, and whirled round impetuously by it; both which are expressed in the *Tortos orbes*, *Immanemque rotam*, of Virgil. — *Orbis* is the very word which Virgil uses, in the only place beside this where he speaks of Ixion's punishment in his allowed works: and, if the *Ætna* be his, it is also used there, of the same.

I do not remember that Virgil, or any other of the Roman poets, ever speak of Ixion's being tormented with snakes; or indeed of snakes being made use of in the torments of Tartarus, at all. The snakes of

the Furies, or infernal tormentors of the old poets, represented the flings of conscience; the tortures and sufferings of the mind, not those of the body: but as the modern painters have made so much use of serpents, in their representations of persons tormented in the other world; that has made a connection between the tormented and snakes now, which was not of old: and may have been a chief reason, that the reading of *Angues* has prevailed so generally among us.

I must just observe one thing more; which is the propriety of Virgil in the above passage, in another respect. The persons he is speaking of are the enemies of the Julian family; or the faction, (as he calls it,) against the Cæsars. These, he says, should be represented on the temple he would build to Augustus, as in the tortures of Tartarus; and, more particularly, as punished in the same manner as Ixion and Sisyphus. Ixion was punished there, for his ingratitude and impiety; Sisyphus, as a villain and a robber. So that this is calling all the party against Augustus rascals, and ingrates; and infers the highest compliment to that prince, at the same time that it is the most cruel of invectives against his enemies.

(190) There is another passage, in the same book of Virgil; which may perhaps require the same way of thinking, to explain it strongly.

— *Alie panduntur inanes.*

Suspense ad Ventos. —

Æn. 6. v. 741.

of them perhaps little better than the antient ones. They had scarce any thing in the old philosophy, that held firmly against the fears of death; and therefore the notions which the Romans had even of a place of bliss, had something gloomy intermixed with it. Tho' the ideas of Virgil, on this subject, are (191) much preferable to those of Homer; they are still low, and mean enough o' conscience. The persons in Virgil's Elysium, (as you may see, by the drawing of it before us,) are some dancing; others, engaged in the exercises they most delighted in, whilst in the upper world: and Orpheus, in particular, is playing on his lyre. That is the only thing I can see, to make any thing very pleasing in it. Virgil speaks also of delightful groves; and of a cascade of water, which does not appear in this picture. But taking in all that he says of Elysium, his description of it and of the pleasures the departed enjoy there, is so very low; that it seems almost to have been borrowed from the manner in which the common people at Rome, in his time, used to pass their holydays, on the banks of the Tiber. Ovid has described the latter; as Virgil has the former: and I do not see any great difference (192) in their descriptions, only that Virgil chuses to insist more on the exercises used so much by the Romans in the same place; (for the Campus Martius, was on the banks of the Tiber;) and that Ovid, like a boon companion as he was, insists chiefly on their (193) eating and drinking there.

Pl. XL.
Fig. 1.

THE inhabitants of this region of bliss, (such as it was,) were the souls of the good; their proper judge, Æacus: and the two chief rulers of all the subterraneous world, Pluto and Proserpine.

THERE is not any of the happy spirits, represented in this picture, that we know by name; except Orpheus. He appears in a long dress, falling down to his feet (194); that robe of dignity, which was given to musicians in the first ages of the world, in honour of their high character: which in those times comprehended not only the science of music, but that of poetry, moral philosophy, and legislature. The giving rules of life to particulars, or laws to any nation, is too apt to carry a severe air with it; and to deter people, from what you would have them follow: the wise men therefore of those days united the two arts of music and poetry, to that of instructing mankind: and, by that means, softened the severity of their instructions; and insinuated them into the hearts, as well as the minds, of their rough hearers. You have seen Orpheus before, in some other

(191) Homer makes Achilles say; "That he would chuse rather to serve on earth; than even to reign over all the regions of the dead." *Od. A. v. 490.* Virgil does not advance any thing that might cast so great a reflection on his Elysium; but only says, "That it is better to bear any degree of poverty or hardships on our earth, than to be in Erebus;" *Æn. 6. v. 436, to 439.*

(192) The holyday feast described by Ovid was kept in honour of Anna Perenna: then a saint; but formerly, (as some authors say,) an old woman that sold cakes at Rome: *Fast. 3. v. 667, to 674.* His account of it is as follows.

Idibus est Annæ festum geniale Perennæ;
Haud procul a ripis, advena Tybri, tuis.
Plebs venit; ac virides passim disiecta per herbas
Potat: & accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
Sub Jove pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt;
Sunt quibus e ramo frondea facta casa est:
Pars ibi pro rigidis calamos posuere columnis;
Desuper extentas imp. suere togas.
Sole tamen, vinoque calent: annosque precantur
Quot fumant cythos, ad numerumque bibunt.
Invenies illic, qui Nestoris eibat annos;
Quæ sit per calices facta Sibylla fuos.
Illic & cantant quicquid didicere theatris;
Et lætant faciles ad sua verba manus:

Et ducunt posito duras cratere choreas;
Cultaque diffusus saltat amica comis.
Cum redeunt, titubant; & sunt spectacula vulgo:
Et Fortunatos obvia turba vocant.

Fall. 3. v. 540.

Virgil's account of the joys of Elysium.

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum.—
Largior hic campos æther & lumine vestit
Purpureo; solemque suum, sua sidera norant.
Pars in granineis exercent membra palustris;
Contendant ludo, & salva læstantur arenâ:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas; & carmina dicunt.—
Stant terrâ defixæ hastæ, passimque soluti
Per campum pascuntur equi: quæ gratia curruum,
Armorumque fuit vivis; quæ cura nientes
Pascere equos; eadem sequitur tellure repositos.
Conspicit ecce alios, dextrâ levâque, per herbam
Vescentes; lætumque choro Pæana canentes.

Æn. 6. v. 657.

(193) Protinus erratis læti vescuntur in agris;
Et celebrant largo seque diemque mero.
Ovid. Fall. 3. v. 636.

(194) Nec non Threicius longâ cum veste sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum;
Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulsat eburno.
Virgil. Æn. 6. v. 647.

other of my drawings (195), taming the monsters of the infernal world, with his voice and lyre; as he did the rough Thracians, in our world, by the united arts of pleasing and instructing, that he was so great a master of.

I NEVER met with any figure of Æacus among the remains of the ancient artists; or any thing descriptive of him in the poets: but Pluto and Proserpine are common subjects in both. Their palace, or chief place of residence, seems to have been near the point (196), where the three great roads of Ades meet; and, consequently, to be about the center of their proper dominions.

PL. XL.
FIG. 2.

THE figures of Pluto and Proserpine, as I was just saying, are common enough. What I have chosen to place here among my drawings, was copied from one of the pieces of painting which were discovered, toward the end of the last century, in the old burial-place for the Næonian family. Pluto and Proserpine, you see, are represented in it, as sitting on their thrones in Elysium. Mercury, the chief conductor of departed spirits to this region, is introducing one lately arrived, to their presence. It is a very young woman; not full grown: and seems intimidated at appearing before so awful and stern a prince, as Pluto is generally represented to be. Just behind her, is the spirit of a more elderly woman; perhaps, her mother: and possibly waiting to attend her back to some of the groves or grottos of Elysium, where she herself had been used to pass most of her time. Pluto does not look so severely on her, as one might expect from his general character; which is that of being gloomy and passionate, even tho' his residence is in the region of the blest.

THERE is a great resemblance in the faces of the three brothers, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto: as one may find at any time by comparing them together in the different works of the ancient artists; and which is extremely well preserved by Raphael, where he has placed them all together in his feast of the gods, on the marriage of Cupid and Psyche. They are in the works of the ancients, as well as there, all alike: only the look of Jupiter is the most serene and majestic, of the three; and that of Pluto, the most fullen and severe. The poets (197) make the same distinction, in speaking of the three brothers. The face of Pluto here too, is like that of Jupiter; only more rigid and tyrannical. It is hence, perhaps, that Statius calls him (198), The Black Jupiter: for he is most like the figures of the Jupiter Terribilis; which were most commonly made of black marble. You see, he holds his (199) scepter in his hand; and has a veil all over his head: which a poet (200) of the lower ages calls, Nubes; as the lighter veil of the air and water-nymphs was called, Nimbus. His complexion, (as well as his veil,) should be dark (201) and terrible. He is sometimes called by the name of Dis (202), as Proserpine is by that of Persephone.

I DO

(195) Pl. 38. Fig. 2.

(196) Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
Dextera, quæ Ditis regni sub mœnia tendit:
Hac iter Elysium nobis. —

Virgil. Æn. 6. 5. 542.

(197) Frons torva, fratrum quæ tamen specimen gerat.
Herc. Fur. Act. 3. Sc. 2. 5. 723.
— Tuque O sævissime fratrum,
Cui servire dati Manes! —

Statius. Theb. 4. 5. 475.

(198) Hoc, ut fama, loco pallentes devius umbras
Trames agit; nigrique Jovis vacua atria ditat
Mortibus. —

Statius. Theb. 2. 5. 50.

(199) Terribiles hortatus equos, in gurgitis ima
Contortum valido sceptrum regale lacerto
Credidit. —

Ovid. Met. 5. 5. 420.

The general rule laid down in the beginning of this work, will not suffer me to quote Claudian as it is, in relation to the personage or appearance of the deities: otherwise one might have

had more perhaps from him relating to Pluto, than from all the rest of the Roman poets. He, in particular, describes him as sitting on his throne in the following lines; where the word *nubes* is, I think, used for his veil.

Ipse rudi solio sultus, nigræque verendus
Majestate sedet. Squallent immania sedo
Sceptra situ; sublimè caput montissimæ nubes
Alperat. —

Claudian. de Rapt. Prof.

(201) Qualis, ab Ætheis accensâ lampade saxis,
Orba Ceres magnæ variabat imagine flammæ
Ausonium Siculomque latus; vestigia nigri
Raptoris, vastosque legens in pulvere sulcos.

Statius. Theb. 12. 5. 273.

— Qualem jussu Junonis iniquæ
Horruit Alcides, viso jam Dite, Megæram.

Lucan. 1. 5. 577.

(202) Panditur interea Diti via.

Ovid. Fast. 4. 5. 449. (of his carrying Proserpine to Ades.)
Persephones zonam summis ostendit in undis.

Id. Met. 5. 5. 470. (on the same subject.)

I do not remember that the poets say much of Proserpine's personage. We can only infer from them, perhaps, that she was naturally (203) of a brown complexion: which might grow still (204) darker, by her living in the subterraneous world. Tho' the monarch of all those wide domains made her the partner of his empire, it was a great while before she could forgive him the violence he had offered to her; or forget the delightful vales of Enna, where she used to be so happy (205) with all her nymphs about her. There was a gloom (206) that hung over her face, for a long time; and which perhaps was never quite worn away: at least, she has still a melancholy air on her face, in the picture before us. Statius has found out a melancholy employment for her too; which is to keep a sort of register of the dead, and to mark down (207) all that should be added to that number. The same poet mentions another of her offices, of a more agreeable nature. He says, that when any woman dies who has been a remarkable good wife in this world, Proserpine prepares the spirits of the best women in the other, to make a procession (208) to welcome her into Elysium with joy; and to strew all the way with flowers, where she is to pass. You see Mercury too in this drawing; as indeed he appears often in the works of the artists relating to the other world. He has the Caduceus in his hand, which was more particularly (209) the ensign of his power over all the regions of it. He must have made (210) very frequent visits to them; but Horace mentions

(203) Her mother, I think, was so. See Dial. VIII. p. 103.

(204) Horace calls her, Furva. Lib. 2. Od. 13. §. 21.

(205) There is a very pretty, and very picturesque description of this, in Ovid's Fasti, 4. §. 425, &c.

(206) Illa quidem tristes; nec adhuc interrita vultu:
Sed Regina tamen; sed opaci maxima mundi;
Sed tamen Inferni pollens Matrona tyranni.

Ovid. Met. 5. §. 508.

Some of the Greek poets seem to have made a finer Elysium for her; and to have had some story, of her being totally reconciled to the place; as appears from this passage in Virgil.

Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia campos;
Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem.

Georg. 1. §. 39.

The Greek poets that remain to us, are either remarkably short, or reserved, in their accounts of Elysium. Homer does not say a word of it, in Ulysses's descent to Ades; and in the only place of all his works where he does mention it, he describes it chiefly by negatives:

Οὐ γὰρ εἶδον, οἳ ἀρ' ἤμενον πολλοὺς, οἳ δὲ πρὸν ὀμβρῶσι
Od. Δ. §. 567.

The fullest passage that I know of, is in Pindar; and even in that, he expressly says, that he has concealed a great deal. "The good, (says that great poet in speaking of the state of departed souls,) lead a life exempt from all care and labours; and enjoy the light of the sun, without any night. They neither till the earth; nor are obliged to pass the seas. Such as have kept strict to their obligations, enjoy an age without tears; among those that are honoured by the gods: and such as have not done so, labour in inconceivable torments. All who have been able to abstain from unjust actions, thorough three trials, in three different stations, have passed the way defined by Jupiter to the city of Saturn: where the fresh breezes from the sea breathe over the island of the

blest; and the golden flowers shine; some from the splendid trees on the land, and others from those in the margin of the waters. Of these, the happy spirits weave bracelets for their arms; and garlands for their heads.—I could add many other things to what I have said on this subject: as piercing as arrows to the wife, and those who hear them as they ought; but dark, and unintelligible, to the vulgar of mankind." Olymp. Od. 2.

(207) Necdum illam aut truncâ lufraverat obvia taxo
Eumenis, aut furvis Proserpina posse notarat
Cæcibus absuntum functis.

Statius. Theb. 8. §. 11.

(208) — Si quando pio laudata marito
Umbra venit; jubet ire faces Proserpina letas,
Egressasque sacris veteres Heroidas antris
Lamine purpureo tristes laxare tenebras;
Sertaque & Elysios animæ proferre flores.

Id. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. §. 257.

They are persons of the same sort of life, who are to attend the departed on their triumphal entries into Elysium. Statius, on the death of his father, (who was a poet as well as himself,) calls on the poets to meet him.

Ite pii manes, Graiæque examina vatam,
Illutremque animam Lethæis spargite fertis!
Et monstrate nemus, qua nulla irrupit Erieny,
In quo falsa dies coeloque simillimus ætæ.

Id. Ibid. Sylv. 3. §. 287.

(209) Tum virgam capit. Hæc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes; alius, sub trititia Tartara mittit.

Virgil. Æn. 4. §. 248.

(210) Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgæque levem co rces
Auræ turbam.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. §. 19.

Non vanæ redeat sanguis imaginis,
Quam virgâ semel horridâ
Non lenis precibus fata recludere
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.

Id. Ibid. Od. 24. §. 18.

D d d d

mentions a particular descent of his to Ades, with his lyre; which seems to be of a more extraordinary nature (211): and which may possibly have been derived from some old prophetic tradition; tho' it is so much disguised by the fictions of the poets, that one can only guess at the traces of it, under the veil they have flung over it.

As Polymetis seemed to have quite finished here; Philander did not fail to thank him for all the trouble he had given himself, in shewing them his collection: and more particularly, for this latter part of it; which he had entered on entirely at his request. Myfagetes, in his turn, thought this a proper occasion for desiring what he had had in his thoughts for some time. "As you have added this dissertation on the inhabitants of the lower world, on Philander's request; I must beg you (says he) to add one more on mine. I have been guessing, two or three times, at the uses to which this sort of enquiries might be applied. I seem to discover some, beside what you have mentioned; but as you have used yourself so much to this way of thinking, you must certainly see them in a fuller light than I can; and I should be much obliged to you, if you would give us your thoughts on that head." With all my heart, says Polymetis: but as our chat, on the present subject, has run out to such an unreasonable length; I am sure you will be willing to excuse me till to-morrow evening: when I shall be ready to give you all the satisfaction on that head, that I can.

(211) Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Jenitor aulæ
Cerberus; quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
Spiritus teter sanisque manet
Ore trilingui;

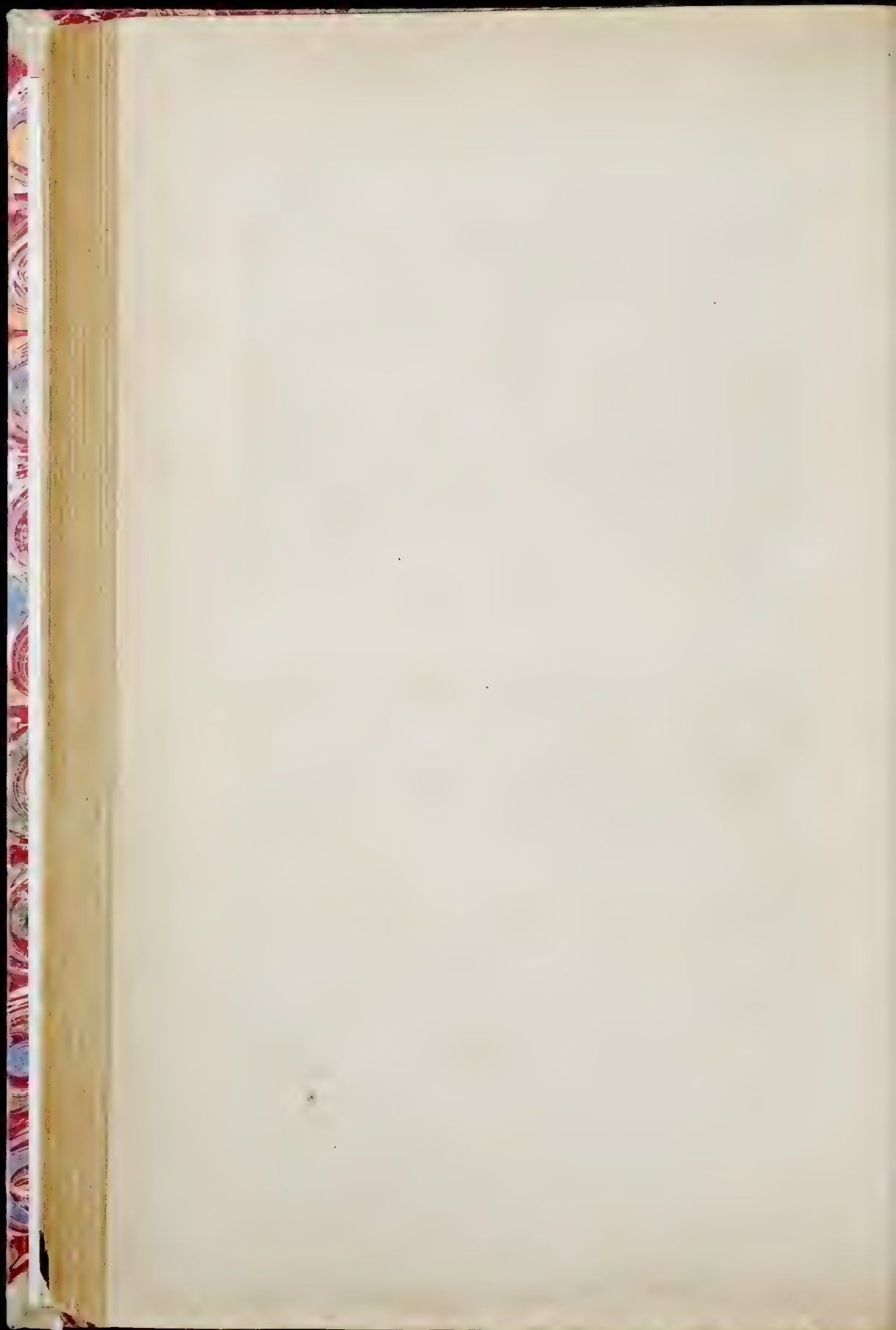
Quin & Ixion, Tityosque vultu
Risit invito; stetit urna paulum
Sicca, dum grato Danaï puellas
Carminis inulces.

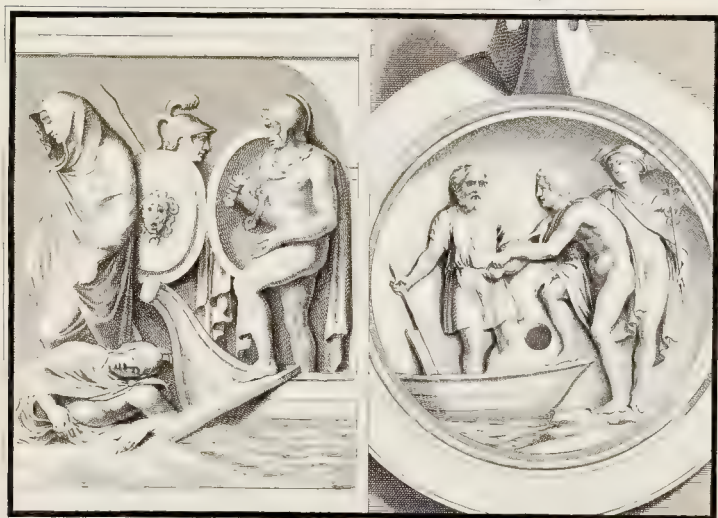
Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 11. 9. 24.



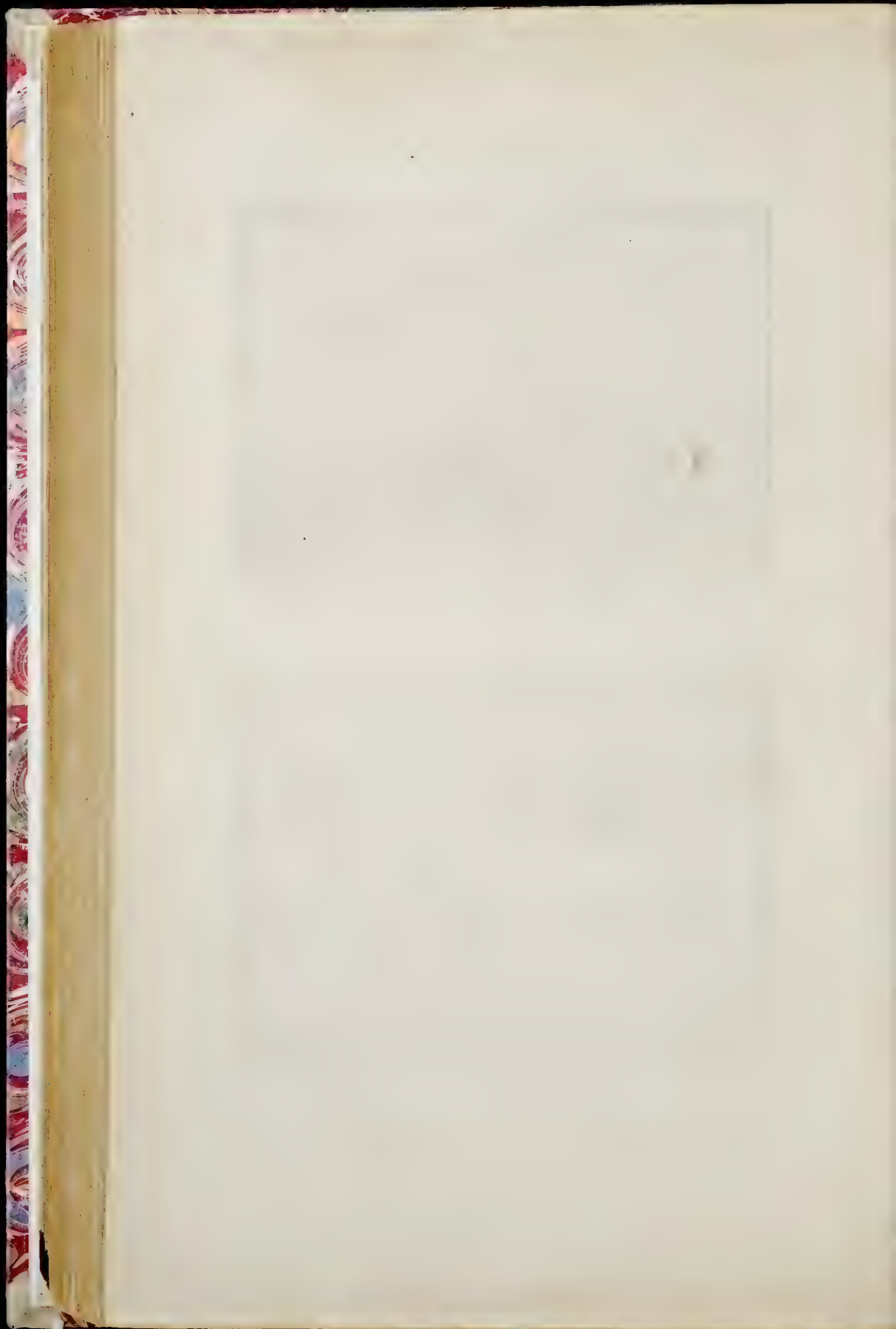


L. P. B. sculpt.



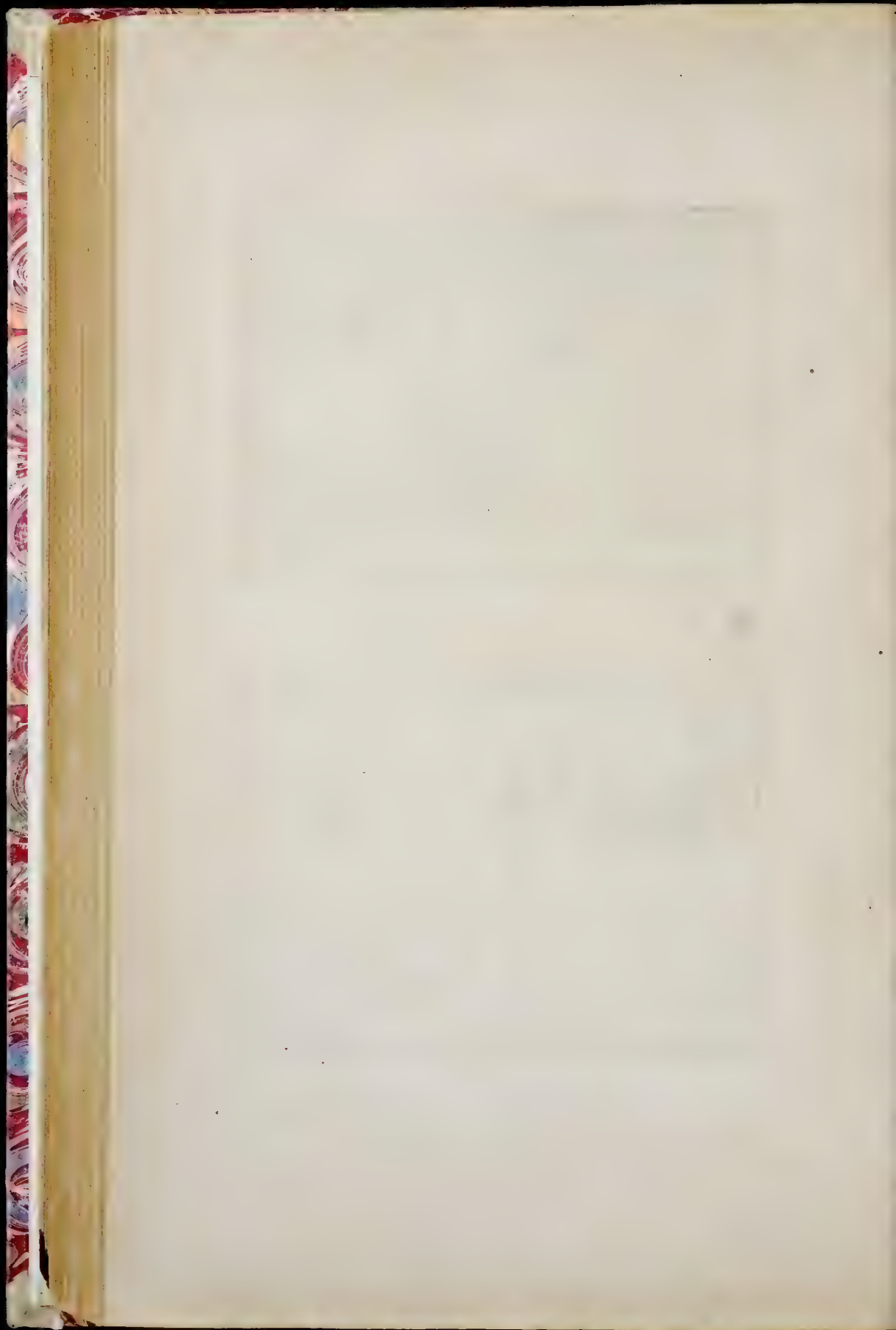


V. P. Richard del.



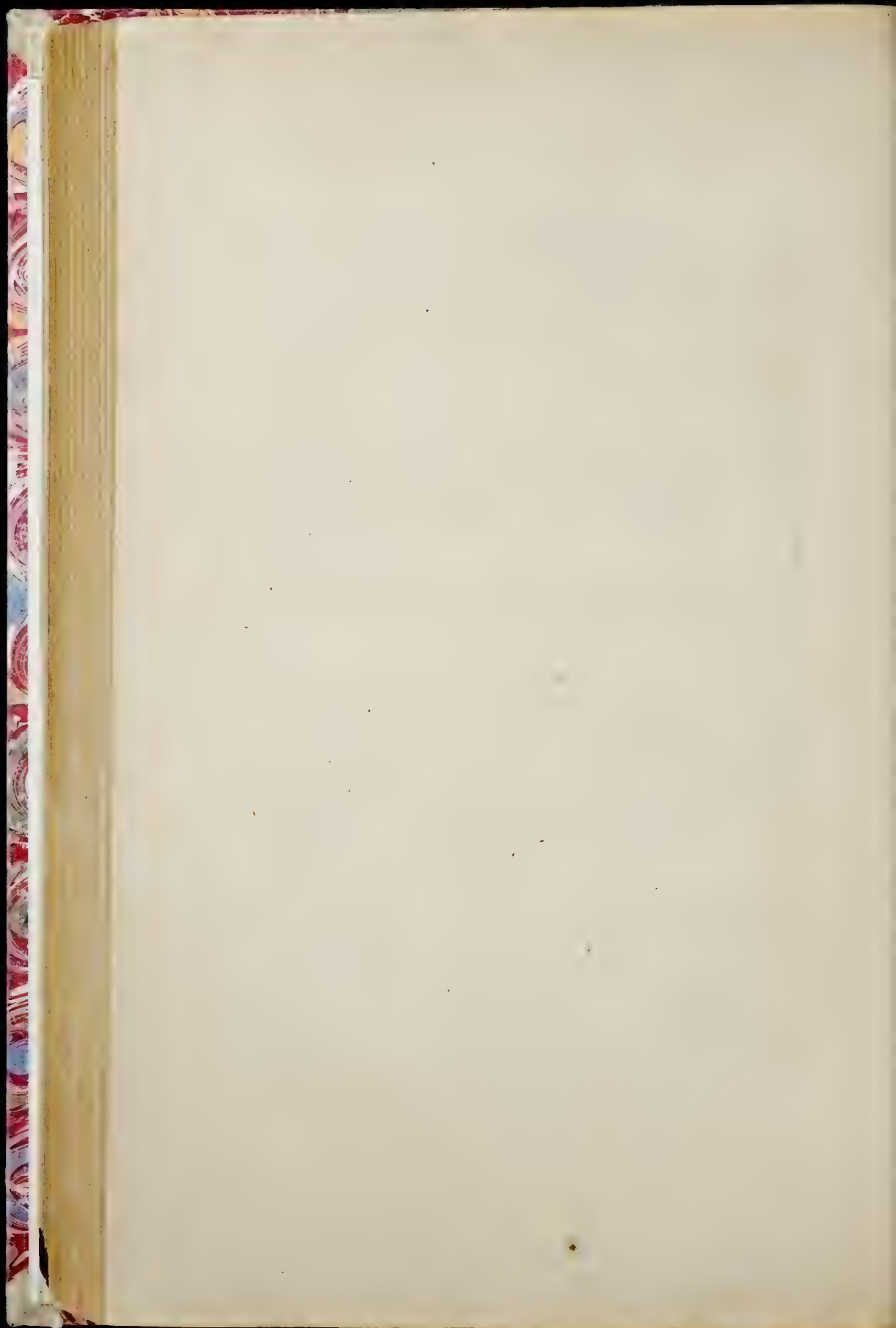


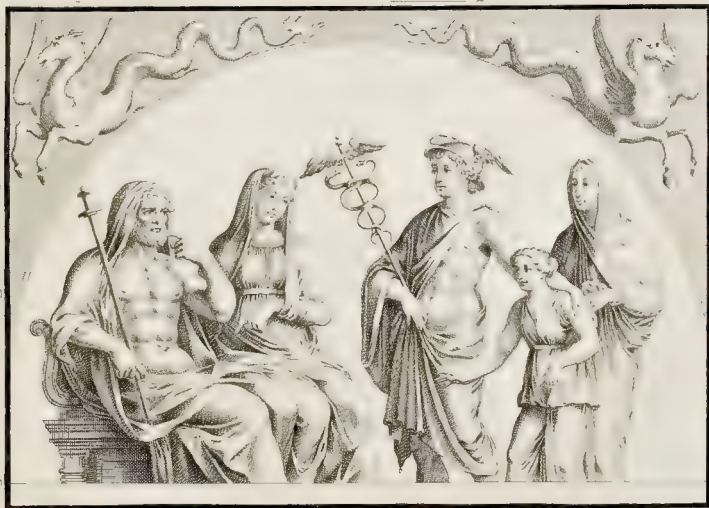
L. P. de Montecchi



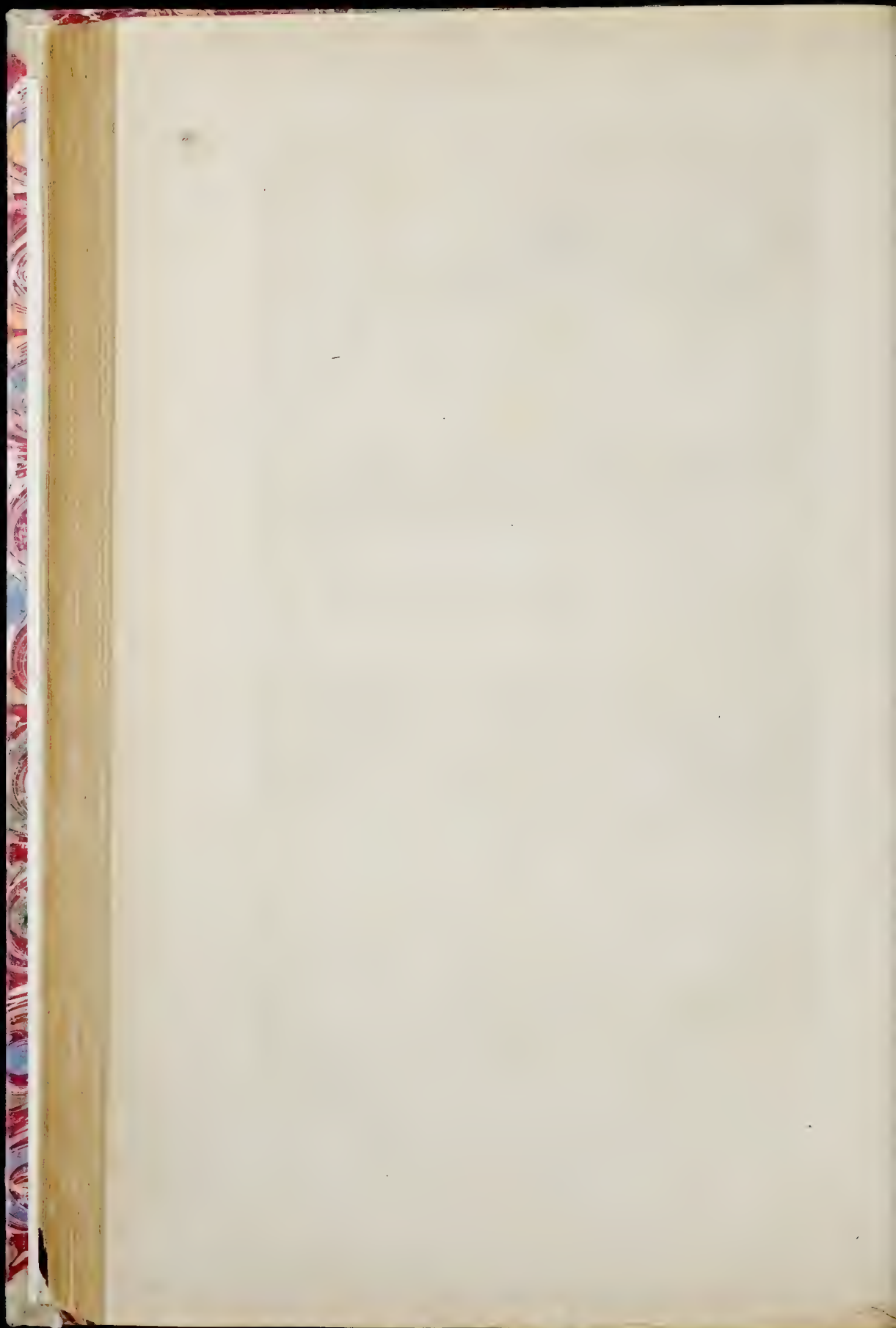


L. D. Bouchard del.



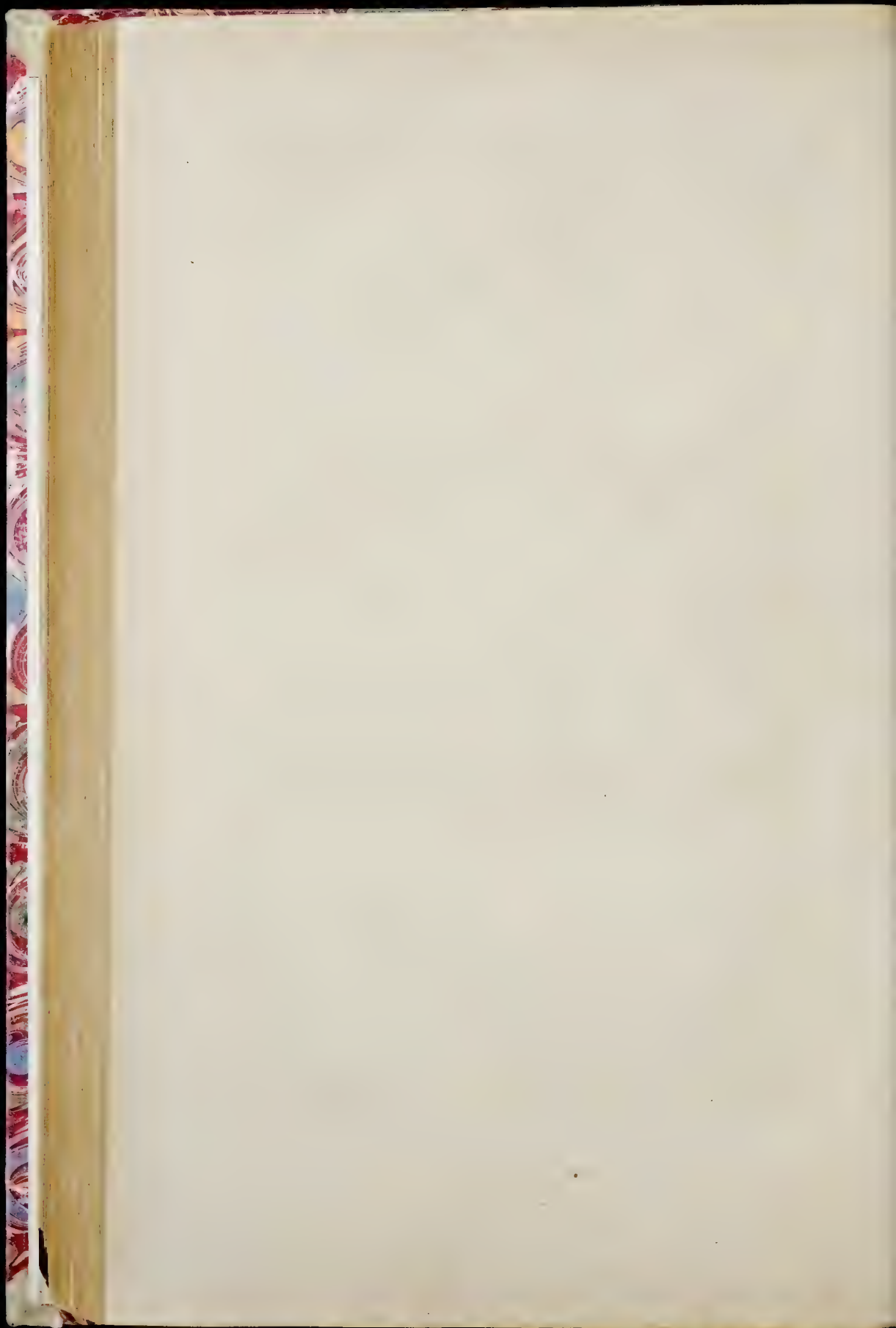


L. P. Boitard Sculp





J. E. Brinard, Secy.



BOOK the Tenth.

The CONCLUSION.

DIAL. XVII.

Of the Use of this sort of ENQUIRIES, in general.

AS they were sitting in the library, the next evening; Polymetis remembered his promise, and began in the following manner.

BEFORE I enter on the several uses that may be made of this sort of enquiries; I ought just to premise to you, that you ought not to judge of the full extent of them by any thing I have said, or can say, on this subject. It is like a country that is but newly discovered: where much more is left to be found out, by those who may come afterwards to it; than was known to the person, who first discovered it. I look upon myself as a first discoverer in this case; because there has scarce been any thing laid down in form, in relation to this subject; by any person, whose writings I am acquainted with. Mr. Addison's Treatise on medals is the only piece in which I have seen it attempted: and, to carry on the metaphor I used just before, he seems rather to have only sailed along the coasts, than to have entered at all into the country.

THE usefulness of antiques towards explaining the antient authors; and particularly the best Roman poets; may have appeared to you, in some measure, from several of the passages I have mentioned to you since you have been with me here: some of which possibly you did not perceive, in the same view; or at least, not in so strong a light, before. But it would be very unfair, to judge of this, by what I have done: it ought rather to be considered what probably might have been done, had more and better hands been employed in such an enquiry. The true way of judging is not from my performance, but from the reason of the thing; and as to that, I must repeat to you what I said at first (1), that the works of the old artists and poets must naturally be the best explainers of one another: because they were both conversant in the same sort of knowledge; fell much into the same train of thinking; and were employed often, on the very same subjects. I think therefore there can be no room to doubt, that some of the best comments we could have on the antient poets, might be drawn from the works of the artists, who were their cotemporaries; and whose remains often present to our eyes the very things, which the others have delivered down to us only in words.

INSTEAD of this, our only resource now is to our commentators; than whom, I believe one may safely say, there has never been a more wrong-headed set of men upon earth. At least, I am sure, we usually want quite other helps than they give us: and this makes any new help towards explaining the classics very desirable, at least; if not quite necessary. As to the comments we have, they are generally speaking not only apt to conceal, but to mislead: and when I was most conversant with them, I often used to think myself not unlike a traveller, who has lost his way on some wide heath, with the darkness of the night coming on all around him; and only here and there, two or three

little

(1) Dial. I. p. 3.

little wavering lights ; which instead of guiding him to his home, only serve to entice him, and plunge him the deeper, into the bogs and fens from which they arise.

WHEN under these difficulties and distresses, how often have I wished, thät the commentators in general had followed the rules laid down for some of them, by the Duke de Montausier ? This nobleman was the first promoter of what we call the (2) Dauphin Edition of the Classics. He loved reading himself ; and had a good taste for the antients : but in a variety of employments, could not spare sufficient time, for consulting and comparing different books, in order to clear up the passages, in which he found himself lost at a loss. It was therefore his desire that short and clear explications should be annexed to such passages in the classics, as most wanted them. He used often to say, that he could easily see that the difficulties which occur to us in reading the works of the antients, might all be comprehended in two classes ; and that they arise, either from our not knowing in what sense they used such a word formerly : or else from our being ignorant now, of some opinion, custom, or thing, that was familiarly known among them. In the former case, the commentator should endeavour to determine the meaning of the word in question, by consulting how it is used by the same author in other places, where the meaning of it may be more evident ; or by any other of the same country, and (as near as may be) of the same times. In the second case, the thing, custom, or opinion, hinted at, should be subjoined : in as few words as is consistent with clearness. This was all that he found he wanted ; and it was agreeably to this that he calculated the two great rules, which he gave for the persons employed in the Dauphin edition of the classics : but which, tho' they are so sensible and just, were not sufficiently observed by them ; nor by any other commentator, I ever met with.

INSTEAD of following two such obvious and easy rules, what is the most usual aim of our commentators at present ? Why really their usual aim seems to be, to shew their own erudition ; at least, I am sure, they generally go but a very little way toward clearing up the meaning of their authors. A very learned comment, is like a very learned man ; it is rather troublesome, than useful to you. When you consult them, their answers are for the most part as dark, and as equivocal, as those of oracles. There never can be but one meaning wanting ; and they are so over-good as to furnish you with half a dozen. Or else they play at cross-purposes with you. As for example ; I should be glad, to learn, what colour the Romans meant by the word *Glaucus* ? *Glaucus*, answers the commentator, signifies blue ; brown ; green ; red ; and iron-grey.—How far was *Alba* from *Rome* ? O, says the commentator, *Alba* is the place where *Æneas* met with the white sow and her thirty pigs ; and there was a very fine sitch of bacon, of this very sow, kept in the chief temple there ; even to *Augustus's* time : as I find it recorded in that excellent historian, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*.—If you ask what *Niobe* is doing, in such a part of *Ovid's* description of her, they will tell you who was her father : or if you enquire for the situation of one of the Grecian cities, they will bestow half an hour in proving, that it was first inhabited by a colony from *Assyria* ; and perhaps add all the adventures and distresses that the poor people met with, both by sea and land, in coming to it.

THESE absurdities of the commentators, (if they are generally so absurd, as I fear they are,) will go a great way toward supporting a paradox ; which will sound the less strange to you from me, because you have heard me mention it, I believe, more than once : “ That the greatest difficulty I meet with in understanding the classics now, arises from my having read and studied them too much at school.” Our custom there, was generally

(2) This edition was planned by the Duke of Montausier ; encouraged, by Monsieur Colbert : and carried on, by the Bishop of Avranches. It was the latter, who chose the commentators that were to be employed ; and who himself complains of his not being

able to find out a sufficient number of persons, equal to such a task. See that Bishop's *Comment. de rebus suis*. p. 286. Ed. Amst. 1718 : and his, *Huetiana*, §. 37. p. 93. Ed. Paris, 1722.

generally to enquire more what others say for an author ; than what the author says for himself. I used to be perpetually consulting my notes : and before I left school, could have given you three or four different meanings for most of the difficult passages in Virgil, Horace, or Juvenal ; and perhaps twenty, for some in Persius. This way of studying, by drawing your eye off (at every line almost) to the side lights, instead of keeping it steady upon the proper object you ought to view, makes one often forget the real intention of the author ; and almost always loses the thread of his thoughts, and the connexion of the whole piece. The limbs of the poet, (to use an expression of Horace on a different occasion,) are so scattered by these inhuman manglers, as to be almost incapable of being ever brought into a body again. At best, you know, perhaps, what De la Rue says for Virgil ; but you do not so well know what Virgil says himself : and if this is prejudicial even from De la Rue, (who is certainly one of the best of the commentators, commonly used in this way of studying ;) what must it be in those, who generally give you false lights, who deal chiefly in things foreign to the purpose, and sometimes in the strangest misrepresentations of the sense of their authors that can be conceived ? I must beg leave to mention to you one fact, which will shew at least how far this early way of studying the classics had served to blind me. When Mr. Pope a few years ago published his *Imitations* of several of the satires and epistles of Horace, I immediately saw a connexion and chain of thinking in them ; which tho' I had read over the originals, (some of them perhaps a hundred times,) I had never regarded or suspected before. I was surprized, in almost each of those pieces, with the new lights and beauties that struck me all at once. I compared the copies with the originals ; and found that Pope and Horace were much the same : I mean as to the true spirit, the connexions, and their way of thinking. I then began to reflect, how I came not to see that in Horace before, which I now saw so plainly in Mr. Pope's copies from him : and the only way I could find to account for it was, that I had at first been used to study each of those poems in the original by piece-meal ; that I had been drawn off every other instant from what Horace said to what he did not say, and very often to what was not at all to his purpose ; that this false and broken impression of Horace's thoughts, (taken in at a time when the mind receives impressions most easily, and retains them most firmly,) had given me a false idea of his manner of thinking, in general ; and had prevented me from seeing those pieces of his in particular, in a right light ; till those entire pictures of his thoughts were set before my eyes by a third person : who, by the way, was himself perhaps the better enabled to conceive Horace so clearly and fully as he has done, by his not having taken his first impressions of that poet, in the manner we usually do at schools.

MAY I be allowed to add here, what I have long suspected ; that the method of education, which is followed now, and has been followed for so many ages, in our schools, is chiefly founded on a mistake ? What I have to say on this head, may seem perhaps very conjectural to you ; however I will give it you, such as it is. The school-education (3) among the Romans of old, aimed no farther than at two languages ; and each of those,

(3) By what I have remarked by chance here and there, in reading the Roman writers ; in relation to the method of education, used in their schools : it appears,

1. That they applied themselves to the learning two languages only ; and both those, languages in use at the time that they learnt them. These, in the infancy of their state, were their mother-tongue, and the Tuscan ; and, in the most flourishing ages of it, their mother-tongue, and the Greek.—Habeo auctores vulgò tum (in the 444th year, after the found-

ing of Rome,) Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos. *Livy*, Lib. 9. cap. 36.

Cicero commends a Consular man, and Suetonius commends an Emperor, for understanding their own language, and that of their neighbours the Greeks.—D. Brutus, Marci filius, ut ex familiari ejus L. Actium audire solitus ; erat cum literis Latinis, tum etiam Græcis, (ut temporibus illis,) satis eruditus. Cicero. in Brut. — Peritissimus Latinæ Græcæque lingue. Suetonius in Tit. cap. 3.

those, a living language. Their own; for conversation, for reading, and for speaking in public: and Greek, that of their nearest neighbours; and of neighbours too, who had been for some time in the chief possession of the arts and sciences. In teaching their own language, the Romans made use chiefly of their poets; and with very good reason: for the thing to be taught at first was the right pronunciation; and how could they fix the proper tones of the words, and the true quantities of their syllables, but from the works of their poets? When the Romans had advanced their conquests pretty far in our island; our ancestors, (wiser, perhaps, in this than we may be,) fell with a surprising readiness into the customs of the conquerors; studied their language; and, probably, adopted their method of school-education; for they had scarce before any common schools of their own. It might be right enough then to comply with the (4) politics of

These were called, "The two languages," in the Augustan age; as we find by Ovid's advice, to his fine gentleman:

Nec levis ingenius pectus coluisse per artes
Cura fit; & linguas edidicisse duas.

De Art. Am. Lib. 2. §. 122.

2. They were often taught to speak Greek, before their own mother-tongue; and when they came to read, they were taught them both conjointly. Thus Quintilian says, in his first chapter; A fermone Græco puerum incipere malo: quia Latinus, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus se perhibet; simul quia disciplinis quoque Græcis prius instituendus est, unde nostræ fluxerunt. Non tamen hoc adeo superstitiosè velim fieri, ut diu tantum loquatur Græcè aut discat; sicut plerisque mos est. — Non longè itaque Latina subsequi debent: & citò, pariter ire. And afterwards, in that De lectione pueri. Optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inceptit. Instit. Orat. Lib. 1. Cap. 8.

3. They read the works of the poets only, to such an age: for the same author speaks only of poets, in his chapter De lectione pueri; and the prose-writers are not mentioned by him till afterwards, in his chapter De lectione oratorum & historicorum, apud rhetorem: that is, in a higher period; under their rhetoric-master. Instit. Orat. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

4. Their beginning with the poets was chiefly intended to teach them the right tones and measures of the words. Thus Horace, in reckoning up the usefulness of the poets, instances first in this:

Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat.

Lib. 2. Epist. 1. §. 126.

And Plautus, in his humorous way:

Tum librum legeres: si unam peccavisses syllabam,
Fieret corium tam maculosum quam est nutricis pallium.
Bacchid. Act. 3. Sc. 3. §. 30.

The tones, or tuning of the words, had so much to do in what they learned under their first master; that Macrobius calls this first reading under him, Singing; Nunc quia cum Marone nobis negotium est, respondere volo, utrum poetæ hujus opera instituendis tantum pueris idonea iudices; an alia illis altiora indicere fatearis. Videris enim mihi ita adhuc Virgilianos habere versus, qualiter eos pueri magistris prælegentibus canebamus. Saturnal. Lib. 1. Cap. 24.

5. The usual method, in this sort of teaching, was for the master to read a period in some chosen poet first; and the boy to repeat the same, immediately after him. This Horace calls, Dictare; Lib. 2. Epist. 1. §. 71.) and Macrobius, prælegere: (ubi supra.)

I am apt to think that Martial originally used the same word, in speaking of the same thing; (what-

ever liberties some editor, or other, may have taken with his works since;)

Versus scribere me parum severos,
Nec quos prælegat * in scholâ magister;
Cornell, quereris. —

Lib. 1. Ep. 36.

* The common reading is perlegat.

And possibly this is the very thing, that is meant by Juvenal's Crambe: for the master reading, and the boy repeating, till the latter could tune the period quite right; must sometimes have been one of the most tiresome things, that can be imagined.

— Quæcumque sedens modo legerat, hæc eadem flans
Proferet; atque eadem cantabit versibus istem:
Occidit miltros crambe reposita magistros.

Sat. 7. §. 154.

(4) Julius Agricola, (who was made governor of Britain toward the end of Vespasian's reign,) was the first who found out the true way of conquering our forefathers. He saw that they were a rough, barbarous, valiant, and restless people. He found that they were always ready to rebel; and endeavouring, on every opportunity, to recover what they had lost. He resolved therefore to use them kindly; and to try whether he could not soften the roughness and ferocity of their tempers, by introducing the Roman language, customs, and arts, among us. All this we learn from his own son-in-law, Tacitus. — Animum provincie prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis si injuriæ sequerentur; causas bellorum statuit excindere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coarctavit: — nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei; non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec penam semper; sed sapientia penitentia contentus esse, (Tacitus, in vitâ Agric. p. 308. Ed. Plantin. 1589.)

— This was in the very first year of his government, and in speaking of the second, he says: — Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumta. Nanque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, cœque bello faciles, quieti & otio per voluptates assuescerent; hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent; laudando promptos, & castigando segnes: ita honoris emulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire; & ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum antecferre: ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Ibid. p. 309.

It should seem from a passage in Juvenal, that in forty years after this, (about the beginning of Adrian's reign,) the love for the Roman customs, and language,

of Agricola; and to be as ready to learn the customs of the Romans, as they were to teach them: and indeed whilst the Roman dominion lasted here, the most prudent of the old Britons were probably the most earnest students of their times. It was then politic to study Latin, and Greek: Latin, as necessary to enable them to converse with their masters; and Greek, as a language so much in vogue with the same. Without the former, at least, they could not well make their court to the conquerors; nor get themselves advanced to any post of credit in their own country. It was this, I imagine, which made the Roman method of education take so much among us: and the introducing, and following it for some time, was as prudent as it was necessary. But after the Romans found it not worth their while to maintain their conquests in this island, and at last quite deserted it; the Britons of that age might be as wrong in continuing this method of education, as those of the former were right in receiving it. However as it was then in possession, and had been for three or four centuries, it seems to have been continued without considering that there were not the same reasons for it; and so to have been handed on without any very considerable interruptions, quite down to our days. All this while, tho' the custom has so much antiquity to plead for it, and has been preserved with so much uniformity for so many ages, I know not whether we are obliged to our ancestors for handing it down to us so regularly or not. Might not one very fairly ask some difficult questions in relation to it? Would it not have been better for us in our earliest years, to have been thoroughly instructed in our own language, than in any dead languages whatever? Is a minister now to preach, or a lawyer to plead, or a gentleman in parliament to speak, in Latin? Yet in our schools we are to this day instructed to write themes, and to make orations, in the language of the Romans; with almost a total neglect of that, which I should think is the most necessary for us, not only in conversation, but in almost all the businesses of life. This it is that has made me often think, that the school-education in use at present among us is founded on a blunder: such a sort of blunder, for instance, as that of the Roman catholics, in continuing the use of the Latin tongue, in all their public devotions; for so many ages, since that language has ceased to be generally understood among them. But granting that there was no such mistake in the present case; and supposing that the very wisest aim for our school-education now, is that which is so generally in fashion: I should still be apt to imagine, that we are very wrong in the methods most usually taken to pursue the end which is proposed. If the general design of our schools should be that of teaching us to understand, what the Latin and Greek authors have said in their writings; why then are we led so much into the shades, that the modern commentators have cast around them?—Why are we so often obliged to fix hundreds of their lines in order, one after another, in our heads; and taught to repeat whole books of Homer and Virgil, by rote?—Why are we plunged so much oftner in the works of the antient poets, than in those of their historians?—And why is every boy, set to write things, that are called Latin verses; and obliged to endeavour at becoming a poet, in a foreign tongue?—Why must we in some schools be taught to speak, and in all be obliged to write, in languages that have been dead for so many centuries?—And why must all the youth at our best schools, (however different their genius's are, or whatever they are designed for in life,) be all instructed in the very same things; and, pretty near, in the very same track?

I do not mean by this that the classics should be wholly given up; but rather that our own language should not be given up for them: and, indeed, that the study of them need

usage, had prevailed so much among us; that our lawyers began even to plead in Latin: as they did in French, after the Norman conquest. The passage which I mean in Juvenal, is of an humorous and hyperbolic turn (as his often are :) but if it means any thing seriously at all, I think it must mean what I have mentioned. "The perfection of the Greek and Latin tongues, (says that poet,) are now studied

all over the world. The British lawyers have learnt it, from those in Gaul: and, no doubt, in a little time we shall have Rhetoric-schools set up in the *Terra Incognita*."

Nunc totus Græciæ nostrasque habet orbis Athenas;
Gallia caudicibus docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.

Juv. Sat. 15. §. 112.

need not be so univerfal. They are, I ſhould think, one of the fineſt amusements for a gentleman, that can be; and may become very uſeful to divines, philoſophers, hiſtorians, antiquarians, poets, ſculptors, and painters: but why ſhould all thoſe too be led into theſe ſtudies, who are meant for the more buſy offices of life; and who will probably have very little time, either for ſtudy or amuſement? I believe any body would own it to be very abſurd, if every child that went to ſchool, was to be obliged to ſtudy navigation: and yet I will venture to ſay, that this would not be near ſo abſurd, (in ſeveral countries, and in our own in particular;) as the endeavouring to make every boy that comes to ſchool, a claſſic ſcholar and a Latin poet.

BUT to leave this long digreſſion: Whether our youth ought to be educated in the manner they generally are, or not; and whether we ſhould apply ſo much to the claſſics when young, or defer it till our judgments are better ſettled; whenever, or by whomſoever they are to be read, I moſt heartily wiſh (both for their credit, and our greater pleaſure,) that all perſons who write comments upon them, would ſtrictly obſerve the two rules mentioned to you juſt before this digreſſion: and that they would endeavour only to explain the doubtful or difficult words, from parallel paſſages in which their meaning is more determined; and to give a ſhort and clear account of any opinion, cuſtom, or thing, not commonly known at preſent. Under the latter it is, that antiques, if well applied, might be of very great ſervice: for the figures of the things themſelves ſpeak to the eyes; and are leſs equivocal, and more expreſſive, than the cleareſt language can poſſibly be. We have very great treaſures of all ſorts, for this purpoſe, ſtored up by Agoſtini, Santo Bartoli, Maſſei, Grævius, and Montfaucon; not to mention a multitude of others: but they have hitherto been too much like great treaſures hid under-ground; or gold, yet in the mine. It is the applying them to their proper uſes, that is the thing neceſſary, (if I may be allowed ſuch an expreſſion,) to ſtamp them; and to make them more current among us.

As to the explaining of antiques in their turn from the claſſics; tho' we ſhould not find ſo great aſſiſtance in this caſe as in the former, (for our eyes, as Horace ſays, are much more faithful and true to us than our ears,) yet, it is the beſt, and almoſt only aſſiſtance we can have in this caſe: for how ſhould we at all underſtand the greater part of the remains of the ancient artiſts, if it were not for what we are told by the antient authors? This would hold, very often, as to ſingle figures; but is much ſtronger as to grouppes, and all hiſtorical or fabulous pieces; whether in paintings, in marble, or on gems. In that fine groupe, for inſtance, now in the Belvedere, (which has been called, "the nobleſt work of art, in the whole world;") we ſhould be ſtruck with the beauty of the deſign, and the expreſſion of pain in the father; of dread in one of the ſons, and of languiſhment in the other; but we ſhould not know that it was Laocoon, without the help of what Virgil (5), and one or two more of the Latin writers, have ſaid on that ſubject. This moſt noble work would then have been leſs intereſting, to every one almoſt that viewed it: and people would perhaps have been apt to have puzzled themſelves as much, in gueſſing at the ſtory of it; as to have delighted themſelves, with the excellence of the work. One might give a thouſand inſtances of the ſame nature; but the caſe is too clear, I think, to require any more. I cannot pretend to have made any great diſcoveries of this kind myſelf, in that part which makes the ſubject of my collection: but if you were to inſiſt on my giving you ſome inſtances, I ſhould chuſe to refer you to what I ſaid when we were conſidering the two nobleſt hiſtory-pieces in it; the relievo of Mars and Nerene (6), and that other of the Judgment of Paris and Jupiter's decree againſt Troy: in either of which if I have gueſſed at all aright, it muſt be wholly owing to what acquaintance I may have had with the claſſic writers. I have obſerved ſome other

(5) Virgil. *Æn.* 2. *ſ.* 199, to 227.—Petronius *Arb.* p. 151. Ed. Lond.—and Pliny, *Lib.* 36. *Cap.* 5. p. 474. Ed. Elz.

(6) See *Dial.* VII. *Pl.* 9. and *Dial.* XV. *Pl.* 34.

excellent relievos at Rome, which are still wholly in the dark; and which want some proper passage in the classics to be hit upon and applied to them, to determine what they mean. Such, in particular, is a noted subject which I have seen repeated at least half a dozen times, on as many different (7) relievos there; and which seem to me to relate to some Bacchanals, who had probably done a great deal of mischief, (as they often did in their mad fits;) and who are surprized in their sleep, by the persons they had injured; or perhaps, the relations of some unfortunate wretches, whom they had torn to pieces. Whatever it be, it certainly relates to some known story of old; from its being repeated so often, and sometimes by so very good hands: but either from the total silence of the antient authors, in relation to this story; or from nobody's having yet observed, what they may have said in relation to it; it is now only one fine confusion to the eye, or a puzzle for the poor antiquarians.

WHAT I have been saying to you hitherto, of the mutual use of the remains of the antient artists and the classic writers towards explaining one another, is meant in general; and on any subject you could name: whether relating to their religion; their history; their arts, or manners of living; in short, to every thing known or practised among them; and so would include all their authors too, indifferently, whether in prose or verse. My collection, you know, is not near so extensive as this; for you see that I have confined it only to such things as relate to the allegorical or imaginary beings, received among the Romans: a large subject indeed in itself; and, perhaps, a half of the whole. What I have said in general will hold of that, as well as of the rest; and I will now go on to enquire, what particular uses might be made of this part; considered separately, and by itself. Here Polymetis paused, for some time; and then proceeded in the following manner.

(7) One of them is published in the *Admiranda*; Pl. 52. from a relievo in the *Justiniani* palace; Bel-
lori, in his note on it, speaks of another, in the *Bar-*
barini palace, at Rome: and I have seen several others
on the same subject, in the other palaces or villas
about that city.



D I A L. XVIII.

The Use of this Enquiry, in particular : and of the Defects
of the MODERN ARTISTS, in Allegorical Subjects.

THE allegories of the antients, where they are well settled and known, might I think be of very great service to our artists, and poets, now ; and are indeed absolutely necessary to be studied by all such of our poets, as undertake to translate the Roman poets into our language.

THE reason why I think the allegories of the antients might be serviceable to our modern artists and poets in general, is founded on the clearness and simplicity usually to be met with in the former ; and the confusion and darkness that is but too common in the latter, in their allegorical or imaginary beings.

THE allegorical representations of the antients generally express what they mean directly, and easily ; and often by a single circumstance. This character of them in general you must have observed, I believe, of yourselves, in going thorough my collection of statues here : but, if you please, you may try it in one ⁽¹⁾ whole set of them ; that of the moral beings : in which you would find, that each of them is generally distinguished from all the rest by some single circumstance, or other. Thus Prudence, (as you may remember,) is marked out by her rule, pointing to a globe at her feet ; Justice, by her equal balance ; Fortitude, by a sword ; and Temperance, by a bridle.—Devotion, is flinging incense on an altar ; Honesty, is in a transparent vest : Modesty, is veiled ; and Clemency, is known by her olive branch.—Health, is distinguished by her serpent ; and Liberty, by her cap.—Tranquillity, stands firm against a column : Gayety, has the myrtle of Venus in her hand : and Joviality, the wreath of flowers, which they wore of old at feasts.—Necessity, is distinguished by her clavus trabalis ; the Destinies, by their distaffs ; and Fortune by her rudder. All these marks are settled, and obvious ; and most of them point out the character of the person they belong to, in a more easy and strong manner, than a multiplicity of marks for each could ever have done.

As propriety and simplicity are the distinguishing character of the antient artists, in their allegorical figures ; so multiplicity and impropriety may almost be looked upon as the distinguishing character of the modern. I shall give you some instances of this, that may perhaps surprize you : but the more absurd, and the more ridiculous they are ; the stronger will it appear of how much use it might be to our artists now, to study and follow the antients in this particular, more than they may have hitherto done.

ANY one that has been much used to see the works of the modern sculptors, will I believe be very ready to acknowledge, that in the allegorical figures of their own invention, we are frequently at a loss to know what they mean. I could give you various instances of this, even from the gardens of Versailles, and the collections in Rome itself ; but I rather chuse to refer you to a number of instances, that lay all together : in a book published by Cavalier Ripa, to direct our modern artists in subjects of this kind ; and which, it seems, has been so generally regarded as a good model, that it has been translated into no less than seven different languages.—You need not refer me to that, as a new thing to me, says Myfagetes ; Ripa is my old acquaintance. I used to divert myself with the oddness of his figures, when I was a boy ; and remember several of them still.

(1) See Plates 21, 22, and 23.

still. I know you have got his book here, in your study; and tho' you did not care perhaps to own it, I shall (with your leave) take it down from that shelf: if it were only out of pure malice, to puzzle Philander; in setting him to guess, what some of his figures mean. Here I have it: and (to go on regularly) will give Philander ten minutes, to name who this lady is toward the beginning of the book (2), with a flute in her hand, and a stag at her feet. By her flute, says Philander, I should be apt to take it for a muse; but by the stag, it should be a Diana. It is neither the one, nor the other, answered Myſagetes; and you are yet very wide of the person intended. This lady is a very gentle lady, called Flattery; and she is represented with a flute and stag, because, (as some authors say,) stags are naturally very great lovers of music; and will suffer themselves to be (3) taken, if you will but play upon a flute to them.—I hope you will have better luck with the next. Who is this naked lady (4), whose body is encompassed all round with light, and whose head is hid in the clouds? Ay this, says Philander, is not so difficult as the former: for by the circumstances you have just mentioned, and by the globe and compasses there in her right hand, the known emblems of Urania, you will at least allow this to be that Muse. I find, replied Myſagetes, that you would be for making a muse of every figure you see. No, Sir; this is Beauty: and her head is all involved in clouds, because (5) there is nothing so difficult to be conceived by the human mind, as the true idea of beauty.—Once more: Who is this man (6), with a pair of bellows in one hand, and a spur in the other? I must give out, answered Philander, for I never had any happiness in solving riddles; and these I think are rather more intricate, than any I ever yet tried at. Well, says Myſagetes, since you find them so knotty, I will trouble you with no more trials; but will tell you what each figure means, as I turn over the book. This man then, is Caprice; and he is marked out by his bellows and spur, as my author says, because (7) the capricious are sometimes very ready to blow up people's virtues; and at others, as ready to strike at their vices.—This lady (8), with a heart in her hand, and a lighted candle standing upon the heart, is the Holy Catholic Faith; because faith enlightens the mind of man: and this woman with two different heads and faces (9), with two hearts in one hand, and a mask in the other (10), (not to mention her scorpion's-tail, and eagle-legs,) is Fraud.—This old man sitting on a rainbow, is Judgment (11); because Judgment is the result of much experience.—This fat figure, with a crab in his hand, is Corpulency (12); because crabs grow fat at the increase of the moon: and this old woman with a crow on each side of her, is Irresolution, or Procrastination (13); because that bird, (as our author very gravely observes,) always cries; Cras, Cras!—We are got now to a figure, that looks more like a landscape than a single figure. In the midst, you see, stands a lady (14), with a church in her hand, and a helmet

(2) See Ripa's *Iconologia*, p. 6. Ed. Romæ, 1603.

(9) *Ib.* p. 174.

(3) Scrivono alcuni; che il cervo di sua natura allietato dal suono del flauto quasi si dimentica di se stesso, & si lascia pigliare. In conformatione di ciò è la presente imagine. *Ibid.* p. 7.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 41.

(5) Si dipinge la Bellezza con la testa ascosta fra le nuvole; perchè non è cosa, della quale più difficilmente si possa parlare con mortal lingua, & che meno si possa conoscere con l' intelletto humano, quanto la bellezza; la quale nelle cose create non è altro che un splendore che deriva dalla luce della faccia di Dio. *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(7) Lo sperone & il mantice mostrano il capriccioso pronto all' adulare l' altrui virtù, & al pungere i vizi. *Ib.* p. 48.

(8) *Ib.* p. 151.

(10) The fault for which this is mentioned, is the multiplying of attributes, thrice over, to tell the same thing. As to the tail and feet, one would think that they had been meant to signify, that she was swift to do mischief; but the author it seems intended something else by them. La coda di scorpione & i piedi d'aquila, (says he) significano il veleno ascosto, che fomenta continuamente come uccello di preda, per rapire altrui, & la robba, & l'honore. *Ib.* 175.

(11) *Ib.* p. 185.—Ciascuno che sale à gradi dell' azioni humane, bisogna che da molte esperienze apprenda il Giudizio; il quale quindi risulti, come l' iride risulta, &c. p. 186.

(12) *Ib.* p. 198.

(13) *Ib.* p. 234.

(14) *Ib.* p. 255.

a helmet on her head. Behind her is a country all full of rocks and mountains. On the mountain, to her right hand, are two boys holding a cornucopia; and on the mountain, to her left, is a bull under a rainbow. This is, indeed, a very complicated riddle; however I will tell you the whole meaning of it. The lady, in the midst, is the province of Umbria, in Italy: she is represented with so many mountains about her, because mountains are apt to cast a shade; and her name is Umbria. She has a helmet on her head, because the inhabitants of that province were formerly great warriors; and holds a church in her hand, because St Bennet of Norcia, and St. Francis of Assisi, were both born in this province. The two boys with the cornucopias, are the Gemini; (I suppose, to point out the two saints again, and the fertility of the country:) the bull is in memory of the famous bulls formerly, on the banks of the Clitumnus: and the rainbow is a signal of the waterfall at Velini; in which, I have myself happened to see a rainbow.——A little farther, you have (15) Liberty, with a cat, at her feet; because a cat loves liberty: and Free-will (16), dressed like a Gothic king, with a scepter in his hand, and the letter Y, in the air over her.—Obligation, with two heads, and two arms on each side (17): because a person that is much obliged, is forced to sustain two personages: one to take care of himself, and the other to take care of his benefactor.—Persuasion (18), with a tongue on the top of her head: and Piety, with flames (19) burning on hers: which latter, by the way, seems to be a favourite thought with this author.—Then you have Poverty, with a great stone chained to one hand, and wings to the other (20); because poverty, keeps people down, that long to rise. Sincerity, with her heart (21) in her hand; Terror (22), with the head of a lion: and Vigilance, with a crane, holding a stone (23); because the crane, that stands guard whilst the rest are feeding, holds a stone to give notice of the approach of any enemies.—All these surely are instances of improper and unnatural allegories in this work of the Cavalier Ripa: and I might be able perhaps, to give you ten times as many of the same kind, was I to consult all the strange figures he has given us in this work; and all the rules he has laid down for other figures, some of which would be full as strange: but I have only touched on a part of the former; and these I have mentioned are certainly enough for Polymetis's purpose; and, probably, too much for any body's patience. Such is the model which has been given, from Rome itself, for our modern artists! and such the work, which has been translated into the languages of, at least, seven different nations! among which, that of our own dear native country, has the honour of being one.

SINCE you would produce that book, (resumed Polymetis;) in return, I shall beg leave to shew you another. It is a work of Otho Venius; and consists of several allegorical pictures; taken from the works of Horace; and therefore called Horace's Emblems. Over against each plate, the author has affixed some account of the emblem contained in it, in five several languages; that it may be of the more general use. This Otho Venius, was (24) a celebrated painter; of the best school, perhaps, that ever we had on this side

the

(15) Ibid. p. 293.

(20) Ib. p. 410.

(16) Ibid. p. 296.

(21) Ib. p. 456.

(17) Ibid. p. 365.

(22) Ib. p. 485.

(18) Ibid. p. 394, & 401.

(23) Ib. p. 502.

(19) When virtues or vices are represented personally, and under human figures; it is very odd, one would think, to represent them under circumstances dissimilar to the nature of human bodies.—Such is this of having fire burning on any part of the body; without its being consumed, or at all affected by it.—Thus too Religion, in Ripa, (p. 430.) carries a flaming fire on the palm of her hand; the Longing after God, has the same on her breast; (ib. p. 102.) and Heresy, has flames coming out of her mouth. (ib. 217.

(24) Otto Venius vivoit du tems de Tempeste. Il étoit de Leyde; & fort estimé dans les Pais-Bas: non seulement pour ses ouvrages, mais pour le grand savoir & pour les belles qualitez qui étoient en lui. Il peignoit pour le Duc de Parme; & depuis demeura entierement attaché au service de l'Archiduc Albert. C'est de lui les Emblemes d'Horace que vous avez vûs gravées. Il y a dans l'Eglise Cathédrale de Leyde un tableau, où il a représenté la Cène de notre Seigneur; qui est un ouvrage qu'on estime beaucoup. Il eût pour disciple Paul Rubens. Felibien, Tom. III. p. 332. See p. 406. Ibid.

the Alps : and in the most flourishing times of that school. He studied at Antwerp : and was the famous Rubens's master. In spite of all this, you will find his patterns almost as full of faults as Ripa's ; tho' his faults are of a very different kind : Ripa's allegorical fancies being defective, most commonly, as far-fetched and obscure ; whereas Venius's faults are generally owing to his following his author in too literal and frivolous a manner. Thus if Horace says, *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem, Venius takes brevis personally ; and so represents Folly (25) as a little, short child, of not above three or four years old.*—In the emblem which answers Horace's, *Rare antecedentem scelestum Deseruit pede pœna claudo ;* you have Punishment (26) with a wooden leg : and for, *Pulvis & umbra fumus,* you have a dark burying-vault (27), with dust sprinkled about the floor ; and a shadow, walking upright, between two ranges of urns.—For *Virtus est vitium fugere, & sapientia prima Stultitiâ caruisse ;* you see seven or eight Vices (28) pursuing Virtue ; and Folly, just at the heels of Wisdom. I question too, whether he had not some meaning in placing Wisdom first, in the whole piece ; (*sapientia prima.*)—*Quantum sepultæ distat inertæ Celata virtus,* has furnished Venius with a very quaint thought. To answer it exactly, he gives you (29) Virtue sitting in a shade, under a little dark hovel ; Sloth, lying on a bed, with a sepulchral inscription over it : and there is but a thin partition-wall between them both ; because, *Paulum sepultæ distat inertæ Celata Virtus.*—There is as much punctuality observed in the emblem for the following passage :

Inter spem curamque timores inter & iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum ;
Grata super veniet quæ non sperabitur hora.

For here (30) he gives you a man sitting between Hope and Care, on one side of him ; and Anger and Fear, on the other ; for the first line : then there is a thread, reaching from heaven to the head of the man who is thus seated ; and a hand coming out of the clouds with a pair of sheers, as just ready to cut the thread in two ; for the second : and one of the Horæ, or Hours, flying down from heaven towards him ; with a horn of plenty in her arms ; for the third. I shall not insist here on the great impropriety of flinging so many opposite things together into one piece ; and so representing a man as pleased, and vexed, and killed, and comforted, all at the same time : but shall go on to some more instances of the most general fault of this artist ; his trivial and literal way of imitation. Thus, for, *Dominum vehet (31),* you have a poor man, crawling on all four ; and a man, richly dressed, riding on his back.—For, *Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari ;* a figure of Death (32), stamping on the breast of Envy——and for,

Linquenda tellus, & domus, & placens
Uxor ; neque harum quas colis arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressus,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur :

You see (33) Death, leading away a man from his wife and family ; and carrying two cypress-trees along with them, upon his shoulders.

I COULD give you many more instances of Venius's general fault, which is that of being too minute, and literal ; but these I believe will be enough to satisfy you. If you ask

(25) See Venius's *Emblemata Horat.* p. 96. Ed. Antwerp, 1612.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 164.

(26) *Ibid.* p. 180.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 84.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 208.

(32) *Ibid.* p. 172.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(33) *Ibid.* p. 196.

ask me how he has succeeded in his manner of allegorizing, as to the single figures which are used by him to express such or such a passion; my answer must be, that tho' he may not be so ridiculous as Ripa, yet he falls very short of the justness and propriety of the antients. To give you some instances of this: Pride is distinguished in him, by having a peacock over her head.—Envy, holds her own heart up to her mouth; and is (34) eating part of it.—Poverty is distinguished, by a (35) cabbage; because she lives upon herbs.—Labour carries an ox's head (36), on his back; and Fear has a hare (37) standing upon his shoulders.—I could multiply instances of this kind too, upon you: but these few, I think, may be sufficient to shew the puerility of this artist in some cases; and his inexpressiveness, in others. In several of his imaginary beings, as Virtue, Wisdom, Ingenuity, Piety, Love, Hope, (and perhaps some others,) he is much more sensible and exact: but that is generally owing to his borrowing those figures, from the remains of the ancient artists: and particularly, (as he (38) himself tells us,) from their statues and medals.

RUBENS is one of the most famous of our modern painters, for allegorical figures; and perhaps dealt in them the more, from his having been bred up under Venius. The character of Rubens, as a Colourist, is indisputable: and as to the parts in which he really excels, I admire him as much as any one. But all I have to consider here is his manner of treating allegories: and in those, I think, I may very safely say; that he might have succeeded better, had he been more constant, and more regular, in his imitations of the antients.

THERE is a large (39) work, (all designed by Rubens, and published by Gevartius,) which may serve to shew this celebrated painter's taste in allegories, more fully than any thing I know of; as it consists of a great variety of prints, most of which abound chiefly in imaginary figures. Among these there are several that are plain and easy; both from antiques, and of his own invention: but there are too many instances too, of his misrepresenting the allegorical personages of the antients; and of his inventing others, either in an improper or confused manner.—Such I should take the mean staring Apollo to be, in a chariot drawn by two horses, in the frontispiece; the Diana dressed like Vesta (40), and the Vesta with the fulmen in her hand. Virtus (41), with the same attribute; and Providence (42), with one face before, and another behind.—Time, with an hour-glass on his head; and Hope, with her anchor upon her shoulder.—Two Fames (43), each with two trumpets; one of them with a tiger in her lap; and the other, with an eagle at her feet.—Discord (44), tearing her own veil: and represented arm in arm with Rixa; and yet quarrelling with her all the while.—Antwerp (45), with a mural crown, mixed with fruits, on her head; and two hands, just above it, but detached from it.—Here a lady (46), with a ship sailing along the palm of her hand; and there another (47), with the same phenomenon on her head.—His Winds (48), with their cheeks almost burst:

(34) Ibid. p. 16.

(35) Ibid. p. 134.

(36) Ibid. p. 166.

(37) Ibid. p. 156.

(38) *Virtutes ac Vitia more veterum, ex numismatibus ac statuis, non raro expressi.* Venius's Pref.

(39) It was occasioned by the entry of Ferdinand, into Antwerp, in 1635; and is entitled, *Pompa Introitus; Honori Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Austriaci, Hispaniarum Infantis, —Belgarum & Burgundionum gubernatoris, a S. P. Q. Antwerp. decreta & adornata.* Felibien had a very high notion of this work, and of Rubens's skill in allegorical paintings, in general; as appears from what he says in his *Idee du*

Peintre parfait. Rubens, qui de tous les Peintres s'est le plus ingénieusement, & le plus doctement, servi de ces symboles; comme on le peut voir par le livre de l'entrée du Cardinal Infant dans la ville d'Anvers, & par les tableaux de la Galerie du Luxembourg. *Entretiens.* vol. 6. p. 56.

(40) Pl. 14. & 21.

(41) Pl. 43.

(42) Pl. 43. & 32.

(43) Pl. 6.

(44) Pl. 30.

(45) Pl. 34. & 43.

(46) Pl. 35.

(47) Pl. between 31. & 32.

(48) Pl. 7.

burst : and that very odd one in particular ; whose arms end in a sort of finny wings, from the elbow : and whose legs are of so strange a figure, that it would puzzle one to find out any name for it. Some of these thoughts are improper enough ; and others quite fanciful and ridiculous ; but this you may say was a task, undertaken on a sudden, by Rubens ; and executed, probably, in haste. Let us then, if you please, consider one or two of his more studied performances ; and such as may be supposed to have been the most correctly imagined. I believe you would not be unwilling to allow me, that two of the most capital works Rubens ever did, are the ceiling, in the banquetting-house at Whitehall ; and the fine set of pictures, in the Luxemburg gallery at Paris. In these we see the right side of Rubens's character, in its highest perfection ; but we may discover the wrong side of it too : for if we were to judge only by them, one might safely say, that his character is colouring, and not allegorizing. As to the latter, there are, I think, several faults even in these most excellent works of that great master ; and I shall take the liberty of pointing out some of them to you.

IN the farther square of the fine ceiling painted by Rubens at Whitehall, there are two ladies embracing each other ; which from the compliments most usually paid to James I. I should take to be Peace and Righteousness ; tho' Righteousness has no attribute to distinguish her, and Peace only a very general one.—In the hither square, two of the three imaginary ladies that are holding two crowns tied together, over the young prince's head, are in the same manner without any attribute to shew who they are : tho' they are said to have been meant for the Genius's of England, and Scotland ; and if so, might have been marked out easily enough.—In the middle great oval, (or the Apotheosis,) there are two Virtues with attributes, but improper ones : for, I fancy, you will hardly approve of Piety's holding up such a large altar, (with such a fire lighted on it too,) so near her breast ; or of Justice's grasping a bundle of flames and her scales together, in the same hand.—The side-ornaments consist of two long pannels ; and four ovals, one at each corner. I cannot well guess why the Cupids, in one of these pannels, are to conduct a triumphal sort of car, drawn by wild lions ; and much less, why the triumphal car in the other, is drawn by a ram and a bear.—As to the figures in the corner ovals, they are meant, I suppose, for the four Cardinal Virtues : tho' I never saw them represented in such a manner elsewhere. Indeed this seems to me to be much the most faulty part of the whole work. For, in the first place, I imagine that these moral beings ought rather to appear for themselves, than be represented by any deputies whatever. In the next place, I think, the manner of expressing them ought, at least to be uniform ; that they should appear either all in person, or be represented all by proxy : whereas here Temperance only appears in her proper person, and the other three are figured out under different deities. In the third place, the deities substituted in the place of these three Virtues, do not seem to me to be quite well chosen. You have Apollo, for Prudence ; Hercules, for Fortitude ; and Minerva, for Justice. The introducing Hercules instead of Fortitude is perfectly easy and obvious : but the case is not altogether so clear as to the Apollo ; and not at all as to the Minerva. In the fourth place, I should be apt to quarrel greatly with their attitudes ; and their being represented each as oppressing somebody, or another. Thus Apollo is sitting on Avarice ; Temperance, has Rapaciousness, (as I should guess by the wolf's head appearing just by,) for her foot-stool ; Hercules is kneeling, on a snake-headed lady, perhaps Envy ; and Minerva is neither standing, sitting, nor kneeling, on a naked person whose name I cannot so much as guess at.—I shall only add, that this is the first time that ever I saw Apollo with a horn of plenty in his hand : and that I do not know any particular reason why it should be given him here. If this work be so faulty in the allegorical part of it, as I imagine it to be, I am the more sorry for it ; because it is certainly one of the finest paintings, as to the beauties of the colouring, the happiness of the pencil, and the judicious management of the lights and shades, in the whole world : and deserves to be much better known, and much more regarded among us, than it has generally been. Were it in Italy, instead of England, I doubt not but several of our travellers would willingly have gone

gone a hundred miles out of their way, on purpose to see it: who, perhaps, have now never seen it all; because it is just at their own doors.

In the fine set of pictures, by Rubens, in the Luxemburg gallery, you will meet with various faults too, in relation to the allegories. I shall just point out some of them to you; because you may have been taken up so much with the beauty of those paintings, that you may not have had any attention to spare for their defects. These, I think, are of three sorts. First, where the painter borrows any allegorical figures long since invented by the antients, and some way or another misrepresents them: the second, where they are wholly of his own invention, but are either too fanciful, or else ill expressed: and the third, where either the one or the other are introduced in an improper manner, or an improper place.

For instances of the first sort I shall only name to you, the three (49) Destinies in the first history piece, who are all young, plump ladies; the Juno Lucina (50), almost wholly naked: and the Mercury (51), with a great beard.

Of the second sort, is that idea of Juno and Cupid, placing each a couple of doves on a globe (52); to shew the mildness of the government of the Queen-mother: and Time bringing up Truth in his arms (53), to reconcile the queen and her son. These, I think, are too fanciful: and as to such as are ill expressed, I should instance in his Envy, Ignorance, and Defamation (54); in one piece: and his Fidelity, Justice, Piety, and Fortitude (55); in another. The former of these have scarce any attributes to distinguish them from one another; and the latter are distinguished in a manner almost as coarse, as if their names had been written under them. They are, as you may remember, those four plump ladies, who are rowing the Queen-mother, and the young King, in a state-barge: with a sort of badges, affixed by the side of each of them; to tell us who they are.

UNDER the third head, (or that of improprieties,) we may reckon the Victory lamenting the death of Henry the Fourth (56), with a trophy exalted; Fame wringing her hands (57), and holding a palm-branch; (who, by the way too, is much more like some distressed popish saint, than the goddess she is meant to represent:) the two Fames each (58) with two trumpets; Bacchus caressing (59) Ceres, a little too familiarly for a council of the gods; the Queen-mother, in council, with two cardinals (60) and Mercury; and the Hymen on one side of Mary of Medici (61), and Cardinal Aldobrandini on the other, officiating in (what they call) a sacramental rite, before the high altar in the great church at Florence: on which he has represented, at the same time, the two most sacred figures that can be imagined. Had the publishers of this celebrated work of Rubens, given a due attention to these, and some other particulars; I imagine, they would scarce have chosen out his talent for allegory, as the highest (62) point of merit in that excellent painter.

IF

(49) See Monf. Nattier's Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg; la Destinie de la Reine, N° 1.

(50) La Naissance de la Reine. Ib. N° 2.

(51) L'Education de la Reine. Ib. N° 3.

(52) Le Gouvernement de la Reine. Ib. N° 12.

(53) Le tems decouvre la Verité. Ib. N° 21.

(54) La Felicité de la Regence de la Reine. Ib. N° 15.

(55) La Majorité du Roy Louis XIII. Ib. N° 16.

(56) L'Apotheose de Henry IV. Ib. N° 11.

(57) Ibid.

(58) La Felicité de la Regence de la Reine. Ib. N° 15.

(59) Le Gouvernement de la Reine. Ib. N° 12.

(60) La Reine prend la partie de la Paix. Ib. N° 18.

(61) Le Mariage de la Reine. Ib. N° 5.

(62) Il n'y a nulle des ecoles de peinture ou Rubens ne soit en admiration, pour la verité de la couleur; la belle & riche composition; pour cette partie qu'on nomme Clair-obscur; la fecondité du genie; le beau feu; les graces naïves: &c. sur tout, pour l'esprit & la justesse des allegories. Avertiss. Ibid.

If you should say that it is not fair in me, thus to produce a Flemish painter (tho' ever so famous an one) as an instance to shew how faulty the modern painters are in their allegories; I beg leave to put you in mind of what I happened to say to you the other day (63) of the inferiority of Dominiquin, (one of the most exact masters, in the best of all the schools in Italy,) when compared with the antients; in expressing that great subject, the four Cardinal Virtues: and I believe I may venture to assure you, that what I then said of Dominiquin, may be said of all the Italian painters, as well as of the Flemish.

Of all the Italian painters, Dominiquin may perhaps be reckoned the next to Raphael, for justness and correctness; and even Raphael himself, the divine Raphael, is not without his faults in the allegorical part of his paintings. Indeed he uses allegories very sparingly: partly, perhaps, from his being sensible of the defectiveness of modern painting, in that branch. In some of Rubens's pieces last mentioned, you have more of fiction than reality. Raphael is far from being so profuse. He introduces his allegorical or supernatural personages, with the greatest moderation; and generally, not without some foundation in history: I mean, at least that romance sort of history, which is received and read so much in all popish countries. This might be proved from his works in general; and particularly from those fine ones in the apartments of the Vatican, which from them commonly go by the name of Raphael's chambers: where you have scarce any thing of this kind, in the historical pieces; except the little angels holding up a cross in the air, while Constantine harangues his soldiers; the larger angels, flying over his army and protecting them, in the battle; the two ministers of vengeance, driving the wicked Heliodorus out of the temple; and St. Peter and St. Paul, appearing in the air against Attila. These are all plain and just, and most of them historical: and Raphael can no more be blamed for introducing them, than an antient painter would be for having introduced Castor and Pollux as assisting the Roman army against their enemies. Yet even Raphael sometimes falls short of the antient simplicity and propriety, in treating allegorical subjects; and in these very apartments you have the four Cardinal Virtues expressed not quite so neatly and clearly by him, as they were commonly of old. Among my figures (64), as you may remember, each of these Virtues is marked out by some single attribute; Prudence, by her rule pointing to the globe at her feet, Justice by her scales, Fortitude by her sword, and Temperance by her bit or bridle. Raphael's way of expressing some of these is more complex. He paints Temperance, with a bit; Justice, with a sword and scales: Fortitude sitting, (which I should imagine to be wrong,) and resting her hand on the head of a lion: and Prudence, with a woman's face before, and a man's face behind; a little Cupid holding up a looking-glass to her, and her fore-face reflected in it; the Gorgon's head on her breast, and another Cupid standing by her with a flaming lamp. As this last errs against simplicity, there is another piece in the same apartments, that errs against propriety; and that is the famous Parnassus: in which you see Apollo, playing on a modern fiddle: but one Muse only with a lyre; and that not like any of the antient lyres: the Muses, in general, not well distinguished; and the two theatrical ones, in particular, not to be distinguished at all: they having both the same sort of mask; and that of a modern make, and unlike the antient masks or personæ's.

If you were to take the trouble of comparing prints of all the works of any modern painter you please, with the figures and drawings in my collection here; I doubt not but that upon the whole you would find the manner of the modern to be neither so simple, nor so well fitted to express the beings they would represent, as the antient manner was: for if Raphael himself should be found deficient, whom else can we think of comparing with them? When therefore I commend the antient artists so highly and so often, it

is

(63) See Dial. X. p. 144.

(64) See Pl. XXI.

is not because they are antients; but because they are better than the moderns. Nay, I do not even think that this absolutely proves a superiority of genius in the antients, (for men may perhaps be of near the same capacity in all ages,) but only a superiority of practice. They of old pursued the arts with more constancy, and more encouragements, than we have happened to do, in these latter ages of the world. The great age of statuary and painting began a considerable time before the reign of Alexander the Great; and was continued on successively in Greece, and Italy, without any great interruptions,) down to the times of the Antonines⁽⁶⁵⁾; or rather somewhat lower. Many of the greatest princes, during this period, gave the highest encouragements to the artists; and the practice of idolatry, which reigned for all that time all over Europe, made their employ a very constant and a very gainful one. This was a long period for gradual improvement, (and all great improvements must be gradual;) with a much greater call, for their works: and vast rewards sometimes, for the best of them. The case has been very different in the modern state of Europe. The fall of the Roman Empire shattered every kingdom in it into pieces, if I may be allowed such an expression; or, in other words, it occasioned a number of petty principalities to arise; which have been struggling with one another almost ever since: and in many kingdoms are not yet re-united into one great body. Such was the Heptarchy in England; and something like it, in most of the kingdoms of Europe. In Italy, itself, the effect of this great shock continues visible to this day: and it may be many ages, before they become one kingdom again. Under this inconvenience of power split into so many hands, we have scarce as yet had any settled age for the arts. They have only rose up a little by starts, in comparison of the great period above mentioned; and then sunk down again: witness that great age for them in Italy, under Leo the Tenth; and that other in France, under Lewis the Fourteenth: which were very promising indeed, but not very lasting. And in both these great ages of the arts, it is very observable by the way, that the greatest improvements that were made, were made by persons who imitated the remains of the ancient artists the most strictly. Thus Raphael and Michael Angelo, for example, advanced statuary and painting more by this means, in twenty years; than all the artists in Italy together, had done in the compass of two hundred years before them: and Poussin and Gerardon, who studied antiques the most of any of the French artists, have more merit than almost all the rest put together.—The great consequence of all this, says Myſagetes, is too clear to be missed by us; it is plainly this; that if we would have an artist excel the rest of his brethren, in these our days, we ought to send him directly to your collection. You are very right, says Polymetis: and it would not be at all amiss, if you would send our poets thither too: I mean only, to form their ideas as to the imaginary or allegorical personages, which they may have occasion to introduce in their poems. Indeed allegory is on a worse footing with our poets, than it is with our artists. For, to say the truth, our poets seem as yet to have formed no settled scheme at all, for their allegories: and therefore either take up with the broken ideas that occur to their minds from what they have read in the antients: or else form some irregular phantoms of their own; just as chance, or fancy, leads them. Hence is that jumble of christianity and heathenism; which makes us sometimes meet with a pagan deity in one line, and an angel in the next. The poet generally fits down wholly undetermined, whether Furies, or Devils, are to be the executioners he will make use of: and brings in either the one or the other, just as the humour takes; or, as the verse demands. If two syllables are wanting, it is Satan: but if four, you are sure of meeting with Tisiphone.

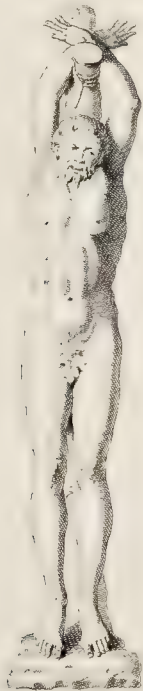
It is not my business to determine, whether it would be wiser in our poets to follow the allegories of the antients intirely; or to invent an intire new system of their own: all I would

(65) Commodus, the last of the Antonines, died in the year 193. The arts were greatly declined, but not wholly gone then. The absolute fall of them

may be better fixed, as it is by many, to the time of the thirty tyrants, (or pretenders to the crown,) under the reign of Gallienus: which began in the year 260.

I would assert is, that where they do chuse to follow them, they should follow them regularly ; which they are very far from having done.

To shew how irregular and defective our modern poets have been in their allegories, give me leave to make a sort of examen into the most celebrated work of a very great man : whose genius I respect ; and who gives every body pleasure that reads him. I mean, our own Spenser : the best allegorist, as I take it, among all our modern poets ; and it is therefore that I chuse particularly to instance from him, rather than any other : for if the best is faulty, you know what we are to conclude of the worst. I have read his *Fairy Queen* over lately, with this very view ; and you will pardon me, if the observations which I shall make on that work with pain, should take up more of your time than you may care for.



D I A L. XIX.

The Defects of our Modern Poets, in their Allegories : instanced from SPENSER's Fairy Queen.

THE faults of Spenser in relation to his machinery or allegories, (continued Polymetis,) seem to me, to be all reducible to three general heads. They arise either from that poet's mixing the fables of heathenism, with the truths of christianity ;—or from his misrepresenting the allegories of the antients :—or from something that is wrong in the allegories of his own invention. As to the two former, I shall not have much to say ; but shall beg leave to be a little more diffuse, as to the third.

THE strongest instance I can recollect of the first kind, his mixing christianity and heathenism together, is in that short view, which he gives of the infernal regions ; in the seventh Canto, of the second book. You may read the passage here in his Fairy Queen (1). The particular part I mean, is where he speaks of Jupiter and Tantalus, and of Pontius Pilate and our Saviour, almost in the same breath.

THE instances of Spenser's misrepresenting the stories, and allegorical personages, of the antients, are not uncommon in this poem. Thus, in a former view of hell, he speaks of Esculapius (2), as in eternal torments. In another place, he introduces a company of satyrs, to save a lady (3) from a rape ; tho' their distinguishing character was lust : and makes Sylvanus (4), the god or governor of the satyrs, a dignity which the antients never bestow upon him ; no more than the ivy-girdle (5), which he gives him, round his waist. It is with the same sort of liberty as I take it that he describes the day, or morning (6), as having purple hair ; the Sirens (7), as half-fish ; and Bacchus, as fat :

(1) The knight him seeing labour so in vain,
Ask'd who he was and what he meant thereby ;
Who groaning deep, thus answer'd him again,
Most cursed of all creatures under sky
Lo, Tantalus I here tormented lie !
Of whom high Jove wont whilom feasted be,
Lo here I now for want of food do die :
But if that thou be such as I thee see,
Of grace I pray thee, give to eat and drink to me.

Nay, nay, thou greedy Tantalus, (quoth he,)
Abide the fortune of thy present fate ;
And unto all that live in high degree
Ensample be of mind intemperate ;
To teach them how to use their present state.
Then 'gan the cursed wretch aloud to cry,
Accusing highest Jove and Gods ingrate ;
And eke blaspheming heaven bitterly,
As author of injustice there to let him die.

He look'd a little further, and espy'd
Another wretch ; whose carcass deep was drent
Within the river which the fame did hide :
But both his hands, most filthy sculent
Above the water were on high extant,
And fain'd to wash themselves incessantly ;
Yet nothing cleaner were for such intent ;
But rather fouler seemed to the eye :
So lost his labour vain, and idle indoltry.

The knight him calling, asked who he was ;
Who lifting up his head, him answer'd thus.

I Pilate am, the falsest judge alas
And most unjust ! that by unrighteous
And wicked doom to Jews despitous
Deliver'd up the Lord of life to die ;
And did acquit a murderer felonous :
The whiles my hands I wash'd in purity,
The whiles my soul was soil'd with foul iniquity.
Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book 2. Cant. 7. St. 62.

(2) Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 5. St. 40, to 43.

(3) Ibid. Cant. 6. St. 6, to 19.

(4) Ibid. St. 15. §. 4.

(5) Ibid. St. 14. §. 9.

(6) He all his armours ready dight that day,
That nought the morrow next mote flay his fate :
The morrow next appear'd with purple hair,
Yet dropping fresh out of the Indian fount ;
And bringing light into the heavens fair.
Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 10. St. 16.

(7) They were fair ladies till they fondly strive'd
With the Heliconian maids for mailery :
Of whom they overcomen, were depriv'd
Of their proud beauty ; and th' one moiety
Transform'd to fish, for their bold farquetry.
Ibid. Book. 2. Cant. 12. St. 31.

The figures of Sirens are not uncommon in antiques ; and are never represented there with a fish-tail,

fat (8) : that he speaks of Clio, as Apollo's (9) wife; and of Cupid, as brother (10) of the Graces : and that he represents Orion, in one place, as flying from a snake (11), in the heavens ; and, in another, as a water-god, and one of the attendants of Neptune. The latter is in Spenser's account of the marriage of the Thames and Medway ; in which he has greatly increased Neptune's court ; and added (12) several deities as attendants to that god ; which were never regarded as such by any of the antients.

THIS may be sufficient to shew, that where Spenser does introduce the allegories of the antient poets, he does not always follow them so exactly as he might ; and in the allegories which are purely of his own invention, (tho' his invention is one of the richest and most beautiful that perhaps ever was,) I am sorry to say, that he does not only fall very short of that simplicity and propriety which is so remarkable in the works of the antients ; but runs now and then into thoughts, that are quite unworthy so great a genius. I shall mark out some of these faults to you, that appear even through all his beauties ; and which may, perhaps, look quite gross to you, when they are thus taken from them, and laid together by themselves : but if they should prejudice you at all against so fine a writer ; read almost any one of his entire Canto's, and it will reconcile you to him again. The reason of my producing these instances to you, is only to shew what faults the greatest allegorist may commit ; whilst the manner of allegorizing is left upon so unfixed and irregular a footing as it was in his time, and is still among us.

THE first sort of fault I shall mention to you, from such allegories of Spenser as are purely of his own invention, is their being sometimes too complicated, or over-done. Such for example are his representations of Scandal, Discord, and Pride.

SCANDAL, is what Spenser calls, the Blatant Beast : and indeed he has made a very strange beast of him. He says, that his mouth was as wide (13) as a peck :
and

tail, that I know of : but with the upper part, human, and the lower, like birds. (See Gortæus's gems, 2. 482.—Agostini's medals, 156. 3.—Smid's Martial, p. 106, &c.) The poets describe them in the same manner ; and particularly Ovid, in his account of their transformation.

— Vobis, Acheloides, unde
Pluma pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis ?
Met. 5. 5. 553.

The moderns, by some mistake or other, have turned their lower parts into fish ; and so made of them the very same sort of monster, which Horace speaks of, in the beginning of his Art of Poetry.

(8) ——— Fruitful Ceres, and Lyæus fat.
Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book 3. Cant. 1. St. 51.

This is another misrepresentation, very common among the modern artists ; and from them, I suppose has stole into the works of our poets. It is not only to be proved from our sign-posts : for some tolerable statuaries, and some very good painters, even in Italy, have given into it.

(9) Now, O thou sacred Muse, most learned dame ;
Fair imp of Phœbus, and his aged bride.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 11. St. 5.

(10) With his fair mother he him dights to play ;
And with his goodly sisters, Graces three.
Ib. Book 2. Cant. 8. St. 6.

(11) Night was far spent ; and now in Ocean deep,
Orion flying fast from hissing snake,
His flaming head did batten for to sleep.
Ibid. Cant. 2. St. 46.

(12) Phorcys, the father of that fatal brood
By whom those old heroes won such fame ;
And Glaucus, that wife foothsays underdood ;
And tragic Ixo's son, the which became
A god of seas thro' his mad mother's blame ;
Now high Palæmon, and his sailer's friend :
Great Brontes ; and Astræus, that did shame
Himself with incest of his kin unkind ;
And huge Orion, that doth tempests still portend,

The rich Cteatus, and Eurytus long ;
Ncleus and Pelias, lovely brethren both ;
Mighty Chrysaor, and Caius strong ;
Euryulus, that calms the waters wrath ;
And fair Euphemus, that upon them go'th
As on the ground, without dismay or dread ;
Pierce Eryx ; and Alebias, that know'th
The waters' depth, and doth their bottom tread ;
And sad Alopus, comely with his hoary head.

There also some most famous founders were
Of puissant nations, which the world possed ;
Yet sons of Neptune, now assembled here.
Ancient Ogyges, even th' auncienteil ;
And Inachus, renowned above the rest :
Phoenix, and Aon, and Pelasgus old ;
Great Belus, Phœax, and Agenor best :
And mighty Albion ; father of the bold
And warlike people, which the Britain-Islands hold.
Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 11. St. 15.

(13) A full good peck, within the utmost brim.
Ibid. Book 6. Cant. 12. St. 26.

and that he had a thousand tongues in it; of dogs, cats, bears, tigers, men, and serpents (14).

THERE is a duplicity in his figure of Discord, which is carried on so far as to be quite preposterous. He makes her hear double, and look two different ways; he splits her tongue, and even her heart, in two: and makes her act contrarily with her two hands; and walk forward with one foot, and backward with the other, at the same time (15).

THERE is a great deal of Apparatus in Spenser's manner of introducing Pride, in a personal character: and she has so many different things and attributes about her; that was this shew to be represented, (in the manner of our old pageants,) they would rather set one a guessing what they meant themselves, than serve to point out who the principal figure should be. She makes her appearance (16), exalted in a high chariot, drawn by six different creatures: every one of them carrying a Vice, as a postilion on his back; and all drove on by Satan as charioteer. The six Vices are Idleness, on an ass; Gluttony, on a hog; Lechery, on a goat; Avarice, on a camel laden with gold; Envy, eating a toad, and riding on a wolf; and Wrath, with a firebrand in his hand, on a lion. The account of each of these particular Vices in Spenser, is admirable: the chief fault I find with it is, that it is too complex a way of characterizing Pride in general; and may possibly be as improper in some few respects, as it is redundant in others.

THERE is another particular in some of Spenser's allegories which I cannot but look upon as faulty, tho' it is not near so great a fault as the former. What I mean is his affixing such filthy ideas to some of his personages, or characters, that it half turns one's stomach to read his account of them. Such, for example, is the description of Error (17), in the very first Canto of the poem; of which we may very well say, in the poet's own words, on a like occasion:

Such loathly matter, were small lust to speak, or think (18)!

THE third fault in the allegories of Spenser's own invention is, that they are sometimes stretched to such a degree, that they appear rather extravagant than great: and that he is sometimes so minute, in pointing out every particular of its vastness to you; that the object is in danger of becoming ridiculous, instead of being admirable. This is not common in Spenser: the strongest instance of the few I can remember, is in his description of the dragon, killed by the knight of the red-cross, in the last Canto of his first book. The tail of this dragon, he tells you, wanted but very little of being (19) three furlongs in

(14) Therein were a thousand tongues empight;
Of sundry kinds, and sundry quality.
Some were of dogs, that barked day and night;
And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry;
And some of bears, that groyn'd continually;
And some of tigers, that did seem to gren,
And snar at all that ever passed by:
But most of them were tongues of mortal men;
Which spake reproachfully, not caring where nor when.

And them amongst, were mingled here and there
The tongues of serpents with three-forked stings;
That spat out poison, and gore-bloody gore,
At all that came within his ravengings.

Fairly Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 28.

(15) Her face most foul and filthy was to see;
With squinted eyes, contrary ways intended:
And loathly mouth, unmeet a mouth to be,
That nought but gall and venom comprehended;
And wicked words, that God and man offended.
Her lying tongue was in two parts divided;
And both the parts did speak, and both contended:
And as her tongue, so was her heart divided;
That never thought one thing, but doubly still was guided.

As: as the double spake, so heard she double;
With matchless ears, deformed and distort:
Fild with false rumors, and seditious trouble,
Bred in assemblies of the vulgar sort;
That still are led with every light report.
And as her ears, so eke her feet were odd;
And much unlike: th' one long, the other short;
And both, misplac'd, that when th' one forward yode,
The other back retired and contrary trod.

Likewise unequal were her hands twain;
That one did reach, the other push'd away;
That one did make, the other marred again.

Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 1. St. 29.

(16) Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 4. St. 18, to 36.

(17) Ibid. Cant. 1. St. 20.

(18) Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 11. St. 31.

(19) His huge long tail, wound up in hundred folds,
Does overpread his long brash-scaly back.
Whose wreathed boughts whenever he unfolds
And thick entangled knots adown does slack,
Bespotted

in length ;—the blood, that gushes from his wound, is (20) enough to drive a water-mill ;—and his roar, is like that of a hundred (21) hungry lions.

THE fourth class of faults in Spenser's allegories, consists of such as arise from their not being well invented. You will easily, I believe, allow me here, the three following postulata. That in introducing allegories, one should consider whether the thing is fit to be represented as a person, or not.—Secondly ; that if you chuse to represent it as a human personage, it should not be represented with any thing inconsistent with the human form or nature.—And thirdly, that when it is represented as a man, you should not make it perform any action, which no man in his senses would do.

SPENSER seems to have erred against the first of these maxims, in those lines in his description of the cave of Care.

— They for nought would from their work refrain,
Nor let his speeches come unto their ear ;
And eke the breathful bellows blew amain
Like to the northern wind, that none could hear :
Those, Penfivenes did move ; and Sighs, the bellows were (22).

Was a poet to say that sighs are "the bellows that blow up the fire of love," that would be only a metaphor : a poor one indeed ; but not at all improper : but here they are realized, or rather metamorphized into bellows ; which I could never persuade myself to think any way proper. Spenser is perhaps guilty of the same sort of fault, in making Gifts, or Munera, a woman ; in the second Canto of the fifth book (23) : tho' that may be only a misnomer ; for if he had called her Bribery, one should not have the same objection. But the grossest instance in him of this kind, is in the ninth Canto of the second book (24) : where he turns the human body into a castle ; the tongue into the porter, that keeps the gate ; and the teeth, into two and thirty warders, dressed in white. — Spenser seems to have erred against the second of these maxims, in representing the rigid execution of the laws under the character of a man (25) all made up of iron ; and Bribery, (or the lady Munera, before mentioned,) as a woman (26), with golden hands, and silver feet :

Bespotted all with shields of red and black ;
It sweepeth all the land behind him far :
And of three furlongs does but little lack.
Fairy Queen, Book 1. Cant 11. St. 11.

(20) ——— Forth flowed fresh
A gushing river of black goary blood,
That drowned all the land whereon he stood ;
The stream whereof would drive a water-mill.
Ibid. St. 22.

(21) The cruel wound enraged him so fore,
That loud he yelled for exceeding pain ;
As hundred ramping lions seem'd to roar,
Whom ravenous hunger did thereto constrain.
Then gan he to aloft his stretched train ;
And therewith scourge the buxom air so fore,
That to its force to yielden it was fain :
Ne ought his sturdy strokes might stand afore,
That high trees overthrew and rocks in pieces tore.
Ibid. St. 47.

(22) Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 5. St. 38.

(23) St. 9, 10, &c.

(24) St. 21, 25, & 26. See on, to the end of the Canto ; where there are several other instances of faults of the same kind : as Appetite's being the marshal of the hall ; Digestion, clerk of the kitchen ; Concoction,

the master-cook ; the Stomach, the caldron ; the Lungs, the bellows : and the sink, Port Esquiline.

(25) — When * she parted hence, she left her groom,
An iron man ; which did on her attend
Always, to execute her steadfast doom :
And willed him with Arsegeal to wend,
And do whatever thing he did intend.
His name was Talos, made of iron mould ;
Immoveable, refittles, without end :
Who in his hand an iron nail did hold ;
With which he threth'd out fallhood, and did truth
unfold. Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 1. St. 12.
* Αἰτῶνα.

It is doubtful whether this idea be wholly of Spenser's invention, or borrowed partly from the antients ; for they speak of one Talos, (or rather Talos,) a severe lawgiver in Crete. — Τὸν Τάλω, τοῦ χαλκῆς τῆς Κρήτης περιτολῶν. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 804. Ed. Blaeu. — They might call him, "The brazen guardian of Crete," because he secured them by his laws, affixed in the most public places on plates of brass ; but whether they had any idea of this Talos, as a brazen man, I know not.

(26) Thereto she is full fair, and rich attird,
With golden hands and silver feet beside ;
That many lords have her to wife defird.
Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 2. St. 10.

feet:—and against the third, where he describes Desire (27), as holding coals of fire in his hands and blowing them up into a flame: which last particular is some degrees worse than Ariosto's bringing in Discord in his Orlando Furioso (28); with a flint and steel, to strike fire in the face of Pride.

THE fifth sort of faults is when the allegorical personages, tho' well invented, are not well marked out. There are many instances of this in Spenser, which are but too apt to put one in mind of the fancifulness and whims of Ripa and Vænius, that I mentioned to you this evening. Thus in one Canto, Doubt is represented as walking with a staff, that shrinks (29) under him; Hope, with an aspergoire (30), or the instrument the Roman catholics use for sprinkling sinners with holy water; Dissimulation (31), as twisting two clews of filk together: Grief (32), with a pair of pincers; and Pleasure (33), with an humble-bee in a phial: and in another, (in the procession of the months and seasons,) February is introduced (34) in a waggon, drawn by two fishes; May, as riding (35), on Caistor and Pollux: June, is mounted (36) on a crab; October (37), on a scorpion: and November comes in, on a Centaur (38), all in a sweat; because, (as the poet observes,) he had just been fattening his hogs.

THIS might, full as well, have been ranged under my sixth and last class of faults in Spenser's allegories; consisting of such instances as, I fear, can scarce be called by any softer name, than that of Ridiculous Imaginations. Such, I think, is that idea of Ignorance, in the first book, where he is made to move (39) with the back part of his head foremost;

- (27) And him * beside march'd amorous Desire,
Who seem'd of riper years than th' other swain;
Yet was that other swain this elder's fire,
And gave him being, common to them twain:
He ga'mert was disguised very vain;
And his embroider'd bonnet fat awry.
*Twixt both his hands few sparks he clofe did
draw:
Which still he blew, and kindled busily;
That soon they life conceiv'd, and forth in flames did fly.
*Fancy. Fairy Queen, Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 9.

(28) Lib. 18. St. 34.

- (29) "He look'd askew with his mistrustful eyes;
And nicely trode, as thorns lay in his way;
Or that the floor to shrink he did avise."
And on a broken reed he fill did stay
His feeble steps; which shrunk, when hard thereon
he lay. Ibid. Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 10.

- (30) She always smil'd; and in her hand did hold
An holy-water sprinkle, dipt in dew.
Ibid. St. 13.

- (31) Her deeds, were forged; and her words, false coind:
And always in her hand two clews of filk she twin'd.
Ibid. St. 14.

- (32) A pair of pincers in his hand he had;
With which he pined people to the heart.
Ibid. Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 16.

- (33) After them, went Displeasure and Plesance:
He looking lumpish and full sudden sad,
And hanging down his heavy countenance;
She cheerful fresh and full of joyance glad,
As if no sorrow she ne felt ne drad:
That evil-matched pair, they seem'd to be.
An angry wasp, th' one in a vial had;
Th' other, in her's, an hony lady bee.
Ibid. St. 18.

- (34) — Laffly came cold February, sitting
In an old waggon, (for he could not ride.)
Drawn by two fishes. —
Second Canto of Mutability, St. 43.

- (35) Upon two brethren shoulders she did ride,
The twins of Leda; which on either side
Supported her like to their foreign queen:
Lord! how all creatures laugh'd, when her they
spy'd! Ibid. St. 34.

- (36) Upon a crab he rode, that him did bear,
With crooked crawling steps, an uncouth pace.
Ibid. St. 35.

- (37) Then came October, full of merry glee;
For yet his soul was totty of the muck
Which he was treading in the wine-sats fee,
And of the joyous oil; whose gentle gust
Made him so frolic, and so full of lust:
Upon a dreadful scorpion, he did ride.
Ibid. St. 39.

- (38) Next was November. He full grofs and fat,
As fed with lard; and that right well might seem:
For he had been a fattening hogs of late,
That yet his brows with sweat did reek and steem.
Ibid. St. 40.

There is so much of the ridiculous in this procession of the Months in Spenser, that I cannot help thinking; that this excellent poet might possibly have formed some of his ideas in it, even from so low a thing as our old pageants: which were in great vogue, about the times he lived in.

- (39) But very uncouth sight was to behold
How he did fashion his untoward pace;
For as he forward mov'd his footing old,
So backward still was turn'd his wrinkled face:
Unlike to men, who ever as they trace,
Both feet and face one way are wont to lead.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 8. St. 31.

foremost; and that of Danger in the fourth (40), with Hatred, Murder, Treason, &c. in his back.—Such is the forrowful lady, with a bottle for her tears, and a bag to put her repentance into (41); and both running out, almost as fast as she puts them in.—Such the thought of a vast giant's (42) shrinking into an empty form, like a bladder;—the horses of Night (43), foaming tar;—Sir Guyon, putting a padlock (44) on the tongue of Occasion; and Remorse, nipping (45) St. George's heart.

HAD Spenser formed his allegories on the plan of the antient poets and artists, as much as he did from Ariosto and the Italian allegorists, he might have followed nature much more closely; and would not have wandered so often, into such strange and inconsistent imaginations. I am apt to believe, that he considered the Orlando Furioso, in particular, as a poem wholly serious; tho' the author of it certainly wrote it partly in jest. There are several lines and passages in it, that must have been intended for burlesque; and they surely consider that poem in the truest light, who consider it as a work of a mixed nature: as something between the professed gravity of Tasso, and the broad laugh of Berni and his followers. Perhaps Spenser's taking some things to be said seriously, which Ariosto meant for ridicule; may have led him now and then to say things that are ridiculous, where he meant to be very serious.

HOWEVER that be, we may reasonably conclude from such blemishes as I have been mentioning to you, in so great a man; (whether they arise from his too much indulging the luxuriance of his own fancy, or from his copying after so irregular a pattern;) that it would be extremely useful for our poets in general, to follow the plan of allegory, as far as it is settled to their hands by the antients: at least, till some modern may have invented and established some better plan for them to go upon; a thing, which (to deal fairly with you,) I do not expect to see done in our days. But whether this be so prudent for our poets in general, or not; there is one set of them at least, to whom it is absolutely necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with the allegories of the antients: all such I mean, as undertake to translate the works of the antient poets; and to give us their thoughts, in our own language. And yet, I fear, our translators have been almost as incurious and unknowing in this point, as our original writers have usually been.

As I have chosen out, perhaps the greatest allegorist among all the moderns, to shew you how irregular we are in our allegories; so I shall now proceed to chuse out one of the

(40) ——— In the porch did evermore abide
An hideous giant, dreadful to behold,
That stop'd the entrance with his spacious side;
And with the terror of his count'enance bold
Full many did affray, that else fain enter would.

His name was, Danger. ———

And lo! his hind parts, whereof heed I took
Much more deformed fearful ugly were,
Than all his former parts did e'er appear:
For hatred, murder, treason, and despite,
With many more, lay in ambushment there;
Awaiting to entrap the wareless wight
Who did not them prevent, with vigilant foresight.

Fairy Queen, Book 4. St. 16, 17, & 20.

(41) Here, in this bottle (said the sorry maid)
I put the tears of my contrition,
Till to the brim I have it full defray'd;
And, in this bag which I behind me don,
I put repentance for things past and gon.
Yet is the bottle leak, and bag so torn,
That all which I put in falls out anon:
And is behind me trodden down of Scorn;
Who mocketh all my pain, and laughs the more I mourn.

Ibid. Book 6. Cant. 8. St. 24.

(42) The knight, then lightly leaping to the prey
With mortal steel him smote again so sore,
That headless his unweildy body lay
All wallow'd in its own foul bloody gore;
Which flow'd from his wounds in wondrous store:
But soon as breath out of his breast did pass,
That huge great body which the giant bore
Was vanish'd quite; and of that monstrous mass
Was nothing left: but like an empty bladder was

Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 8. St. 24.

(43) Her twyfold teme, (of which two black as pitch
And two were brown, yet each to each un-ich)
Did tattle swim away; ne ever stamp,
Unless ne cas'd their flubborn mouths to twitch:
Then, foaming tarre, their bridles they would champ;
And, trampling the fine element, would fiercely ramp.

Ibid. Cant. 5. St. 28.

(44) And catching hold of her ungracious tongue,
Thereon an iron lock did fasten, firm and strong.

Ibid. Book 2. Cant. 4. St. 12.

(45) ——— Bitter Pennance, with an iron whip,
Was wont him once to dis'ple every day;
And sharp Remorse his heart did prick and nip,
That drops of blood thence like a well did play.

Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 10. St. 27.

K k k k

the best translators we ever had, to shew how deficient or incurious our translators are, in representing the allegories of the antients. It is but lately that I read over Mr. Dryden's Translation of all the works of Virgil, in this light only; and in reading it, took down some notes of the misrepresentations and mistakes which he seems to me to have fallen into, in that celebrated and excellent translation, for want of this kind of knowledge. I know not whether this review of Dryden may not take up yet more of our time, than that of Spenser has done: but I have had proofs enough of your patience; and shall therefore proceed, without making any more apologies.



D I A L. XX.

The Defects of our Translators of the ANTIENT POETS ;
in relation to these Allegorical Subjects : instanced from
Mr. DRYDEN's Translation of VIRGIL.

I T really grieves me, (continued Polymetis, as he was producing the notes he had taken from Mr. Dryden,) to make so free, as I shall be obliged to do, with the works of a man whose memory I so much love and esteem. There is not any one writer, to whom I think our English poetry so much obliged for its improvements, as to Mr. Dryden; excepting only Mr. Pope: and even the additional improvements by Mr. Pope, are in a good measure owing to Dryden; as that gentleman always used to own, with expressions of the greatest esteem and gratitude. Before these two great masters, our versification in general may be looked upon as unformed. Dryden took it into his hands, when it was like a rough block of marble; till his time above half rude, and unchisell'd. He went a great way toward shaping it; and Pope took it up where he had left it: and added all the softnings, and graces, which it yet wanted. I am a good deal tempted to say more on this head: but it would not be fair to run into a digression in the very entering upon my subject; and I must therefore confine myself to Mr. Dryden only. You know, what a spirit there is in most of his poems; and there is so much of it in his work before us, that it reads rather like an original than a translation. It is this which makes us usually go on in it with so much pleasure, that we have scarce any time for minding its faults: for faults there certainly are in it; and must be, in every human composition. The particular defects I am to point out to you at present, are indeed of such a kind as have been hitherto quite unknown to criticism: what all our poets, in general, have been guilty of: and relating to things that they have never been used to consider, so regularly as they ought. We may therefore very well look upon them rather as a defect of the times, than as the defects of Dryden; for there has scarce been any demand for exactness in things of this kind, as yet, among us: tho' perhaps, when I have laid all my catalogue before you, you may think it not improper, that they should be a little more considered than they have been hitherto; even by the best of our writers. But it is time I should go on, without any farther prefacing.

In the first place then, the personages, dress, and attributes of the allegorical persons described by Virgil, are sometimes misrepresented in this translation. Thus Bacchus, (as I mentioned to you occasionally once before,) is described as having (1) a plump, jovial face, instead of that fine beauty which was his characteristic among the antients; Proteus, with gray hair (2), instead of dark-coloured; the goddess of Peace (3), with wings,

(1) On whate'er side he turns his honest face.

Dryden, G. 2. l. 540.

Et quocumque Deus circum caput egit honestum.
Virgil. G. 2. l. 392.

This mistake was partly, from Mr. Dryden's being prejudiced by our modern figures of Bacchus; and partly, from his not attending to the true meaning of the word *Honestus*: which antiently signified, beautiful, when applied to any personage or figure; and which indeed is applied to good actions, for the same reason that *Kαλός* was by the Greeks; from the fitness and beauty of all such actions.

(2) This answer Proteus gave; nor more he said:

But in the billows plung'd his hoary head.

Dryden, G. 4. l. 766.

Virgil says only, sub vertice, ib. 529. The antients give all the sea deities, in general, Cærulean or dark-coloured hair; and Ovid mentions the same of Proteus, in particular. Fast. Lib. 1. l. 3.

(3) And Peace, with downy wings, was brooding on the ground.

Dryden, Æn. 4. l. 762.

Virgil is so far from giving the goddess of Peace wings on this occasion, that he does not speak of her at all. He only says;

wings; and the Minotaure (4), with his lower parts brutal, and his upper part human: all without any authority from Virgil; and contrary to the manner in which we see these allegorical and fabulous beings represented, in the works of the antient artists that remain to us. Thus too, Tiber appears in a sky-coloured robe (5), instead of a dark one: Aurora, is introduced with the new attribute of a (6) streamer, in her hand; as the attendants of Bacchus carry (7) flags, in theirs: Cybele is drawn by Bacchus's (8) tigers, instead of her own lions: Neptune is equipped (like the figure of Julius Cæsar, in the great church at Breda,) with a (9) Gothic mace; Janus, with a (10) bunch of keys; and Priapus, with a (11) lath-sword.

As Mr. Dryden, in some places, gives the deities attributes that do not belong to them; so he misrepresents the actions and attitudes of them, in others. Thus where the original speaks of Tisiphone (12), as sitting alone, before the gates of Tartarus: (in the same manner as I shewed her to you (13) in the picture relating to this passage, from the

Cum tacet omnis ager.

Æn. 4. §. 520.

I never remember to have met with any one antient representation of Peace with wings. Indeed it is not likely there ever was any such: for this was a goddess that all people desired should stay with them; and wings signify uncertainty and flight. That the antients looked on them in this light is evident from a very pretty epigram, occasioned by an odd accident at Rome. There was a statue of Victory there which had its wings melted off, by a stroke of lightning. Among a people so observant of omens, this must have been looked upon as a very bad one; had not one of the poets there given it the following happy turn, by writing this distich upon its pedestal:

Ρῆμα παρθενία, τὸν κλάσιν ὑπὸ' ἑλκται

Νικη γὰρ οὐ φυχὴν ἀπτερος εἰδεται.

Stephens's Collection of Gr. Ep. or Inscriptions; under this title. Εἰς ἀγάλμα Νικῆς ἀπτερον, ἢ Ρῆμα: ἢ τὰ στίχοι κερκυρὸν κατεφάχθη.

(4) The lower part a beast, a man above.

Dryden, Æn. 6. §. 37.

This is just contrary to the figures I have seen of the Minotaure; which have the head of a bull, and are human all below. Virgil only says, in general, Proles biformis. Æn. 6. §. 25.

(5) An azure robe was o'er his body spread.

Dryden, Æn. 8. §. 47.

— Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
Carbasus, —

Virgil. Æn. 8. §. 33.

(6) Now when the rosy morn began to rise;
And wav'd her saffron streamer thro' the skies.

Dryden, Æn. 7. §. 35.

Mr. Dryden here seems to have admitted some mixture of the allegory and the reality together; and so, I think, he has in the two lines which immediately follow the former.

When Thetis bluſh'd in purple not her own,
And from her face the breathing winds were blown.

Ibid. §. 37.

Virgil is free both from the streamer, and this faulty mixture: all he says, is;

Janque rubescebat radiis mare: & æthere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis.

Æn. 7. §. 26.

(7) Then they, (whose mothers, frantic with their fear
In woods and wilds the flags of Bacchus bear,
And lead his dances with dishev'd hair.) }
Increase the clamour, and the war demand.

Dryden, Æn. 7. §. 803.

Tum quorom attonite Baccho nemora avia matres
Infultant thiasis, (neque enim leve nomen Amate,)
Undique collecti coeunt, Martemque fatigant.

Virgil. Æn. 7. §. 582.

(8) Hear thou, great mother of the deities,
With turrets crown'd; (on Ida's holy hill
Fierce tigers, rein'd and curb'd, obey thy will.)

Dryden, Æn. 10. §. 356.

Alma parens Indræ Deüm, cui Dindyma cordi,
Turri geræque urbes, bijugue ad fræna leones.

Virgil. Æn. 10. §. 253.

(9) Amid that smother, Neptune holds his place;
Below the wall's foundation drives his mace:
And heaves the building from the solid base.

Dryden, Æn. 2. §. 829.

This is the translation of that noble passage in Virgil.

Hic, ubi disjectas moles avulsæque faxis
Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum;
Neptunus moros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit: totamque ab sedibus urbem
Eruit.

Æn. 2. §. 612.

(10) And antient Janus; with his double face,
And bunch of keys, the porter of the place.

Dryden, Æn. 7. §. 246.

Saturnusque senex, Janique bifrontis imago,
Vestibulo adlabant.

Virgil. Æn. 7. §. 181.

Janus is represented by the antients with a key, in one hand; and a long staff in the other: agreeably to the description of him in Ovid.

Ille tenens dextrâ baculum, clavemque sinistrâ.

Fast. 1. §. 99.

(11) — The god obscene who frights away
With his lath-sword, the thieves and birds of prey.

Dryden, G. 4. §. 168.

— Custos forum atque avium, cum falce salignâ,
Hellepontiaci servet tutela Priapi.

Virgil. G. 4. §. 111.

(12) — Cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo fedeat; facies quæ limina servet.

Virgil. Æn. 6. §. 575.

You see, before the gate, what stalking ghost
Commands the guard; what centries keep the post.

Dryden, Æn. 6. §. 777.

(13) See Pl. 39. Fig. 1.

the famous Vatican manuscript;) the translation represents her as a ghost, walking, at the head of several others:—where the original mentions Juno's flying to our earth (14), the translation makes her descend to hell:—and where Virgil speaks of Eridanus's directing some of his waters down toward the vales of Elysiūm (15), Mr. Dryden represents this river-god as making his stream first mount upward, and then as hiding his head under-ground. There is something of this kind too, where the translation makes Somnus draw a (16) trail of light after him, in his descent to Palinurus; whereas the original only mentions his cleaving the dark air; (or perhaps causing a serenity in it, the easier to deceive that pilot:) and where it describes Sabinus (17), as resting his head on a little pruning-hook; contrary to the original, and to the reason of the thing: for a painter or statuary, I believe, would be reckoned to want judgment, who should represent any figure, as resting its head on a pruning-hook: and, by the way, scarce any thing can be good in a poetical description; which would appear absurd, if represented in a statue, or picture.

I DO

- (14) Hæc ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit.

Virgil. *Æn.* 7. *l.* 323.
Thus having said, she sinks beneath the ground,
With furious haste; and shoots the Stygian sound.
Dryden, *Æn.* 7. *l.* 450.

- (15) Inter odoratum lauri nemus; unde superne
Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.

Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 659.
Beneath a laurel shade; where mighty Po
Mounts up to woods above, and hides his head below.
Dryden, *Æn.* 6. *l.* 894.

To say the truth, Virgil here does not speak of Eridanus personally, at all. He only says, that there is a considerable branch from that river, which makes its way under ground, (as the Po indeed plunges wholly under ground, not many miles from its rise,) and sinks quite down to Elysiūm; where it falls, in a cascade, down a hill covered on each side with trees, that always keep their verdure. This is, I think, the most pleasing idea in all Virgil's Elysiūm: and, possibly, he had an eye in it to the famous valley of Tempe in Thessaly: reckoned the most delightful spot in the whole world; and beautified, in particular, by the fall of the river Peneus, from mount Pindus; with woods on each side of it. See Ovid's *Met.* Lib. 1. *l.* 568, to 572.

May I mention another conjecture here, which would yet add farther to the beauty of this part, in Virgil's Elysiūm? It is, that he may possibly mean, that the groves on each side of his cascade are groves of orange-trees; and consequently as pleasing in their smell, as in their look. Orange-trees were first brought into Italy, in Virgil's time. As they were so lately introduced among them, the Romans had as yet no name for them; and it is therefore that Virgil, where he is supposed by some very good judges to speak of this tree in his *Georgics*, is forced to point it out, by a good deal of circumlocution; and by describing it very particularly. It is a tree which, according to his account, was brought into Italy from Media; whose fruit had a sharp, four taste; he says, that it was very good for the stomach and breath; and an excellent remedy against infections, and poisons; that it was a large tree, (as the orange-trees are much larger in Italy than with us; and much larger in Media than in Italy;) that the leaf of it, was very much like the leaf of the laurel: but that it was distinguished from the laurel, by its lasting flowers, and by the fine perfume that they cast all around it. (*Georg.* Lib. 2. *l.* 126, to 135.) As they had then no distinct name for orange-trees, Virgil may here call

them laurels, from their likeness to that tree; but, at the same time, he takes care to distinguish them from the common laurel, by the character of them, their fine smell: odoratum lauri nemus. I should not have endeavoured to turn these Elysiān groves of Virgil into orange-groves, had it not been for the fine smell he attributes to them. Groves of laurel are more common in the gardens of Rome at present, than those of any other trees whatever; but I could never yet perceive, in walking thro' any of them, the least share of the fine smell here mentioned. Tho' there was no Latin names for the orange-trees in Virgil's time, there were two not long after; at least by the time of Pliny: for he calls it *Malus Medica*, or *Asyria*; in a passage, which agrees so extremely well with Virgil's account of this tree, in his *Georgics*; that I must add it to this note, tho' it is so unreasonably long already. *Malus Asyria*, quam alii vocant *Medicam*, (says he,) *venenis medetur: solum ejus est unedonis, intercurrentibus spinis: pomum ipsum aliis non manditur. Olore præcellit, foliorum quoque; qui transit in vestes unâ conditus, acutæque animalium noxia. Arbos ipsa, omnibus horis ponderosa est: aliis, candentibus; aliis, matrescentibus; aliis verò, fulnascentibus. Tentaverit gentes transferre ad sese, propter remedi præstantiam, fistilibus in vasis; dato per cavernas radicibus spiramento.—sed nisi apud Medos, & in Perside, nasci nolu. Hæc est autem, cujus grana Parthorum proceres incoquere diximus esculentis, commendandi halitus gratia: nec alia arbor laudatur in Medis.* Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* Lib. 12. Cap. 3.

- (16) — The soft God of Sleep, with easy flight,
Descends; and draws behind a trail of light.

Dryden, *Æn.* 5. *l.* 1092.
— Levis æthereis delapsus somnus ab adis
Astra dimovit tenebrosam & dissipat umbras;
Te, Palinure, petens.

- Virgil. *Æn.* 5. *l.* 840.
(17) There stood Sabinus, planter of the vines:
On a short pruning-hook, his head reclines;
And studiously surveys his generous vines.

— Paterque Sabinus
Vitisator, curvam servans sub imagine falcem.

Virgil. *Æn.* 7. *l.* 179.
Virgil's description of the statues of Ionus, Saturn, and Sabinus, &c. so that, sub imagine here may either signify that Sabinus's pruning hook was partly held under the drapery of his figure; or, that it lay at his feet: but there is no manner of hint in the original, of his resting his head upon it.

I DO not know any one, even of our greatest poets, that has not been apt sometimes to mix the natural and allegorical ways of speaking together; in a manner, very uncommon among the ancients. I think this is very blameable, wherever we meet with it: but whatever indulgences may be allowed to original writers; a translator can certainly have no right to represent his author as confused, where he is uniform and clear. Yet there are instances in this translation of mixed allegories, where the original is quite free from any such mixture; and of other liberties, which I think scarce allowable to a translator: such as the introducing the allegorical style, where Virgil has not made use of it; and the omitting it, where has. I shall just point out an instance or two of each, from the many which might be produced from Mr. Dryden's translation. Such, as to the first (18), is his idea of the morning-star shaking dew from his hair; and that of Xanthus, as standing on a heap of his own waters:—as to the second; Deucalion's (19) hurling his mother's entrails over the world; and Vulcan's riding with loosened reins:—and as to the third: the (20) calmness of the Tiber, in the eighth book of the *Æneid*; and the storm of hail in the ninth.

ANOTHER set of faults in Mr. Dryden, in relation to the imaginary beings of the ancients, is owing to his not being sufficiently acquainted with their particular characters, rank, and dignity: and this makes him sometimes vary from his original. I have observed to you before, how much Virgil was to be admired for describing the face of Neptune

(18) Instances of mixt metaphor in Dryden, where there is no such mixture in Virgil.

1.

So from the seas exerts his radiant head
The star, by whom the lights of heaven are led:
Shakes from his rosy locks the pearly dews;
Dispels the darkness, and the day renews.

Dryden, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 781.

Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer undâ,
(Quem Venus ante alios aethorum diligit ignes)
Exultat os sacrum caelo, tenetque resolvit.

Virgil, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 591.

2.

When crimson Xanthus, doubtful of his way,
Stood up on ridges, to behold the sea.

Dryden, *Æn.* 5. *l.* 1056.

— Nec reperire viam, atque evolvere possit
In mare se Xanthus. —

Virgil, *Æn.* 5. *l.* 808.

(19) Dryden allegorical, where Virgil is literal.

1.

— These the laws

Impos'd by nature, and by nature's cause,
On sundry places; when Deucalion hurl'd
His mother's entrails o'er the desert world.

Dryden, *Georg.* 1. *l.* 94.

— Has leges æternæque fœdera certis
Imposuit natura locis; quo tempore primùm
Deucalion vacuum lapides jactavit in orbem.

Virgil, *Georg.* 1. *l.* 62.

2.

The flame, unstopt at first, more fury gains;
And Vulcan rides at large with loos'd reins;
Triumphant, to the painted sterns he soars;
And seizes, in his way, the banks and crackling oars.

Dryden, *Æn.* 5. *l.* 865.

— Furit immixtis Vulcanus habenis
Transira per & remos, & pictas abiete puppes.

Virgil, *Æn.* 5. *l.* 663.

As I take it, *Immixtis habenis* here is only meant to signify, without restraint, (or unstopt, as Mr. Dryden translates it;) and Vulcanus, is only used for fire; as Bacchus for wine, and Ceres for corn, in the same poem: *Implentur veteris Bacchi. Æn.* 1. *l.* 215. *Et Cerecem corruptam undis. Ib.* 177.

(20) Dryden literal, where Virgil is allegorical.

1.

The following night, and the succeeding day,
Propitious Tiber smooth'd his watry way;
He rowl'd his river back: and pois'd the flood,
A gentle swelling, and a peaceful flood.

Dryden, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 120.

Tybris eâ fluvium, quàm longa est, nocte tumentem
Leniit; & tacitâ refluens ita sub'it undâ,
Mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
Sterneret æquor aquis, remo ut lustamen abesset.

Virgil, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 89.

2.

To say the truth, there seems to be something of the mixed metaphor, (or rather, mixed allegory,) here in Virgil himself; and I know no occasion in which the ancients are so apt to fall into it, or at least to border upon it, as when they are speaking of rivers and river-gods.

2.

Or patting hail comes pouring o'er the main,
When Jupiter descends in harden'd rain;
Or bellowing clouds burst with a stormy found,
And with an armed winter flew the ground.

Dryden, *Æn.* 9. *l.* 913.

This is meant to answer that noble agitated image of the Jupiter Pluvius, dispensing storms and tempests;

— Quàm multâ grandine nimbi
In vada præcitant; cum Jupiter, horridus Austris,
Torquet aquosam hiemem & coelo cava nubila rumpit.

Virgil, *Æn.* 9. *l.* 671.

Neptune as serene (21) and undisturbed, at the very time that he strongly repents the improper liberties taken by Æolus in his district : but this serenity is turned into anger, in Mr. Dryden's translation (22) ; and into rage and disturbance, in his note on the place. The same sort of fault is committed, as to the character of Hercules ; tho' with more to support it from the original, than in the former case. It is where that great hero is so long disappointed in his pursuit of Cacus ; and afterwards in the account of his combat with that monster. The rage of Hercules on this occasion is aggravated (23), and his appearance demeaned ; in a case, where of the two what is said should rather have been touched more slightly, than more strongly.—It is from this want of being better acquainted with the rank and characters of the personages introduced, that Mr. Dryden thinks it (24) presuming in Minerva to throw the thunderbolts of Jupiter ; and that he makes Venus (25) thunder : I think, without any authority from Virgil.—And this carries him

- (21) Gravier commotus, & alto
Prospiciens, summâ placidum caput extulit undâ.
Virgil. *Æn.* 1. *l.* 127.
Eurus ad se Zephyrumque vocat ; dein talia satur.
Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 131.
— Tenet ille immania faxa,
Vestras, Eure, domos : illâ se jactet in aula
Æolus ; & clauso ventorum carcere, regnet.
Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 141.

- (22) And first an angry glance at both he cast.
Then thus rebuk'd ; "Audacious Winds ! from whence
This bold attempt ? This rebel insolence, &c.
Dryden, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 189.
His power to hollow caverns is confin'd ;
There let him reign, the jailor of the wind !
With hoarse commands his breaching subjects call ;
And boast, and bluster, in his empty hall.
Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 202.

Mr. Dryden, in his note on this passage, says—
"To raise a tempest on the sea, was usurpation on the prerogative of Neptune : who had given him no leave ; and therefore was enraged at his attempt. I may also add ; that they who are in a passion, (as Neptune then was,) are apt to assume to themselves, more than is their due." Note on *Æn.* 1. *l.* 196.

The truth is, that Neptune here assumes less to himself, than was his due. He might have punished them ; whereas he only threatens them.

Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri ?
Jam cælum terramque meo sine numine, Venti,
Miserere, & tantas auscitis tollere moles ?
Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus :
Post mihi non simili pœnâ commissa luetis.
Maturate fugam !—

Virgil. *Æn.* 1. *l.* 137.

- (23) Alcides found the fraud : with rage he shook ;
And tofs'd, about his head, his knotted oak.
Dryden, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 286.
The wretch had hardly made his dungeon fast ;
The fierce avenger came with bounding haste :
Survey'd the mouth of the forbidden hold ;
And here and there his raging eyes he roll'd.
He gnash'd his teeth ; and thrice he compass'd round
With winged speed the circuit of the ground :
Thrice at the cavern's mouth he pull'd in vain ;
And, panting, thrice desisted from his pain.
Id. *Ib.* *l.* 306.
The wrathful god then plunges from above ;
And, where in thickest waves the sparkles drove,
There lights : and wades thro' fumes, and gropes
his way ;
Half flogg'd, half stifled.—

Id. *Ib.* *l.* 342.

There is too much perhaps of this in Virgil himself ; but not so much, as in Dryden.

Hic verò Alcides furis exarserat, atro
Felle, dolor ; rapit arma manu, nodisque gravatum
Robur.—

Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 221.

Ecce furens animis aderat Titynhius ; omnemque
Accessum lustrans, huc ora ferebat, & illuc,
Dentibus infrendens. Ter totum fervidus ira
Lustrat Aventini montem : ter faxea tentat
Limina nequicquam ; ter, fessus, valle refeedit.

Id. *Ibid.* *l.* 232.

Non tulit Alcides animis, seque ipse per ignem
Præcipiti inject saltu ; quâ plurimus undam
Fumus agit, nebulæque ingens specus æstuat atrâ.

Id. *Ib.* *l.* 258.

This last particular is great in Virgil, and little in Dryden ; and fitter for the herdsmen-hero, (as he calls him in the beginning of the story, *l.* 279.) than for the chief of all the heroes, who were deified for having acted for the good of mankind in this world.

- (24) She (for the fault of one offending foe.)
The bolts of Jove himself presum'd to throw.
Dryden, *Æn.* 1. *l.* 63.
Ipfa, Jovis rapidum jaculata e nubibus ignem.
Disjicitque rates, &c.—

Virgil. *Æn.* 1. *l.* 43.

I have shown before, (Dial. VI. p. 58, & 63.) that Minerva, and Juno, were looked upon of old, as sharing with Jupiter, in all his highest powers ; and particularly, in that of dispensing his thunderbolts.

- (25) But his bright mother from a breaking cloud,
To cheer his issue, thund'ring thrice aloud :
Thrice, fork'd lightning flash'd along the sky ;
And Tyrrhene trumpets thrice were heard on high.
Then, gazing up, repeated peals they hear ;
And, in a heav'n serene, resplendent arms appear :
Redning the skies, and glittering all around,
The temper'd metals clash, and yield a silver sound.
Dryden, *Æn.* 8. *l.* 699.
— Ni signum cælo Cytheræ dedisset apertæ.
Namque improvîso vibratus ab æthere fulgor
Cum sonitu venit ; & ruere omnia visa repenti :
Tyrrhæusque tubæ mugire per æthera clangor.
Suspicient. Iterum atque iterum fragor increpat
ingens :

Arma inter nubem, cæli in regione serenâ,
Per sudum ruilare vident ; & pulsa tonare.

Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 529.

Tho' it is true that the augurs of old did sometimes attribute the power of casting forth lightnings to all the twelve great gods, (in an inferior sense to what was attributed by them to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva ;) yet I do not imagine that Virgil here speaks of Venus's casting forth the lightning : and, much less, of her thundering. The passage indeed is difficult

him in some instances so far, that he quite overturns the character of the deity he is speaking of: as for example, when one reads of a mischievous goddesses (26), with extraordinary terrors on her brow; who would guess that it was meant of Iris? And when a god is called a traitor-god, and a devil (27); who would ever imagine, that this should be spoken of one of the most gentle, and most pleasing of all the deities?

I MUST just observe here, that Mr. Dryden is apt to fall into faults of this kind on many other occasions, as well as the last mentioned, from his not guarding sufficiently against vulgarisms. Mr. Dryden certainly wrote, in general, with as much spirit as any man; and in the work before us, was pressed on by other causes, to write with yet more rapidity than usual. This must have occasioned several negligences: and among the rest, some low expressions, and mean lines; sometimes very unworthy of the subject he is treating. It is hence, I suppose, that he speaks of Bacchus's honest (28) face, and of the jolly (29) Autumn. It is hence, that he calls Juno, the buxom (30) bride of Jupiter; and Cybele, the (31) grandam-goddesses. It is thus that he talks of Juno's (32) falling on the winds, and Apollo's (33) bestriding the clouds. This made him fall into that (34) slovenly

fault enough; so difficult, that most of the commentators quite pass it by. But if they had of old, in Italy, that phenomenon which we call the Aurora Borealis; and you were to view this passage, in that light; it might perhaps be easy enough. That darting brightness; that rushing of the heavens; even the hearing of strange noises, and the fancied figures of arms; I remember, were all things talked of, on the most extraordinary phenomenon of this kind, which appeared in all our northern parts of Europe in the year 1716.

(26) The goddess, great in mischief. —

Dryden, *Æn.* 5. §. 803.

— Haud ignara nocendi.

Virgil, *Æn.* 5. §. 618.

What terrors from her frowning front arise?

Id. *Ibid.* §. 844.

— Divini signa decoris,

Ardentesque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi, &c.

Id. *Ibid.* §. 648.

(27) Then thus the traitor god began his tale.

Dryden, *Æn.* 5. §. 1097.

— Deo. —

Virgil, *Æn.* 5. §. 811.

The victor Demon mounts obscure in air.

Id. *Ibid.* §. 1120.

Ipse volans tenues se sustulit ales ad auras.

Id. *Ibid.* §. 861.

(28) See Note 1, anteh.

(29) Where Mr. Dryden calls Autumnus jolly, (*Georg.* 2. §. 9.) Virgil calls him, Pampineus; or, crowned with vine-leaves. (*Ib.* §. 5.)

(30) The spring adorns the woods; renews the leaves:

The womb of earth the genial seed receives.

For then almighty Jove descends; and pours

Into his buxom bride, his fruitful show'rs:

And mixing his large limbs with hers, he feeds

Her births with kindly juice; and fosters teeming seeds.

Dryden, *Georg.* 2. §. 443.

Vere tument terræ; & genitalia femina possunt.

Tum Pater omnipotens sæcundis imbribus æther

Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit; & omnes

Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore fetus.

Virgil, *Ibid.* §. 327.

This is spoken, by Virgil, (more in the proper sense, than the metaphorical,) of the middle, and lower air: and is one strong instance, out of many, of his following the style of the old Roman poets of the first age, very closely. It is common with them

to say that Jupiter was the same with the Æther, or middle air; in consequence of which, they used to call the Æther, sometimes simply, by the name of Pater; and sometimes, Pater Æther.

— Aspicere hoc

Sablime candens, quem vocant omnes Jovem.

Ennius, in *Thyeste.*

Iste is est Jupiter quem dico, Græci vocant

Ætæra: quæque ventus est, & nubes: imber polles,

Atque ex imbre triplus; ventus post fit, ær denovo:

I hæc propter Juppiter sunt illa, quæ dico tili.

Id. in *Epicharmo.*

Hoc vide circum supraque, quod complexu continet

Terram: id quod nostri caelum memorant, Græci

Quicquid est hoc, omnia is animat; format; auget;

Alit; ferat:

Sæpius, &c. &c. &c. omniaque idem

est pater.

Id. in *Chryse.*

— Percunt similes, ubi eos pater Æther

In gremium matris Terræ precipitavit.

Lucretius, *Lib.* 1. §. 252.

(31) The grandam goddess then approach'd her son;
And with a mother's majesty begun.

Dryden, *Æn.* 9. §. 95.

Ipse Deum fertur genetrix Berceynthia magnum

Vocibus his effata Jovem. —

Virgil, *Ib.* §. 83.

(32) She said; and falling on the winged wind, &c.

Dryden, *Æn.* 12. §. 243.

— Sic exhortata, reliquit

Incertam. —

Virgil, *Ib.* §. 160.

(33) Apollo then bedroze a golden cloud
To view the feats of arms and fighting croud;
And thus the heedless victor he bespoke aloud.

Dryden, *Ib.* 9. §. 875.

Ætheriâ tum forte plagâ cernitus Apollo

De super Ausonias acies urben que videbat,

Nube sedens; atque his victorem affatur Iulum.

Id. *Ib.* §. 444.

(34) Or if thro' mists he shoots his fullen beams,
Frugal of light, in loose and straggling beams; —
Or if Aurora, with half-open'd eyes,
And a pale sickly cheek, salute the skies.

Dryden, *Georg.* 1. §. 596.

Aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese

Diverſi rumpunt radii; aut ubi pallida furget

Tithoni croceum lingens Aurora cubile.

Virgil, *Ib.* §. 447.

slovenly description of Aurora, and that ⁽³⁵⁾ strange one of Taurus. This led him to use Bacchus with so much familiarity, as he does in the following couplet :

Come strip with me, my God ! Come, drench all o'er
Thy limbs in must of wine, and drink at every pore ⁽³⁶⁾.

And to insert those little particularities, in his description of Typhæus's surprize ;

Then trembles Prochyta ; then Iſchia roars.
Typhæus, thrown beneath by Jove's command,
Astonish'd at the flaw that shakes the land,
“ Soon shifts his weary ſide : and, ſcarce awake,
With wonder feels the weight preſs lighter on his back ⁽³⁷⁾.”

And this ; in Juturna's ſight :

She drew a length of ſighs ; nor more ſhe ſaid ;
But in her azure mantle wrapt her head :
Then plung'd into her ſtream, with deep deſpair ;
“ And her laſt fobs came bubling up in air ⁽³⁸⁾.”

It is to this hurry and impetuofity of Mr. Dryden in performing the work before us, that I ſhould be apt too to attribute his taking ſometimes one perſon for another ; and ſometimes, one thing for another. Thus Tellus is mentioned in the tranſlation ⁽³⁹⁾, inſtead of Veſta in the original ; Ate ⁽⁴⁰⁾, inſtead of Tiſiphone ; Scorpius ⁽⁴¹⁾, inſtead of

(35) When with his golden horns, in full career,
The Bull beats down the barriers of the year ;
And Argos, and the Dog, forfake the northern ſphere. }
Dryden, Georg. 1. ſ. 308.
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, & averſo ſedens Canis occidit aſtro.
Virgil. Ib. ſ. 218.

(36) Dryden, Georg. 2. ſ. 12.
Huc, pater O Lenæe ! (tuis hic omnia plena
Muneribus) ; ———
Huc, pater O Lenæe, veni ! Nudataque muſto
Tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cohurnis.
Virgil. Ib. ſ. 8.

(37) Dryden, Æn. 9. ſ. 972.
Tum ſoniſto Prochyta alta tremiſt ; durumque cubile
Inarime, Jovis impatiſis impoſita Typhæo.
Virgil. Ib. ſ. 716.

(38) Dryden, Æn. 12. ſ. 1283.
Tantum eſſata, caput glauco contextit amiſſa,
Multa gemens ; & ſe fluvio Dea condidit alto.
Virgil. Ib. ſ. 886.

(39) Dii Patrii Indigites ! & Romule ! Veſtaque mater,
Quæ Tuſcum Tiberim & Romana palatia ſervas !
Virgil. Georg. 1. ſ. 499.
Ye home-born deities, of mortal birth !
Thou father Romulus ! and mother Earth,
Goddeſs unmov'd ! ———
Dryden, Ib. ſ. 670.

It is very true, that Veſta was ſometimes taken for Tellus in the old Mythology ; but that was not under the character, in which ſhe is here repreſented. She is here repreſented as one of the deities who preſided over the welfare and ſafety of the Roman ſtate : as the goddeſs, to whom they kept up the perpetual fire ; and in whoſe temple they depoſited the Palla-

dium, or the pledge of their Empire over all the world. In this caſe, if the name of Veſta muſt be taken away, and any new one ſubſtituted in its room ; Mr. Dryden had much better have called her Fire, than Earth.

I muſt juſt add, that there is another miſtake of perſons, in this very paſſage ; and, indeed, a very groſs one. Virgil, by the Dii patrii here means the great Triad of deities, firſt received all over the eaſt ; and afterwards, ſucceſſively, in Greece and Italy. Theſe the ancient writers in general, (from Herodotus quite down to Macrobius,) uſually call by the title of Θεοὶ Πατριῶν, or Dii Patrii. There is an endleſs variety of opinions, who theſe three deities were, who were ſo much revered in the eaſt ; and particularly in the iſland of Samothrace : but among the Romans, it is evident enough that the three deities received as the three ſupreme, were Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva : and therefore Virgil adds the word, Indigites, to fix it to the Θεοὶ Πατριῶν, or the three great ſupreme Gods, received as ſuch in his own country. Indigites here, is much the ſame as Noſtri, in Juvenal ; where he is ſpeaking of theſe very deities. (Sat. 3. ſ. 145.) They are therefore no leſs perſonages than Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, (the three ſupreme, among all the gods of the Romans,) whom Dryden here repreſents Virgil as calling, “ Home-born deities ; of mortal birth.”

(40) Pallida Tiſiphone media inter miſſa ſævit.
Virgil. Æn. 10. ſ. 761.
Amidſt the croud infernal Ate ſneaks
Her ſcourge aloſt, and crieſt of liſting ſnares.
Dryden, Ib. ſ. 1080.

(41) Taygete ſmul os terribis offendit honeſtum
Pleias, & oceani ſpreto pede reppallit amnes ;
Aut

of Piscis; Nereids (42), instead of Naiads; and Nymphs of the water (43), instead of Nymphs of the air. Thus, where the original speaks of a mountain (44), the translation turns it into a river-god: where the former mentions the three bodies of Geryon (45), the latter makes it three lives: and where Virgil speaks, at most, but of eighteen water-nymphs; Dryden has increased them (46), in his account, to the number of fifty.

BUT the great fundamental fault of Mr. Dryden, in this view, is yet behind. What I mean is his being unacquainted with the real intent and design of the allegories, used by the antients; and indeed with their scheme of machinery, in general. The greatest of the antient poets seem to have held, that every thing in the moral, as well as the natural world, was carried on by the influence and direction of the supreme being (47). It was Jupiter that actuated every thing; and in some sense might be said to do every thing, that was done. This universal principle of action they considered, for their own ease, as divided into so many several personages, as they had occasion for causes. Hence, (as I have said (48) before,) every part of the creation was filled by them with deities: and no action was performed, without the assistance of some god, or another; for every power superior to man, they called by that name. This way of thinking, (or, at least, this way of talking,) was received by many of their philosophers, as well as poets: tho' it was particularly servicable to the latter; and therefore appears so frequently in their works. Petronius Arbitrator tells us (49), that a good epic poet should always lay hold of this advantage; and should carry on his whole action, by the help of what we call machinery: and where Horace speaks against gods being introduced too freely, (in a passage that is so often quoted, and sometimes not quite to the purpose;) he speaks only against

Aut eadem, fidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi,
Triflori hybernas caelo descendit in undas.

Virgil. Georg. 4. l. 235.

First, when the pleasing Piciades appear;
And springing upwards spurn the briny seas:
Again, when their affrighted Quire furveys
The watry Scorpion mend his pace behind,
With a black train of storms and winter wind,
They plunge into the deep; and safe protection find.

(42) Betwixt two rows of rocks, a sylvan scene
Appears above; and groves for ever green:
A grotto is form'd beneath with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereids, and exclude the heats.

Dryden, Æn. 1. l. 236.

Fronte sub adversâ scopulis pendentibus antrum;
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo;
Nympharum domus.

Virgil. Ib. l. 172.

(43) Twice sev'n, the charming daughters of the main,
Around my person wait, and bear my train:
Succeed my wish, and second my design;
The fairest, Deiopeia, shall be thine;
And make thee father of a happy line.

Dryden, Æn. 1. l. 111.

Sunt mihi his septem præstanti corpore nymphae;
Quarum, quæ formâ pulcherrima, Deiopeiam
Connubio jungam stabili propriamque dicabo.

Virgil. Ib. l. 77. (Spoke, by Juao; to Æolus.)

(44) Addam urbes Asiæ domitas; pulsumque Niphaten.

Virgil. Georg. 3. l. 30.

— Niphates with inverted urn,
And dropping sedge, shall his Armenia mourn;
And Asian cities in our triumph born.

Dryden, Ib. l. 47.

This it seems was objected to Mr. Dryden as a fault in his own time; and he endeavours to answer the objection, in his note on the place: where he pleads, for his making Niphates a river; from a connexion, which is not in Virgil.

(45) Tergemini necesse Geryonis spoliisque saperbus,
Alcides aderat.

Virgil. Æn. 8. l. 203.

Th' avenging force of Hercules from Spain
Arriv'd in triumph; from Geryon slain:
Thrice liv'd the Giant; and thrice liv'd in vain.

Dryden, Ib. l. 268.

(46) There are but 18 nymphs mentioned by Virgil, in his account of Cyrene's grotto; including Clymenè and Cyrenè herself: (see Georg. 4. l. 333, to 350.) Of which passage Mr. Dryden says; "The poet here records the names of fifty river-nymphs: and, for once, I have translated them all." Note, to his Translation; Georg. 4. l. 477.

(47) Virgil, in his proposition to the Æneid, says that every thing that happened to his hero was, *Vis superum*; and Homer, in his proposition to the Iliad, says that the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, (and all the mischievous consequences of it,) was only a fulfilling of the will of Jove: *Διὸς δ' ἐφελέσθη βουλῇ*.

When Cicero says, "that reason obliges us to own that every thing is done by Fate; (*Fieri omnia a Fato, ratio cogit fateri*, De Div. 1. 55.) he means just the same by that word, that Homer does by his *Διὸς βουλῇ*, and Virgil by his *Vis superum*; Fate, being nothing else but the word of Jupiter, or, (as they otherwise term it,) of the gods. *Fatum dicunt esse, quod Dii fantur, vel quod Jupiter fatur*. *Ibid. Orig. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.*—See Dial. X. p. 151, anteh.

(48) Dial. I. p. 2.

(49) Per ambages, deorumque ministeria, & fabulosum sententiarum tormentum, præcipitandus est liber spiritus. *Petr. Arb. §. 78.*

againſt the introducing them too freely, on the ſtage (50) : for in epic poems, the very beſt of the antient poets, and the greateſt patterns for writing that ever were, introduce them perpetually, and without reſerve. Homer, who was ſo highly admired by Horace, ſcarce does any thing without them : and Virgil, who was both admired and loved ſo much by him ; and whoſe *Æneid* was even published, ten years before Horace died ;) follows Homer more cloſely in this, than in any other point I know of. But the example of Virgil is, I think, ſufficient for me at preſent ; who has employed machinery ſo much and ſo freely in his *Æneid*, that almoſt the whole courſe of the ſtory is carried on by the intervention of gods. I ſhould be too tedious to you, ſhould I endeavour to trace this from the beginning to the end of that poem : but, if you pleaſe, we will juſt run over the firſt book of it, in this light. There you will ſee, that if *Æneas* meets with a ſtorm, juſt after his firſt ſetting out (51) ; it is *Æolus* that raiſes it, at the requeſt of *Juno*, and by the operation of the ſeveral *Genius's* that preſide over the winds : — if the ſea grows calm again, it is by the appearance of the deity (52), who preſides over that element ; who countermands thoſe winds, and ſends them back to their caves. — If *Æneas* lands on the coaſt of *Afric*, and is to be received kindly, at *Carthage* (53) ; it is *Mercury* that is ſent by *Jupiter*, to ſoften the minds of the *Carthaginians* and their queen, toward him : — and if he eſcapes all the attacks and dangers in paſſing thro' an unknown country, and an inhospitable people, till he comes to their capital ; it is *Venus* (54), who ſhrouds him in a cloud, and protects him from all danger. In fine, if the queen falls in love with him when he is arrived there ; tho' ſhe be repreſented as not old, and he as very handſome : yet muſt *Cupid* (55) do no leſs, than undergo a transformation ; to lie on her breaſt, and inſinuate that ſoft paſſion there. This ſort of management, which is uſed ſo much by Virgil in the entrance of his poem, runs thorough it quite to the end : and appears as fully in *Æneas's* combat with *Turnus*, in the laſt book ; as it did, in his arrival at *Carthage*, in the firſt. Every ſtep, and progreſſion in the ſtory, is full of machinery : or, (according to *Petronius's* general rule,) is carried on by the interpoſition and adminiſtration of the gods.

OUR modern poets, in general, ſeem not to have had any right ideas of the antient ſcheme of machinery, till long after the reſtoration of poetry ; not till about the middle of the laſt century ; and even now, very imperfect ones. As they had not the ſame general plan, nor the ſame doctrines to go upon, they ran into ſeveral errors, in relation to it ; both in their own practice, and in their notions of the antients : and ſeveral of theſe continue, in a great degree, to this day. The chief of theſe miſtakes were : firſt, that machinery was generally uſed of old only to make a poem look more ſtrange and ſurprizing ; and ſecondly, that the poets were too apt to introduce machines, (or ſuper-natural cauſes,) where they could not account for events, ſo naturally as they ſhould : whereas in reality, in the works of the antients, nature and machinery generally go hand in hand ; and ſerve, chiefly, to manifeſt one another. Thus, for inſtance, in the ſtorm, in the very beginning of the *Æneid* : theſe imaginary beings are introduced in every part of it ; but it is only ſuch beings, as are proper for the part in which they are introduced ; and they appear there only to carry on the true order of the natural effects. The goddeſs of the upper air deſires the god of the winds, to let looſe thoſe turbulent ſubjects of his : they are let looſe : the ſea is immediately all in a tumult ; and the god of the ſea appears, to make it all calm again. There ſeems to me, not to be any more difference in this, and the natural account of the thing ; than if you ſhould ſay, that all the parts

of

(50) Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet :
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus :
Aut in avem Prognevertatur ; Cadmus in anguem. —
Nec deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit. —

Horat. de Art. Poet. ſ. 185, to 192.

(52) See Ib. ſ. 128, to 160.

(53) See Ib. 1. ſ. 227, to 308.

(54) See Ib. ſ. 318, to 422. (and the effect of it, to 590.)

(51) See *Æn.* 1. ſ. 38, to 90.

(55) See Ib. 661, to 727.

of matter tend towards each other; and I should say, that some spiritual power always impels them towards each other. The effects are just the same: only in one case we look upon them, as acting; and in the other, as acted upon.

I COULD run out much farther on this subject; but what I have said, I think, may be sufficient. To return therefore to Mr. Dryden. That great man seems to have fallen too much into the vulgar notions of machinery. It is this which makes him speak of it, in so slighting and contemptuous a manner, in general: as where he says (56); "The matter of Ariflaus's recovering his bees, might have been dispatched in less compass; without fetching the causes so far, or interesting so many gods and goddesses in that affair:" and in another place (57): "Of Venus and Juno, Jupiter and Mercury, I say nothing: for they were all machining work." Thus, where he is speaking of the three greatest epic poets that have ever been, he excludes Milton, and admits Tasso in his place; chiefly, because the former deals so much in machinery; for out of the three reasons (58) which he gives for the exclusion of Milton, two of them seem to be founded on that bottom. Indeed by these, and many other of his expressions, Mr. Dryden seems to have given into both the particular mistakes I have mentioned to you, in the most vulgar notions of machinery: and to have imagined that Virgil generally introduces these imaginary beings uselessly, or only for ornament; and sometimes bunglingly, or only to excuse what is not otherwise well accounted for. Thus, in speaking of the Diræ in the last *Æneid*, he says; "This machine is one of those, which the poet uses (59) only for ornament: and of the same, and Jupiter's weighing the fates of *Æneas* and *Turnus*; "These two machines,—were (60) only ornamental; and the success of "the duel had been the same without them:" and in another place, in general; "Our author seldom employs machines (61), but to adorn his poem." Thus, on Neptune's calming the sea in the first *Æneid*; and his conducting *Æneas's* fleet safe to the coast of Italy, in the fifth; he says: "I name these two examples, among a hundred which I omit, "to prove that Virgil, generally speaking, employed his machines in performing those things; which might possibly have been done without them. What more frequent, "than a storm at sea upon the rising of Orion? What wonder, if among so many ships, "there should one be overfet which was commanded by Orontes; tho' half the "Winds had not been there, which *Æolus* employed? Might not *Palinurus*, without "a miracle, fall asleep and drop into the sea, having been over-wearied with watching? "—But machines sometimes are (62) specious things, to amuse the reader; and to "give a colour of probability to things, otherwise incredible." And thus, on Mercury's being sent to hasten *Æneas* from Carthage, he makes the following exclamation. "Oh "how convenient is a machine sometimes in an heroic poem! This of Mercury is "plainly one: and Virgil was constrained to use it here, or the honesty of his hero would "be ill-defended (63).

I MUST own to you, that this very machine last mentioned, (the introducing Mercury, to oblige *Æneas* to pursue his voyage to Italy) which Mr. Dryden speaks of as such a forced one; seems to me to be particularly easy, and obvious; and very well adapted.

What

(56) Life of Virgil, p. 46. 12^{mo}.

(57) Dedication to the *Æneid*, p. 381. 12^{mo}.

(58) Milton, he says, might have had a fairer plea to be reckoned among the first epic poets; "If the devil had not been his hero, instead of Adam;—if the giant had not foiled the knight;—and if there had not been more machining persons, than human, in his poem." Ded. to the *Æneid*, p. 352. 12^{mo}.

(59) Ibid. p. 407.

(60) Ibid. p. 408.

(61) Note on Georg. 4. v. 660.

(62) Ded. to the *Æneid*, p. 404. 12^{mo}.

The word, specious, is generally used in a bad sense, in English. Horace uses the word *speciosus*, in a very different sense; in speaking of this very subject:

Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat; ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat:
Antiphaten, Scyllamque, & cum Cyclope Charybdim.
De Art. Poet. v. 145. (of Homer.)

(63) Ded. to the *Æneid*, p. 380.

What the vulgar believed to be brought about, by the will of their gods; the poets described, as carried on by a visible interposition of those gods: and this to me seems to be the whole mystery of the machinery of the antients.—When the gods are thus introduced in a poem, to help on any fact with which they are particularly supposed to be concerned, I call that machinery, easy and obvious: and when the god thus introduced is the most proper that could be employed on that particular occasion, I call it well adapted. This I take to be the case, in Virgil's introducing Mercury; on the occasion above mentioned. It was a supposed fact among the Romans, that Æneas came to Italy in consequence of the will of heaven, and the express order of the gods; declared in oracles, and prophecies. What they thus supposed, Virgil realizes. The Fates, or will of heaven, in Virgil, is Jupiter giving his orders: and the declaration of it to Æneas, is expressed by Mercury, (the usual messenger of the will of heaven,) coming down to him; and giving him the orders he had from Jupiter. This machinery then is both obvious, and well adapted: and, we may add, that it could scarce be better timed, than when Æneas was at the greatest stop he met with in his whole voyage for Italy; and when he was most in danger of quitting his design. This seems to me to be as obvious, and well adapted; as that known piece of machinery in the Roman poets, relating to the dedication of Romulus. The vulgar among the Romans believed, that Romulus was the son of Mars; and that, when his time was come, he was received among the gods; on account of his birth, and for his great achievements in war. The poets therefore, in mentioning this, say that Mars descended from heaven in his war-chariot; and carried up Romulus with him in it (⁴), to the abode of Jupiter. Thus they both say the very same thing; only the poetical way of expressing it, is more personal and descriptive than the prose one. This I should imagine to be generally the case, in the machinery of the antients: and as I was saying just now, that they commonly supposed that man could do nothing of himself; but was actuated in every thing by the direction of heaven, or the will of Jupiter; their poets had as full scope for this, as they could wish: for on that single principle they might, I think, very fairly introduce some proper deity, as assisting in any action; wherever they thought it would serve either to strengthen, or beautify the narration. I shall just add one thing, which I have slightly hinted at before: that if any modern poet was to form a new scheme for machinery, consisting of good and bad angels; or of any imaginary beings, by whatever names he might please to call them: our poets would have as full scope for introducing them, whenever they pleased, on the doctrine of particular providence, in the moral world; or on that thought in the Newtonian philosophy, which supposes all motion may possibly be occasioned by the immediate impulse of some spiritual being, in the natural; as the antient poets had from the doctrine of Fate, or the will of Jupiter, interfering in all things.

IF some great genius, in any future age, should introduce and establish such a scheme as I am speaking of; I should imagine that his readiest and best way, would be to adapt the characters and representations already received from the antients, in all cases where they might be easily and naturally transferred into his scheme. Thus the goddess of Peace, for instance, might as well be called the messenger of peace; and the Apollo inflicting plagues, might be turned into a destroying angel. In the doctrine of angels, as it already stands, he would find a full supply for the administration of any happiness, or misery, that can befall mankind: and if the imaginations of the schoolmen are not too whimsical to be made use of, even by the poets, in this case; he might there find all their hierarchies, degrees, and offices, already settled. The very name of angel in our sense of the word, is much the same with that of a god in the language of the heathens; and our idea of devils, falls in very much with their notion of a fury. So that much might be done by only shifting the names, and retaining the old characters and representations.

ТНГ

(64) Horat. Lib. 3, Od. 3 v. 16. Ov. Met. lib. 2 v. 267 & Met. lib. 3 v. 220, 221.

THE reason why I should think it would be the best way, for any one who was to form a new plan of machinery, to transfer the characters and appearances of their imaginary persons from the antients; must, I believe be very obvious to you. He would by these means be supplied with a great number of them, ready made to his hands: generally, well known; and, for the most part, formed at first with much simplicity, and great expressiveness. He would have nothing to do, but to invent new ones of a like stamp, wherever there was a necessity of invention; and to discard the old ones, wherever they might be incompatible with his scheme, or at least improper for it. A man of genius might by these means, I think, compose a new scheme with much more ease, than may be generally imagined. But in his application of it, he should be particularly careful to be uniform; nor ever mix any one name of the gods of the heathens, with the names of the ministers of blessings and vengeance used in our sacred writings: a fault, which our great Milton himself is not always free from.

Thus, if any one was to form a new scheme for allegories in poetry, my collection here might still be very useful to him: and if any such inventor should arise in our days, it should be very much at his service. However till such a thing does happen, I think our poets should follow the old scheme, as uniformly; as they should a new one, when once received.

I HAVE for some time been talking to you on allegories only; as my subject led me particularly to considerations of that kind: but the idea of illustrating the works of the classics, from the figures of the antient artists, might be extended to several other things. Some of these I shall just point out to you: and you may hear me with the more patience, because this will close all I have to say on this head. Indeed, you have made me launch out into a great deal of talk, for these ten days; but heaven be praised, we at length begin to come in sight of the shore!



Page 320

Bodley's copy

D I A L. XXI.

Some Hints, to shew how this sort of ENQUIRY, might be carried on and compleated.

WHEN I first began to make my collection, (continued Polymetis,) I did not think of confining it to the figures of the imaginary beings of the antients; but to take in several other things, which I thought might possibly be of use toward making the classics more intelligible: but after going some way in it, I found the design so extensive, and so copious: that it seemed to me too much for any one man, (at least, for such an one as I am,) to compleat it in its full extent. I therefore chose to confine myself to one part only; that of the figures of the heathen deities: but a part which, to say the truth, goes perhaps as far; as all the rest would, if put together. I shall mention to you some of the principal points, which I at first thought of; but afterwards left untouched, and ready for any one who may ever think of making a second collection.

HAD I gone on with my first design, and made a Musæum for antiques relating to other subjects, as well as the heathen deities; what I should have placed in the very first partition of it, would have been such as are very much connected with them: such, I mean, as relate to the amours of those deities with mortals. These are very common subjects, both with the artists and poets; and we generally find a very great agreement in their works, relating to them. Thus Jupiter's descent to Semele, in all his glory, is described (1) by Ovid with the same circumstances, that you see it in gems (2); on which Jupiter appears surrounded with lightnings and fire, on that occasion. Danaë is expressed in (3) gems, just as she is described (4) by the same poet. You have the whole story of Europa, told at large in a piece of Mosaic (5), at the Barbarini palace in Rome; and the figures of Jupiter carrying her across the sea, under the shape of a bull, are very common on gems: you see her, I believe, in one or other of them, in each of the attitudes which Ovid (6) gives her on that occasion, in so many different parts of his works. Leda, and her swan, is yet more common on antiques; and appears on them often, as she is described (7) by the same. The story of Ganymede's being carried from mount Ida by the eagle, is a common subject in gems, statues, and reliefs. The poets sometimes suppose this eagle to be Jupiter (8) himself; and sometimes to be only that bird (9), sent to perform the orders of Jupiter. The artists too seem to have followed sometimes one, and sometimes the other of these opinions: for the relief in the antichamber to the Florentine-gallery, and the figure relating to this subject at St. Mark's library in Venice, express the passion of love in the eagle himself; whereas many other representations of the same story, shew nothing but his care and fidelity. The artists too have not forgot Ganymede's

(1) Ovid. Met. Lib. 3. v. 293, to 309.

(2) Baron Stofche's collection of drawings; at Florence. Vol. 2.

(3) Mus. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 66, 4.

(4) Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 8. v. 34.

(5) See Turnbull's Paintings of the Antients, Pl. 8.

(6) See Met. Lib. 2. v. 873, to 875.—Id. lib. 6. v. 105, to 107.—Fast. lib. 5. v. 605, to 614.

(7) See Ovid. Her. Ep. 17. v. 56. — Met. lib. 6. v. 109.

(8) Rex superum Phrygiæ quondam Ganymedis amore
Arist; & inventum est aliquid quod Jupiter esse,
Quam quod erat mallet, nullâ tamen alite verti
Dignator, nisi quæ posset sua fulmina ferre:
Nec mora, percussit mendacibus æra pennas,
Abripit Iliaden. —

Ovid. Met. lib. 10. v. 167

(9) Rex decorum regnum it. aves vagas

Permisit, expertus fidelem

Jupiter in Ganymede flavo.

Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 4. v. 4.

mede's preferment afterwards; nor the resentment with which Juno used to regard him, in his high post: a subject so familiarly known from the relievos of old; that it may possibly on that account be only just hinted at by (10) Ovid, where he has an occasion of speaking of it. These are some of the most remarkable, among the numerous amours of Jupiter; the chief of the gods in debauchery, as well as in power. Several other of the heathen deities, tho' not so guilty as Jupiter, yet are not free from the same reproach. Neptune's rape of Cænis, (or some other lady,) is represented on a relievo (11), in the Admiranda; and Apollo's pursuit of Daphne, and her transformation into a laurel-tree, appears (12) on an old gem: tho', to say the truth, I have never met with this story so well expressed in any work of the antient artists; as it is in Bernini's statue of them, in the Villa Borgheze. The amour of Bacchus and Ariadne is not uncommon, on gems: and the famous amour of Venus and Adonis is as common on them, as that of Diana and Endymion is on Sarcophagus's. But I must just observe to you, that the artists and poets have kept up a great deal of decorum, in their different manner of telling these two stories: for Venus, whose character is abandoned, is represented by them on this occasion, as giving a loose to her passion; whereas the chaste Diana has (13) a veil over her head, and seems wholly engaged in contemplating the beauty of Endymion, while he is asleep: beside that, in this latter case, there are some other figures usually inserted by the artists; which seem to infer plainly enough that it was rather meant to shadow out some philosophical mystery, than to express any real amour.

THESE which I have mentioned, and several others which I might have mentioned, would have supplied me with sufficient furniture for the first partition in my long room, or gallery; had I carried on my design so far, as I was once inclined to do. In the second partition, I would have ranged the copies of such antiques, as relate to the heroes (14); or the offspring of the gods, from their amours with mortals. There you might have seen, Zethus and Amphion, (the twin-sons of Jupiter, by Antiopè,) revenging the cause of their mother on the unhappy Dirce: in the same manner as that story is expressed in the famous group of figures, at the Farnese palace in Rome; and as it is told (15) by Propertius. From whom, by the way, one learns an additional propriety observed by the artist, in laying Amphion's lyre by him: which the author of one of the old Latin tragedies had in his eye too; tho' he has acted less properly, in placing it (16) in his hand. Had he held it there, whilst he ought to have been wholly engaged in other matters, Zethus would have had sufficient reason to be angry with him for being too fond of his fiddle, and to have got him to quit it; as, it is said (17), he did afterwards on a less important occasion. There you might have seen Perseus, the son of Jupiter by Danaë, with the true air of a hero, (that is, something between a deity and a man,) giving his hand to the modest Andromeda; to lead her from the rock, where she just before expected a most cruel death. You must remember the incomparable relievo that represents this story, formerly in Cardinal Albani's noble collection at Rome; since purchased by the Pope, and now placed in the Capitoline gallery:

(10) —Nunc quoque pocula miscet;
Invitâque Jovi nectôr Junone ministrat.
Ovid. Met. Lib. 10. v. 161.

(11) Pl. 29.

(12) Maffei's Gems, Vol. II. Pl. 44.

(13) See Dial. XII. p. 199. anteq.

(14) Varia hujus vocabuli adferuntur etyma; mihi, quod Platonî placuit, maximè placet: ut sit ab *ἔργω*, amor; propterea quòd, ex amore deorum erga feminas mortales, vel deorum erga mares mortales, geniti sint. Ainsworth. in Vocab. Heroes. Theſ. Pars ult.

(15) Tu reddis pueris matrem; puerique trahendam
Vinxerunt Dircen sub truci ora bovis:
Antiopæ, cognosce Jovem! Tibi gloria Dirce
Ducitur, in multis mortem habitura locis.
Prata croentantur Zeti; victorque canebat
Fœnâq; Amphion rupe, Aracynthe, tuâ.
Propertius, Lib. 3. El. 15. v. 42.

(16) Dextrâ ferocem cornibus taurum premens
Zetus; manoque sustinet levâ chelym,
Qui saxa dulci traxit Amphion foro.
Œdipus, Act. 3. Sc. 1. v. 612

(17) Nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
Zethi dissilait: donec suspecta fœvero
Conticuit lyra. —
Hor. Lib. 1. Ep. 18. v. 43.

lery : where it demands a particular attention, amidst the many beauties that adorn that place. Ovid, in speaking of Andromeda on this occasion, makes her a compliment which is very common with the antients ; tho' I would not answer for its success now : he says, she was as beautiful (18) as a statue, or a work of art. He speaks too, of that (19) modest air of her face ; which is so very remarkably expressed, in the Capitoline relievo. I might have added to this second partition, several drawings or copies from antiques, relating to the same hero ; and some others : particularly, all the pieces that have any reference to the conquest of the Indies by Bacchus, and Hercules, considered as such great conquerors ; and as engaged in those actions, which they are said to have performed before the time of their supposed deification.

My third partition would have been set apart for such things as do not belong to the heroes, properly so called ; but which are as evidently fabulous, as any thing relating to them. One might have supplied this part, with Arion on his Dolphin ; Theseus killing the Minotaur ; and Bellerophon engaging with the Chimæra, from gems : and indeed almost the whole story of the last of these is to be met with in the same ; except his fall on the Aleian fields, which I have never yet seen in any antique. Helle's passage over the sea on a ram, and Dædalus's flight thro' the air, are represented on gems too. I could have had the story of Narcissus, from that pretty statue of him in the Florentine gallery ; and that of Actæon more at large, in five several compartments, from a Sarcophagus in the Villa Borgheze. The Judgment of Paris, between the three contending goddesses, is a very common subject in gems, statues, pictures, and relievos ; and the descent of Orpheus into hell might have been fully supplied, from some or other of them. The figures and stories of Amazons, are common too, in all sorts of antiques ; and I should have known where to have met with a Cyclops, or a Pygmy, upon occasion. Every one of these subjects are described by the poets, as well as expressed by the artists ; and generally, those which are most common with the latter, are most spoken of by the former.

PERHAPS

(18) Quam simul ad duras religatam brachia cautes
Vidit Abantiades ; nisi quod levis aura capillis
Moverat, & trepido manabant lumina fletu,
Marmorcum ratus esset opus. —

Ovid. Met. Lib. 4. §. 674.

It is common with the antients, to commend living beauties, by comparing them to works of art.

—Contempla, Epidice ;

Ufque ab unguiculo ad capillum summum est si, flvissima
Estne, considera. Vide, signum pictum pulchrè videris.

Plant. in Epid. Act. 5. Sc. 1.

Ut faceret, atque ex picturâ, assitit.

Id. in Stichus, Act. 1. Sc. 3.

—Cervix, humerique, manufque ;

Pectoraque, artificum laudatis proxima signis.

Ovid. Met. Lib. 12. §. 398.

Lateri applicat meo mulierem, omnibus simulacris
emendatiorem. Petron. Arb. p. 239. —Oculum,
quale Praxiteles habere Venerem credidit : jam men-
tum ; jam cervix ; jam manus ; jam pedum candor,
intra auri gracile vinculum positus, Parium marmor
extinxerat. Ibid.

It seems to have been from hence too, that the Ro-
man poets use so many terms drawn from statues, to
express the beauty of the human body itself ; as those
of Cereus, Eburneus, and Marmoreus :

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi

Cervicem roseam ; & cerea Telephi

Laudas brachia. —

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 17. v. 3

O O O O

Illa quidem nostro subiecit eburnea collo

Brachia, Sithoniâ candidiora nive

Ovid. Amor. Lib. 3. El. 7. §. 8.

Littora marmoreis pedibus signate, puellæ.

Id. Ib. Lib. 2. El. 11. §. 15

And, possibly those of ; Candidus, Nitidus, and
Splendens :

Argonautas præter omnes candidum.

Hor. Epod. 3. §. 9.

—Liparæ nitor Hebræ.

Id. Lib. 3. Od. 12. §. 6.

Urit me Glycère nitor,

Splendens Pario marmore purius.

Id. Lib. 1. Od. 19. §. 6

Which last passage, is thus imitated by the author
of one of the old Latin tragedies :

Hæc solem facies rarius appetat,

Lucebit Pario marmore clarius.

Hippolitus, Act. 2. Chor.

In both these passages, we seem to be directed im-
mediately to the idea taken from statues : some of
which among the antients are said to have been so
bright, that they could scarce bear to look upon them
long and steadily. There was a Hecate, in particu-
lar, in the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus ; in
cujus contemplatione (says Pliny) admonent ædificii,
parcere oculis : tanta marmoris radiatio est. Nat.
Hist. Lib. 36. Cap. 5.

(19) —Manibusque modestos

Cel. sset vulcus, si non religata fuisset.

Ovid. Met. Lib. 4. §. 682.

PERHAPS you will say, that I should rather have kept my Amazons for the next partition; because Justin (20), and some other historians, speak of them and their wars, not as fables but as realities. I shall not pretend to enter nicely into that question: and indeed the earliest history, in general, is so intermixed with fable, that it is often not easy to distinguish between downright fictions, and pretended truths. Lucian, in his (21) catalogue of old stories, mixes them both indifferently together; perhaps because even he, (who lived so much nearer those times,) did not well know how to separate them with any degree of exactness. But to return to the partitions for my gallery. In the fourth, I should have placed the antiques that relate to such things as seem to me to have been delivered for facts, in the antient history; and among these you might perhaps have met with some things as imaginary, as the Amazons and Pygmies. Here for instance, I should have introduced the story of Meleager and Atalanta, from the Sarcophagus in the Borgheze palace; and that of Hero and Leander, from gems: and all the antiques that relate to the Theban and Trojan wars. If very little came in for the former, it would have been largely made up in the choice that there is for the latter. Among these you would have seen, the Rape of Helen (22), from an antient painting; the sacrifice of Iphigenia, from the fine urn in the Justinian gardens; the barbarity of Achilles, in dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy; the taking away of the palladium, by Diomed and Ulysses; the stratagem of the wooden horse; the death of Laocoon and his two sons; the tearing of Cassandra from the shrine of Minerva; the burning of Troy; and the escape of Æneas from the flames, with old Anchises on his shoulders; and the little Ascanius following him with difficulty; just as he is described (23) by Virgil.

THIS would have led directly to my fifth class; which would have consisted of such things, as fall in with the Roman history. Here you might have seen many things, relating to Æneas's arrival and establishment in Italy; and, many, relating to the birth and story of Romulus: the rape of the Sabines; Cochles alone defending the bridge, against the forces of Porfenna; Scævola, punishing his hand for misplacing the blow he meant for that prince; Curtius, plunging into the gulph to save his country; Lucretia, dying by her own hand, not to outlive her chastity any longer than was necessary for its being revenged; the great Cincinnatus dressing himself, to leave his plough for the dictatorial chair; and several other of the most remarkable events, in the Roman story. I mention only such as I have chanced to meet with in antiques: and no doubt I should have found out a great many more, had I carried on my design; as I first intended. In this partition, I should have added the portraits of all the more eminent persons among the Romans; from their medals and statues: and have got together as entire a series of them, as I could, quite from the foundation of Rome, to the times of Gallienus. Would not that be going too high? interposed Philander: for as you say, that the arts were not introduced into Rome, till the second Punic war; I should think, that the figures of the kings and consuls before that time, must have been of too bad a taste for the rest of your collection. Had we no figures of them, says Polymetis, but what were made in their own times, and by their own countrymen, I should indeed have been very little desirous of having any

(20) *Majore parte Europæ subactâ, Asiæ quoque nonnullas civitates occupavere.* Justin. Lib. 2.

When Julius Cæsar was threatening his enemies once very highly, and one of them said in ridicule, "that it was not easy for any woman, to do all that he had threatened;" (alluding to the stories of him, when he lived in the court of Nicomedes;) Julius's answer was: "In Assyriâ quoque regnasse Semiramis; magnamque Asiæ partem Amazonas tenuisse." Sueton. in Jul. Cap. 22.

(21) See Lucian, *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*. Tom. I. p. 801, to 806. Ed. Blæu. Tho' his catalogue takes up so many pages, it is little more than a bare list of names; and yet, as he says, it is almost nothing in proportion to what he might have made it. *Ταῦτα παρὶ ολίγα ἐκ πολλῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρων το πλῆθος ἐξέλεον, τὰ καὶ φελομενέστερα κατέλεξε.* Ibid. p. 806.

(22) Turnbull's antient paintings, N° 25.

(23) — Sequitur patrem, non passibus æquis.

Æn. 2. v. 724

any of them in my collection ; but the artists that came into Italy after the period you mention, worked often on subjects much earlier than their own times ; and often chose to represent the most shining parts of the Roman story, and the most celebrated persons that had been concerned in them. In this latter case, one may suppose that they took the distinguishing characters of their faces from the bungling artists, that had done any thing before them ; but that they expressed them with more of art and beauty, in the execution of the work : as a good painter now might form a handsome portrait of our old Chaucer, from the miserable one done by Oclive in his own time. That might very well have been the case, says Mysagetes, supposing they had any Oclives then ; but allowing you to suppose as much as you please, I do not see how these old Roman portraits could be of any manner of use toward explaining any thing in the classics : which I take for granted would have been the intent of your second collection, as it was of your first. The chief thing, (replied Polymetis,) in this part of it, the portraits and personages of their most eminent men, would certainly have been more for pleasure, than use ; for that pleasure, I mean, which we are apt to feel, even in seeing the features and air of any person, that we have heard much of and long admired : but there might have been some little use in it too ; towards explaining an expression, or passage now and then, in the Roman poets. I shall just give you an instance of this, in a very remarkable personage, that of Virgil. It seems to have been a vulgar opinion among the moderns, (at least, among the modern commentators,) that Virgil was a rough-looking, slovenly man. To overturn this opinion, I should not alledge Urfini's gem ; which has so often been called a head of Virgil : both because there is a great deal of reason to think, that it is falsely (24) attributed to him ; and because we have pictures of Virgil, drawn at full length, and much less to be disputed. What I mean are two pictures, placed before (25) two of his Eclogues ; in one of those old manuscripts of his works, in the Vatican library. You see him there, represented with a sweet, modest countenance ; and dressed particularly neat. These pictures, if you will allow of their authority, (and I know of no other that can pretend to near so good an one,) may serve perhaps to give us the true sense of an expression, in Statius ; and to rescue a passage in Horace, from the misrepresentations of his commentators. Statius, in speaking of Virgil, applies the epithet of *torvus* (26), to him : whence some have been apt to imagine that Virgil had a stern or froward look. But if one ought to trust more to this picture, than to the commentators, we should perhaps understand that expression of his writings, rather than of his personage ; with which it will by no means agree : whereas if it be applied to his works, it may signify the dignity and majesty of them ; which will agree with the context and the occasion on which Statius uses that expression as much, as in the other sense it would be foreign to both. The passage I had in my eye from Horace, is where that poet is speaking of a man who had some little faults, mixed with more material excellencies ; which might well enough conceal them, at least to every good-natured observer. The faults or defects he mentions are (27), that he was a little too passionate ; somewhat ungenteel in his conversation ; and ill-dressed. Here, say the commentators, one sees an instance of the sly way that Horace had of touching on the faults of his best friends, even whilst he is commending them : and the friend here touched upon, they will have to be Virgil. Virgil's appearance in the Vatican manuscript is as opposite to this character, as can possibly be : and if that be of any authority, it will quite destroy this conjecture of the commentators ; and shew that the passage is not to be understood of Virgil.

(24) That head seems to me to be evidently a head of the Apollo Musæus ; and agrees in all respects with that of the Apollo Musæus, Pl. 13. Fig. 1. The reason why it has passed so currently for a Virgil, in all the politer countries of Europe, may be, Urfini's christening it so first ; the desire people in general had, of having some head of Virgil or other : and their not knowing any thing of the figures of him, in the Vatican Virgil.

(25) The second, and sixth.

(26) *Fors & magniloquo non posthabuisset Homero ;*
Tenderet & torvo pietas æquæ Maroni.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. p. 63.

(27) *Iracundior est paulo ; minus aptus acutus,*
Naribus horum hominum : ridere possit, eo quod
Rusticius tonso toga desuisset, & male laxus
In pede calceus hæret
Hor. Ljb. 1. Sat. 3. p. 32.

Virgil. Were I to run over the whole list (28) that I had collected from the poets, relating to the personages of the more celebrated men in the Roman history; I doubt not but that we should find several other instances, of the same nature: but it is sufficient, I think, to have given you this plain proof of what I advanced; and therefore I shall go on, without hunting after any more, to my sixth partition.

THIS would have consisted of all sorts of things, that any way relate to the worship, or religious ceremonies, of the old Romans. Here I would have placed all the medals I could have got, that had either temples or altars, on their reverses; and a number of them, relating to the Secular Games: the various sorts of sacrifices; from gems, paintings, and relievos: the different dresses of their augurs, priests, camilli, and vestal virgins, from statues: the Lectisternia, to the great gods: the processions, in honour of them or any other of their deities; and particularly the Bacchanalian processions, which are so frequent in antiques, as well as in the descriptions of the poets. To all these, one might have added two other articles, equally common in both; the ceremonies used in their marriages, and in their funerals: both of which, (and especially the latter,) made a part of those religious rites, which they most superstitiously observed.

In my seventh partition I would have ranged all the things, that belong to the arts and sciences; and whatever was used by the Romans in civil life. Here you might have seen their dress; the furniture of their houses; (among which the vases on gems, and other remains would have had the largest share;) their feasts; their games, and sports; all the different sorts of musical instruments in use among them; their carriages, chariots, boats, and ships: and a number of other things, which would come under the same head; and which I omit, because in this, (as in all cases before,) I have chosen to mention only such particulars, as I know there would be a large supply for, both in the descriptions of the poets, and in the remains of the artists.

In my eighth and last partition, should have been every thing that related to military affairs, or the art of war, among the Romans. Here you would have seen their different sorts of arms, ensigns, and machines; which might have been, in a great measure, supplied from the Trajan and Antonine pillars: their military dresses, from the same: their mural, naval, laurel, and oaken crowns, from medals: their trophies and triumphs, from the triumphal arches. All these particulars taken together, would make sufficient furniture for a gallery; such as I at first designed: and would furnish any one with materials, for going thorough an intire course of comparing the descriptions in the Roman poets with the remains of the antient artists. I shall make no excuses for the many defects I may have been guilty of; especially in this last scheme, for a second collection. I mean it only as a hint for Philander, or any body that may ever happen to be inclined to carry on my design; and I dare say they would find it very easy, to improve much upon

(28) There is something said, (either personally, or with a view to some figures of them,) of Picus, by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. *l.* 187. and Ovid. *Met.* 14. *l.* 313. — Aventinus; by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. *l.* 655. — Lavinia; by Statius, *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 2. *l.* 244. — Romulus; by several of the Roman poets: See *Dial.* IX. Note 107, to 111, anteh. — Numa; by Virgil, *Æn.* 6. *l.* 808. — Ancus Martius; by the same, *ibid.* *l.* 815. — and Servius Tullius; by Ovid, *Fast.* *Lib.* 6. *l.* 571.

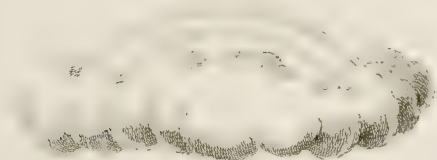
Of Lucretia, in Ovid, *Fast.* *Lib.* 2. *l.* 831, & 843. — Claudia. Statius, *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 2. *l.* 245. — Curtius, *Id.* *Lib.* 1. *Sylv.* 1. *l.* 66. — Cincinnatus. Persius, *Sat.* 1. *l.* 73. — Camillus. Virg. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 826. — Manlius Torquatus. *Id.* *ibid.* — Marcellus. *Ibid.* *l.* 855. — Regulus. Hor. *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 5. *l.* 41. —

Paulus Æmilius. Virgil. *Æn.* 6. *l.* 836. — Petus & Arria. Martial. *Lib.* 1. *Epi.* 14.

Julius Cæsar. Lucan. *Lib.* 7. *l.* 458. — Augustus. Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 679. Ovid. *ex Pont.* *Lib.* 2. *Ep.* 8. *l.* 13. Lucan. *Lib.* 7. *l.* 458. — Livia. Ovid. *Consol.* *l.* 48. — Drusus. *Id.* *ibid.* *l.* 260. — Agrippa. Virgil. *Æn.* 8. *l.* 681. Ovid. *de Art. Am.* *Lib.* 3. *l.* 392. — Horace; in his own works; *Lib.* 2. *Sat.* 3. *l.* 308. *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 7. *l.* 26. *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 2. *l.* 24. — Messalina. Juvenal. *Sat.* 6. *l.* 129. — Britannicus. Octavia. *Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3. *l.* 172. — Octavia. *Ibid.* *l.* 220. & Chor. *l.* 283. — And Domitian. Juvenal. *Sat.* 4. *l.* 38.

These are what I marked, by chance; in running over the Roman poets, principally with another view: so that I suppose, this list bears no proportion to what I might have collected, had I been consulting them in this view only.

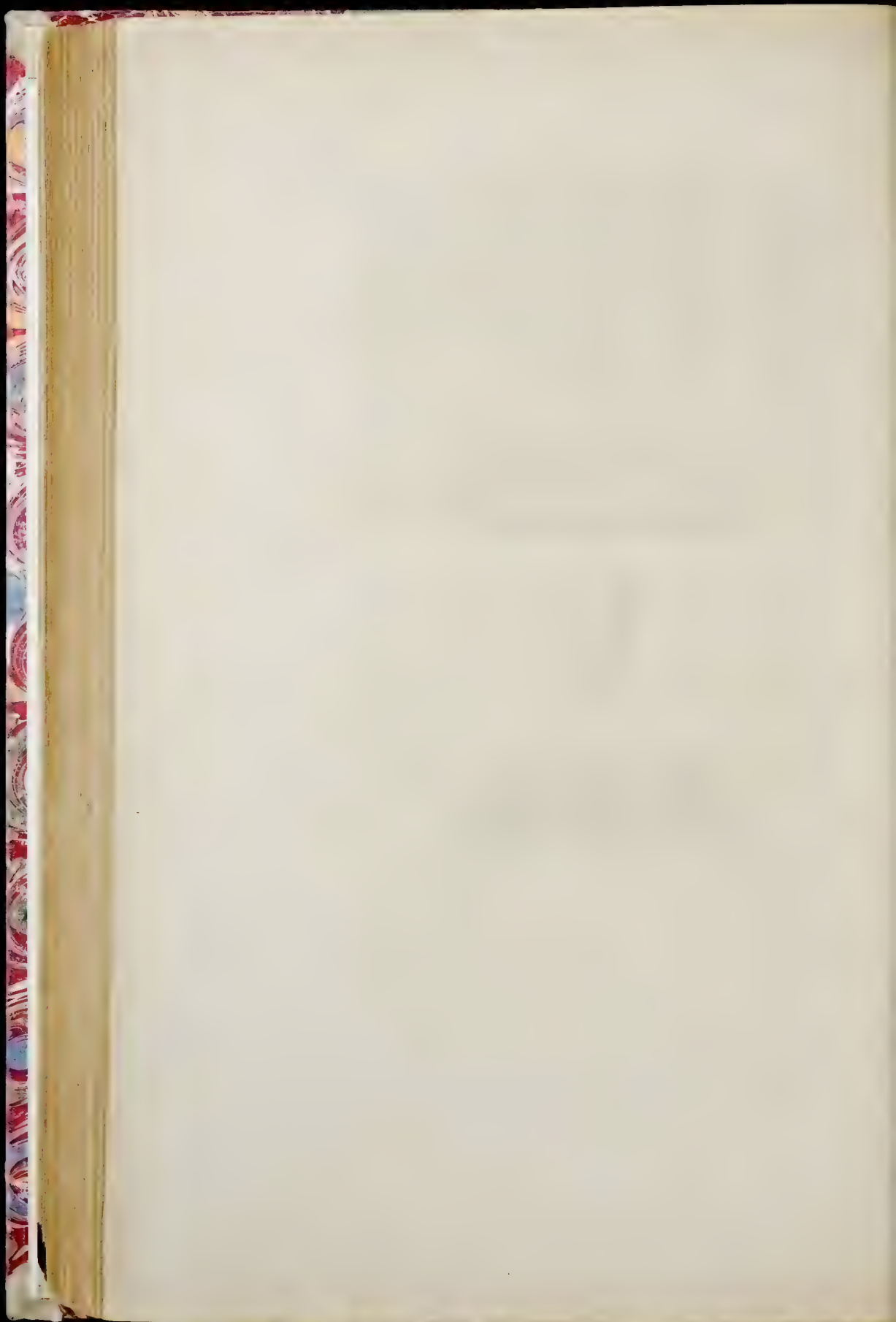
upon what I have only sketched out for them. With this, as it is, I have already detained you too far into the night: for we are to rise, you know, a little earlier than usual to-morrow morning; that we may be in town time enough to see a triumph of our own: the entry of our honest sailors, and their brave leader, with the treasures that they have won from the Spaniard. In which, tho' we must not expect the pomp and regularity of a Roman triumph; and may perhaps meet with some very odd figures, among those who officiate in the cavalcade; yet we ought at least to consider it, in one sense, as a nobler triumph than the Romans could ever boast of: the warriors we are to see to-morrow being such, as have carried the glory of the British arms into seas unknown to those conquerors of the world, (as they always affected to call themselves;) and among various nations, to which their eagles never flew.



17. 22

Barlow's rule

P p p p



A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E

ANTIQUES, inserted in this Work :

What they are; where kept : or whence
copied.

PLATE I.

JUPITER : a Statue ; in the Verospi Palace, at Rome.

PL. II.

- N^o 1. JUPITER CAPITOLINUS : from a Medal of Vitellius ; in Smids's *Martial*. p. 397.
 2. WING'D FULMEN, on a shield : from the Columna Antonia, at Rome.
 3. JUPITER FULMINANS : a Cornelian ; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
 4. Head of the MILD JUPITER : an Agate ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 5. Head of the TERRIBLE JUPITER : a little Bust, in Agate ; *ibid*.

PL. III.

1. Drefs of the JUNO MATRONA : from a Statue ; in the Villa Mattei, at Rome.
 2. JUPITER, JUNO, and MINERVA : a Jasper ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 3. Head of MINERVA : an Onyx ; *ibid*.
 4. DIOMED, with the PALLADIUM : a Jasper ; *ibid*.

PL. IV.

1. Head of MEDUSA : from the famous Gem ; in the Strozzi collection, at Rome.
 2. Ditto ; with the Eyes convuls'd : a Jasper ; in the Electress Palatine's cabinet, at Florence.
 3. MINERVA, with enraged serpents about her breast : an Agate ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 4. Ditto, with less enraged : a little Bust, in Agate ; from Maffei's *Gems*, Vol. II. Pl. 68.
 5. Ditto, with Jove's Fulmen in her hand : from a common Medal of Domitian.

PL. V.

The VENUS OF MEDICI.

PL. VI.

1. A number of little CUPIDS, playing in a sort of Circus : an antient Paste, that formerly belonged to P. Bellori ; from Agostini's *Gemme Ant.* Part 2. Pl. 61.
 2. Several CUPIDS, playing by a river's side : a Medal ; in the Pisani collection, at Venice.
 3. CUPID, playing with a Butterfly : an Amethyst ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 4. Ditto, going to torment a Butterfly : a Cornelian ; in the Gherardini collection, at Florence.

5. CUPID,

- N^o 5. CUPID, careffing Pŷche : a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence
 6. Ditto, tormenting her : a Chalcedon ; Ibid.

PL. VII.

1. CUPID, riding on a Lion and playing on a Lyre : a Sardonyx ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. Ditto, riding on a Dolphin : from a Gem, in Agostini. Part 2. Pl. 58.
3. Ditto, breaking Jupiter's Fulmen : an Agate ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
4. THE THREE GRACES, naked : a Sepulchral Lamp, that formerly belonged to P. S. Bartoli ; from his Antiche Lucerne. Part 2. Pl. 42.
5. Three NYMPHS, or GRACES, clothed ; and dancing hand in hand : a Painting ; in Dr. Mead's collection, at London.

PL. VIII.

1. VENUS, wheedling Mars : a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. VENUS, under the character of Indolence : a Sepulchral Lamp, that formerly belonged to P. S. Bartoli ; from his Antiche Lucerne. Part 1. Pl. 8.
3. MARS GRADIVUS : a Cornelian ; in the Cerretani collection, at Florence.
4. MARS, descending to Rhea Sylvia : a known Medal, of Antoninus Pius.

PL. IX.

MARS and NERIENE : a Relievo ; in the Court of the Palazzo Mattci, at Rome.

PL. X.

1. VULCAN : a Cornelian ; from Agostini's Gemme Antiche. Part 2. Pl. 36.
2. VESTA : a Medal, of Julia ; from Choul. p. 235.
3. VESTALIS : a Medal, of Claudius ; from the fame. Ibid.
4. VESTA MATER : from a Medal, in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 26, 11.
5. A Lamp, sacred to Vesta : from the fame. Ib. 28, 4.

PL. XI.

The APOLLO BELVEDERE.

PL. XII.

- 1 & 2. THE NINE MUSES : a Sarcophagus ; in the Capitoline Gallery, at Rome.
3. MUSE ; going to receive a child, just born : a Relievo ; in the Palazzo Sacchetti, at Rome.

PL. XIII.

1. Head of APOLLO : an Agate ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. APOLLO LYRISTES : a known Medal, of Adrian.
3. APOLLO, and MARSYAS : a Jasper ; in the Maffimi collection, at Rome.
4. DIANA VENATRIX : an Onyx ; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
5. DIANA, and ACTÆON : a Gem ; from Maffei. Part 3. Pl. 98.

PL. XIV.

1. DIANA TRIFORMIS : a Statue ; from Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 90, 5.
2. DIANA CÆLESTIS : a Statue ; at the Earl of Leicester's House, in London.
3. CERES : a Ruby ; formerly in the Odescalchi collection, at Rome.
4. MERCURY : a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. Ditto, flying : a Picture ; from the famous Manuscript Virgil in the Vatican, at Rome.

PL. XV.

- N^o 1. **MERCURY'S SWORD**: a Cornelian; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 2. **MERCURY'S LYRE**: at the foot of a statue of Mercury; in the Montalti Gardens, at Rome.
 3. **MERCURY**, giving up his Purse to Fortune: a Gem; from Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 76, 2.
 4. Ditto offered to Minerva; who takes moderately out of it: an antient Painting; from a drawing by P. S. Bartoli, in Dr. Mead's collection, N^o 55, at London.
 5. Ditto, offered to Pudicitia, who refuses it: a Gem; in the collection formerly Lord Arundel's, and now Lady Betty Germaine's, at London.
 6. **TERMINAL MERCURY**: from a Gem; in Agostini's Gemme Antiche. Part 2. Pl. 13.

PL. XVI.

The FARNESE HERCULES.

PL. XVII.

1. **INFANT HERCULES**, killing the Serpents: from an antient Paste; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
 2. Ditto, with Nurse, and little Euristheus: a Medal; from Agostini's Dialoghi, p. 147, II.
 3. **YOUNG HERCULES**, killing a Lion: a Cornelian; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 4. **YOUNG HERCULES**, with a Lion's Skin over his head, a Statue; in the Capitol, at Rome.
 5. Another Head, ditto: a Chrysolite; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

PL. XVIII.

1. **HERCULES**, killing the Cleonæan Lion: a Chalcedon; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 2. Ditto, killing the Hydra: a Cornelian; in the same.
 3. ——— with the Erymanthian Boar: a Cornelian; in the King of France's Cabinet, at Versailles.
 4. ——— taming the wild Stag: from an Altar; till very lately at the gate of Albano, now in the Capitoline gallery.
 5. ——— killing the Stymphalides:
 6. ——— resting, after he had cleaned Augeas's stables:
 7. ——— with a Bull on his Shoulders:
 8. ——— killing the tyrant Diomedes:
 9. ——— with Geryon:
 10. ——— with the vanquished Amazon:
 11. ——— dragging Cerberus after him:
 12. ——— gathering the Hesperian Fruit:
- } from the same.

PL. XIX.

1. **HERCULES**, and **ANTÆUS**: a Statue; in the Palazzo Pitti, at Florence.
 2. **HERCULES**, and **CACUS**: a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in the Vatican Library.
 3. Head of the **SUFFERING HERCULES**: from a noble Greek Statue; in the Barberini Palace, at Rome.
 4. **HERCULES BIBAX**, a Cornelian; in the Verospi collection, at Rome.
 5. **HERCULES**, and **OMPHALE**: a Statue; in the Great Farnese Palace, at Rome.

PL. XX.

- N^o 1. BACCHUS: a Statue; at the Marquis Cavalieri's, in Rome.
 2. Little Heads of Bacchus, hanging on a Tree: a Cornelian; from Maffei's *Gemme Antiche*, Part 3. Pl. 64.
 3. ESCULAPIUS: a Statue; in the Palazzo Massimi, at Rome.
 4. ROMULUS: from a Medal of Antoninus Pius; in Choul, p. 175, 4.
 5. Wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus: an Onyx; in the Riccardi collection, at Florence.
 6. CASTOR and POLLUX, on horseback: from a Medal of the Scribonian family; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 41, 12.
 7. Ditto, standing: from a medal of the Sulpitian family; from the same; *ibid.* Fig. 11.
 8. Heads of ditto: from a Medal; in Canini's *Iconografia*, Pl. 97.

PL. XXI.

1. PHILOSOPHY, and SOCRATES: from a Sarcophagus; in the Capitoline gallery, at Rome.
 2. HOMER, and his MUSE: from the same.
 3. PRUDENCE: from a Medal of Gordianus Africanus; in Vaillant's *Numism.* Rom. T. 1. p. 154.
 4. JUSTICE: from a Medal of Galba; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 62, 9.
 5. FORTITUDE: from a common Medal of Adrian.
 6. TEMPERANCE: from a Medal; in the Pisani collection, at Venice.
 7. PIETY; (in the common sense of that word:) from a common Medal of Faustina.
 8. Ditto; (in the less common sense of it:) from a Medal of Marcus Aurelius; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 77, 2.
 9. HONESTY: from a Medal of Vespasian; *ib.* Pl. 85, 7.
 10. MODESTY: a Medal, of Herennia Etruscilla; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 11. CLEMENCY: from a Medal of Vespasian; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 63, 4.

PL. XXII.

1. HAPPINESS: from a Medal of the younger Faustina; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 66, 8.
 2. HEALTH: from a Medal of Domitian; *ibid.* 80, 3.
 3. LIBERTY: from a common Medal, of Galba.
 4. TRANQUILLITY: from a Medal, of Adrian; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 60, 3.
 5. CHEERFULNESS: from a Medal, of L. Ælius; in Vaillant's *Numism.* Rom. T. 1. p. 70.
 6. JOVIALITY: from a Medal, of Faustina; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 55, 9.
 7. HOPE: from a Medal, of Pescennius Niger; *ibid.* 54, 6.
 8. SECURITY: from a Medal, of M. Aurelius; in Agostini's *Dial.* p. 48, 4.
 9. CONCORD: from a Medal, of Gordian; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 81, 7.
 10. PEACE: from a common Medal, of Titus.
 11. PLENTY, (in general:) from a Medal, of Trajan; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 73, 5.
 12. Ditto, (from the liberality of an Emperor:) from a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in Agostini's *Dial.* p. 70, 3.

PL. XXIII.

1. VICTORY: from a Medal, of Galba; in Oiselius's *Thef.* Pl. 68, 2.
 2. HONOUR: from a common Medal, of Titus.
 3. PROVIDENCE; (with a Globe of the earth, at her feet:) from a common Medal, of M. Aurelius.
 4. Ditto; (with a Globe slung up into the air:) from a common Medal, of Pertinax.
 5. NECESSITY: a Statue; in Montfaucon. Part 1. Pl. 197, 2.

- Nº 6. THE THREE DESTINIES : from a Medal, of Diocletian ; in Smids's *Martial*, p. 106, 6.
7. THE GENIUS, of a Vestal Virgin : from an antient Statue ; in Mr. Hooke's *Roman History*. Vol. I. p. 53.
8. Ditto, of Julia Mammaræ : from a common Medal, of that Empress.
9. Ditto, of Nero : from a Medal of that Emperor, in Oisélius's *Thef.* Pl. 42, 5.
10. FORTUNE, as constant : from a common Medal, of Adrian.
11. ——— as inconstant : a Jasper ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
12. ——— as taking care of Foundlings : a Cornelian ; in Agostini's *Gemme Ant.* Pl. 71.

PL. XXIV.

Antient GLOBE OF THE HEAVENS : from the Statue of Atlas ; in the Farnese Palace, at Rome.

PL. XXV.

1. TAURUS, entire : from an Onyx ; in Agostini's *Gemme Ant.* Pl. 135.
2. THE TWELVE SIGNS of the Zodiac ; Virgo, with full face : an Onyx ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. Ditto ; with Libra, or Balance, held by a Man : a Medal, of Alexander ; in the same.
4. CAPRICORN, entire : from a common Medal, of Augustus.

PL. XXVI.

1. THE SEVEN PLANETARY DEITIES, in their Chariots ; &c. a Drawing, from a Gem ; in Baron Stofche's collection, at Florence.
2. SATURN, with Wings, and Fetters : from a Chalcedon ; in Agostini's *Gemme Ant.* Pl. 88.
3. LUNA, in her Chariot ; preceded by Hesperus : a Relievo ; formerly on Trajan's Arch, and now on Constantine's, at Rome.
4. SOL, in his Chariot ; preceded by Phosphorus : a Medal, of Antoninus Pius ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

PL. XXVII.

1. ETERNITY : a common Medal, of Faustina.
2. THE GREAT PLATONIC YEAR : a Medal, of Adrian ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. THE FOUR AGES, of Man : a Painting ; in Bartoli's *Ant. Sepolcri*. Pl. 5.
4. THE FOUR SEASONS, of the Year : a Medal, of Commodus ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. JANUS : a Medal, of Antoninus Pius ; in Oisélius's *Thef.* Pl. 41, 2.

PL. XXVIII.

1. A GOD of the WINDS : a Relievo ; in the Capitoline Gallery, at Rome.
2. AN AIR-NYMPH : a Painting ; from Bartoli's Drawings, f. 69, in Dr. Mead's collection, at London.
3. Ditto, from the same, f. 73.
4. AIR-NYMPH, and ZEPHIR : from the same, f. 71.

PL. XXIX.

1. JUNO, drawn by Peacocks : from a Medal, in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 22, 6.
2. JUPITER PLUVIUS : from a Medal, *Id. Sup. Tom. I.* Pl. 19, 3.
3. IRIS : a Picture ; in the Vatican Virgil.
4. FAME : a little Brass Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

PL. XXX.

- N^o 1. NEPTUNE : a common Medal, of Adrian.
2. THETIS : a Medal ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. VENUS ANADUOMENE, in her Shell : a Relievo ; at the Palazzo Mattei, in Rome.

PL. XXXI.

1. TIBER : a Statue ; in the Belvidere, at Rome.
2. NILE : ditto ; in the same.
3. TIGRIS : from Agostini Dial. p. 107.
4. EUPHRATES : a Relievo ; formerly on Trajan's, and now on Constantine's Arch, at Rome.
5. DANUBE : a Medal, of Trajan ; in Bartoli's Col. Traj. Pl. 115, 7.
6. RHINE : a Medal of Drusus ; in Oisellius's Thef. Pl. 24, 6.

PL. XXXII.

1. NATURE : a Statue ; formerly in the Odescalchi collection, at Rome : from Maffei's Rac. Pl. 121.
2. CIBELE : from a Medal, in Smids's Martial ; p. 517.
3. The WORLD : a Medal, of Gallienus.
4. EUROPE : from a Cornelian ; in Agostini's Gemme Ant. Pl. 134.
5. ASIA : a Medal, of Adrian.
6. AFRICA : ditto.
7. ITALY : a Medal, of Antoninus Pius.
8. JUDEA, as distressed : a Medal, of Vespasian.
9. JUDEA, as received into favour : a Medal, of Adrian.
10. ROME : a Medal, of Nero.
11. ALEXANDRIA : a Medal, of Adrian.
12. TWO LARES, or Household-Gods : from a Sepulchral Lamp, in Bartoli's Antiche Lucerne, Part 1. Pl. 13.

PL. XXXIII.

ATLAS, supporting the Globe of the Heavens : a Statue ; in the Farnese Palace, at Rome.

PL. XXXIV.

The Injudicious Choice of PARIS, the Destruction of the Asiatic Empire : a Relievo ; at the Villa Medici, in Rome.

PL. XXXV.

1. Head of TIMOLUS : a Greek Medal ; in the Maffimi collection, at Rome.
2. RHODOPE : a Medal, of Antoninus Pius ; in Smids's Martial, p. 1.
3. SCYLLA : a Medal, of Sextus Pompeius ; in Oisellius's Thef. Pl. 28, 4.
4. FLORA : a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. POMONA : a Cornelian ; from Goriæus's Daët. Part 2. N^o 56.
6. VERTUMNUS : an Onyx ; from ditto. Part 1. N^o 49.
7. SYLVANUS : from a Sepulchral Lamp ; in Bartoli's Luc. Ant. Part 2. Pl. 26.
8. The Famous FAUN, in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
9. A FAUNESS : a Jasper ; from Agostini's Gemme Ant. Part 2. Pl. 23.
10. Head of the LASCIVIOUS PAN : from the famous Statue, in the Lodovician Gardens, at Rome.
11. Head of the MILD PAN : from a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
12. Head of the TERRIBLE PAN : an Amethyst ; in the Strozzi collection, at Rome.

PL. XXXVI.

- Nº 1. The PREVIOUS REGION, of the Subterraneous World : a Picture ; in the Vatican Virgil.
2. The GOD of SLEEP : from a Statue ; in Maffei's Rac. Pl. 151.

PL. XXXVII.

1. The RIVER, or Hateful Passage into the Kingdom of Ades : a Picture ; in the Vatican Virgil.
2. CHARON, receiving a Ghost into his Boat : a Sepulchral Lamp ; from Bartoli's Luc. Ant. Part 1. Pl. 12.
3. GHOSTS, landing on the Shore of Ades : from a Relievo ; in the Barbarini Palace, at Rome.

PL. XXXVIII.

1. EREBUS ; or, the first Region of Ades : a Picture ; in the Vatican Virgil.
2. CERBERUS ; mollified by Orpheus : from a Gem ; in Agostini's Gemme Ant. Pl. 9.
3. Ditto ; led captive by Hercules : from ditto ; ibid. Pl. 40.

PL. XXXIX.

1. The ENTRANCE to TARTARUS ; the second Region of Ades : a Picture, in the Vatican Virgil.
2. The PUNISHMENTS of SISYPHUS, IXION, and TANTALUS : a Relievo ; in the Barbarini Palace, at Rome.

PL. XL.

1. ELYSIUM ; or the last Region of Ades : a Picture ; in the Vatican Virgil.
2. PLUTO, and PROSERPINE, &c. a Painting ; from Bartoli's Sep. de Nafon. Pl. 8.

PL. XLI.

1. DEATH : a little Brass Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. GORGON'S HEAD : from a Shield, at the foot of a Statue of Mars ; at the Villa Borghese, near Rome.
3. HEAD of a Fury : from a Relievo ; in the Admiranda. Pl. 69.
4. One of the REBEL-GIANTS, with snaky Legs : a Cornelian ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. TITYOS, tormented by a Vultur : a Relievo ; in the Villa Borghese, near Rome.

The ORNAMENTAL PIECES ; in the Close of the DIALOGUES.

- Page 6. Little Cupid, stealing away his Club from Hercules : a Cornelian ; in Signor Ficoroni's collection, at Rome.
27. Several Cupids, playing with Hercules's Club : a Jasper ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
35. Little Cupid on a Rose-twigg : a Painting ; in the Rospigliosi Palace, at Rome.
64. Æneas, carrying his Father with the Cista Mystica, from Troy : a Cornelian ; in the Vittori collection, at Florence.
111. Niobe, endeavouring to save her youngest daughter : a Statue ; at the Villa Medici, in Rome.
135. Head of the Drunken Hercules : a Cornelian ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence
162. Hercules determining to follow Virtue, rather than Pleasure : a Gem ; in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 126, 1.

- Page 199. Diana, and Endymion : a Gem ; in Gorlaeus's *Daët.* Part 2. N° 498.
 215. Butterfly, and Branch : a Beril ; formerly in Signor Ficoroni's collection, at Rome.
 237. Nymphs, and two Sea-Horses : a Cornelian ; in Agostini's *Gemme Ant.* Part 2. Pl. 49.
 256. The Genius of Britain, sitting on a Globe : a Medal, of Antoninus Pius ; in Oisselius's *Thes.* Pl. 27, 6.
 284. The Three Destinies : from a Sarcophagus ; in the Capitoline Gallery, at Rome.
 291. A Representative of Hermes, or the Egyptian Mercury : from a Relievo ; in the Mattei Palace, at Rome.
 301. Mariyas : a Statue ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
 308. Bellerophon, taming Pegasus : a Cornelian ; formerly in Signor Ficoroni's collection ; now Lord Middlesex's, at London.
 320. Cupid, curing a Lion : a Cornelian ; in the Strozzi collection, at Rome.
 327. Ark, Dove, and Rainbow : an Onyx ; in Gorlaeus's *Daët.* Part 1. N° 118,

The THREE FIGURES, (disposed in the manner of an antient Relievo,) in the FRONTIS-PIECE ; are the Goddess of Painting, the God of Poetry, and the Genius of Sculpture. The first, from a Basso Relievo ; published by P. S. Bartoli, in his *Pitture Antiche* ; Pl. 1. the second, from an Amethyst ; of Senator Buonarroti's : and, the third, from a Cornelian ; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

ALPHABETICAL LIST;

O F

Each PARTICULAR FIGURE.

*. p. stands for, Page; Pl. for, Plate; and, Front. for, Frontispiece.

A.

ACTEON - - - - - Pl. 13, 5.
 Æneas, carrying his Father, &c. p. 64.
 —His descent into Aides. Pl. 36, 1.—38, 1.
 —39, 1.—& 40, 1.
 Africa - - - - - Pl. 32, 6.
 Ages: the four Ages of Man - - - Pl. 27, 3.
 Alexandria - - - - - Pl. 32, 11.
 Amazon; conquered by Hercules - Pl. 18, 10.
 Anchises - - - - - p. 64.
 Andromeda - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Anguis; the Constellation - - - - ibid.
 Anguitenens - - - - - ibid.
 Annona: see, Plenty.
 Antæus - - - - - Pl. 19, 1.
 Anteros: see, Eros.
 Apollo; with lyre, Front.—Apollo Vates, Pl. 13, 1 & 2.—The Apollo Belvedere, Pl. 11.—Apollo; at the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.—Ordering the punishment of Marfyas, Pl. 13, 3.—Apollo, under the character of Sol, Pl. 26, 1 & 4. & Pl. 34.
 Aquarius; the Constellation, Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.—26, 1.
 Aquila; ditto - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Ara; ditto - - - - - ibid.
 Arcitenens; ditto - - - - - ibid.
 Argo; ditto - - - - - ibid.
 Ariadne's Crown - - - - - ibid.
 Aries, Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.—26, 1.
 Ark, Dove, and Rainbow - - - - p. 327.
 Afcanius - - - - - p. 64.
 Asia - - - - - Pl. 32, 5. & Pl. 34.
 Atlas; supporting the globe of the heavens, Pl. 33.
 Auræ; or Air-Nymphs: see, Nymphs.
 Auriga; the Constellation - - - - Pl. 24.

B.

Bacchus, Pl. 20, 1.—At the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.—The Ocella, or heads, of Bacchus, Pl. 20, 2.
 Bellerophon - - - - - p. 308.
 Boötes - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Briareus - - - - - Pl. 36, 1.
 Britain: the genius of Britain; or, (as the Romans called it) the New World - - - p. 256.

C.

Cacus - - - - - Pl. 19, 2.
 Calliope - - - - - Pl. 12, 6.
 Cancer - - - - - Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.—26, 1.

Canicula: see, Sirius.

Capricorn - - - - - Pl. 24.—25; 2, 3, & 4.—26, 1.
 Cares - - - - - Pl. 36, 1.
 Cassiopeia - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Castor and Pollux; their heads, Pl. 20, 8.—Standing together, ib.—7.—24.—25, 2 & 3.—26, 1.—On horseback, Pl. 6. & Pl. 34.
 Celestial Globe - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Centaurs; (a male and female) - - - Pl. 36, 1.
 Centaurus; the Constellation - - - - Pl. 24.
 Cepheus; ditto - - - - - ibid.
 Cerberus; with serpents about him, Pl. 37, 1. and, 38, 1.—Lifting to Orpheus, Pl. 38, 2.—Dragged to the light, by Hercules, Pl. 18, 11. and, 38, 3.
 Ceres - - - - - Pl. 14, 3.
 Cetus; the Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Charon - - - - - Pl. 37, 2.
 Chearfulness - - - - - Pl. 22, 5.
 Chimæra - - - - - Pl. 36, 1.
 Cibélé—Pl. 32, 2.—Head of Cibélé, —Pl. 2, 3.
 Clemency - - - - - Pl. 21, 11.
 Clio - - - - - Pl. 12, 1.—Ditto; 21, 2.
 Concord - - - - - Pl. 22, 9.
 Constellations; their bearings to one another: see, Celestial Globe.
 Corvus; the Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Crater; ditto - - - - - ibid.
 Cupids, playing, Pl. 6, 1 & 2.—Sleeping, Pl. 8, 2.—Playing with Hercules's club, p. 27.—Cupid, on a Rose-twigg, p. 35.—Flying, toward Actæon, Pl. 13, 5.—Several Cupids, at the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.—Cupid, catching a butterfly, Pl. 6, 3.—Going to burn one, ib. 4.—Carefing Plyche, ib. 5.—Tormenting her, ib. 6.—Riding on a lion, Pl. 7, 1.—Healing, one that is wounded, p. 320.—Riding, on a dolphin, Pl. 7, 2.—Taking Hercules's club from him, p. 6.—Breaking the thunderbolt of Jove, Pl. 7, 3.
 Cygnus; the Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.

D.

Danube - - - - - Pl. 31, 5.
 Death - - - - - Pl. 41, 1.
 Deij hobus - - - - - Pl. 39, 1.
 Delphin; the Constellation - - - - Pl. 24.
 Desires - - - - - Pl. 23, 6. and p. 284.
 Diana, Venatrix, Pl. 13, 4.—Caledis, Pl. 14, 2.—As Hecate, or Trivia, ibid. 1.—Transforming Actæon, Pl. 13, 5.—Visiting Endymion,

mion, p. 199.—At the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.—In the council of the gods, Pl. 34.
Diana, under the character of Luna, Pl. 26, 3.
Diomedes; the Son of Tydeus - - - Pl. 3, 4.
Diomedes; the tyrant of Thrace - - Pl. 18, 8.

E.

Elysium - - - - - Pl. 40.
Endymion - - - - - p. 199.
Erato, Pl. 12, 5.—Ditto; holding a robe open, to receive a new-born infant, Pl. 12.
Erebus; parts of it, Pl. 37, 1.—38, 1.—& 39, 1.
Erichonius: see, Auriga.
Eros and Anteros - - - - - Pl. 5.—6, 3.
Esculapius - - - - - Pl. 20, 3.
Eternity - - - - - Pl. 27, 1.
Euphrates - - - - - Pl. 31, 4.
Eurydice - - - - - Pl. 37, 1.
Euristheus; and his Nurse - - - Pl. 17, 2.
Europe - - - - - Pl. 32, 4.
Euterpe - - - - - Pl. 12, 4.

F.

Fame - - - - - Pl. 29, 4.
Fatality: see, Necessitas.
Faunus; (male, and female) - - Pl. 35, 8 & 9.
Fides: see, Honesty.
Flora - - - - - Pl. 35, 4.
Flumen; the Constellation - - - Pl. 24.
Fortitude - - - - - Pl. 21, 5.
Fortune; as constant, Pl. 23, 10.—As inconstant, ibid. 11.—As the patroness of poor foundlings, ib. 12.—Fortune, with Mercury, Pl. 15, 3.
Furies, Pl. 36, 1. and 39, 1.—Head of a Fury, Pl. 41, 3.

G.

Ganymed: see, Aquarius.
Gemini: see, Castor and Pollux.
Genius, of Nero, Pl. 23, 9.—Of Julia Mamæa, ibid. 8.—Of an old Vestal Virgin, ib. 7.
Genius; giving down a soul from heaven, to be embodied, Pl. 27, 3.
Geryon - - - - - Pl. 18, 9. & 36, 1.
Ghosts: see, Souls of the departed.
Giant: one of the Rebel-Giants - - Pl. 41, 4.
Graces; naked, Pl. 7, 4.—Ditto, dressed, ib. 5.

H.

Happiness - - - - - Pl. 22, 1.
Harmonia Mundi: (the Harmony of the Universe; or, as it is vulgarly called, the Music of the Spheres), Pl. 26, 1.
Harpy - - - - - Pl. 36, 1.
Health - - - - - Pl. 22, 2.
Hebe - - - - - Pl. 27, 3.
Hercules: killing the serpents; just after he was born, Pl. 17, 1 & 2.—Killing the Nemean

lion; in his youth, Pl. 17, 3.—Young Hercules, dressed in a lion's skin, ibid. 4.—Hercules; resolving to fix on a life of labour, rather than a life of pleasure, p. 162.—Hercules killing the Cleonean lion, Pl. 18, 1.—Fighting with the Hydra, ibid. 2.—Carrying the Eri-manthian boar, ib. 3.—Kneeling on the wild flag, ib. 4.—Shooting the Stymphalides, ib. 5.—After having cleaned Augeas's stables, ib. 6.—With wild bull, tossed over his shoulder, ib. 7.—Killing Diomed, and his horses, ib. 8.—Fighting with Geryon, ib. 9.—Taking off the Amazon's zone, ib. 10.—Leading Cerberus captive, ib. 11.—Gathering the golden apples of the Hesperides, ib. 12.—Hercules, rising after his Twelve Labours; or, the famous Farnese Hercules, Pl. 16.—Hercules, killing Antæus, Pl. 19, 1.—After his victory over Cacus, ib. 2.—Head of the suffering Hercules, ib. 3.—Hercules, in his mistress's dress, ib. 5.—The drinking Hercules, ib. 4.—Head of ditto, p. 135.

Hesperus - - - - - Pl. 26, 3.
Homer - - - - - Pl. 21, 2.
Honesty - - - - - Pl. 21, 6.
Honour - - - - - Pl. 23, 2.
Hope - - - - - Pl. 22, 7.
Hydra - - - - - Pl. 18, 2. & 36, 1.
Hydrus; the Constellation - - - Pl. 24.

I.

Janus - - - - - Pl. 27, 5.
Ida - - - - - Pl. 34.
Immortality: see, either Eternity, or Hebe.
Ingenicularus; the Constellation - - Pl. 24.
Joviality - - - - - Pl. 22, 6.
Iris - - - - - Pl. 29, 3.
Italy - - - - - Pl. 32, 7.
Judæa - - - - - Pl. 32, 8 & 9.
Juno: dress of the Roman Juno, Pl. 3, 1.—Sitting with Jupiter, and Minerva, Pl. 3, 2.—Juno; as presiding over the air, Pl. 29, 1.—Rejected by Paris, Pl. 34.—At the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.—In the council of the gods, Pl. 34.
Jupiter. The Verospi Jupiter, Pl. 1.—The Capitoline Jupiter, Pl. 2, 1.—Jupiter, with Minerva sitting at his right hand, and Juno at his left; or, the Three Great Capitoline Gods, Pl. 3, 2.—Head of the Mild Jupiter, Pl. 2, 4.—Head of the Terrible Jupiter, ib. 5.—Jupiter Pluvius, Pl. 29, 2.—Jupiter; as presiding over a planet, Pl. 26, 2.—Jupiter, holding up his thunderbolt, Pl. 2, 3.—Aiming it at one of the rebel-giants, Pl. 41, 4.—Jupiter; supported by the Genius of mount Ida, Pl. 34.—Enthroned: with Sol and Luna, over his head; and Tellus and Oceanus, under his feet, Pl. 25, 3.
Justice - - - - - Pl. 21, 4.
Ixion - - - - - Pl. 37, 1. & 39, 2.
Iares

- L.
Lares - - - - - Pl. 32, 12.
Leo; the Constellation, Pl. 24. — 25, 2 & 3.
26, 1.
Lepus; ditto - - - - - Pl. 24.
Libra; ditto - - - - - Pl. 24.—25, 2
& 3.—26, 1.
Liberty - - - - - Pl. 22, 3.
Lucifer: see, Phosphoros.
Luna: see, Diana.
Lyre; that, invented by Mercury, Pl. 15, 2.—
That, in the heavens, Pl. 24.
- M.
Mars Gradivus, Pl. 8, 3.—Mars, as presiding
over a planet, Pl. 26, 1.—Mars, and Venus, Pl.
8, 1.—Mars, and Rhea Sylvia, Pl. 8, 4.—
Mars, and Nerienè, Pl. 9.—Mars; at the
council of the gods, Pl. 34.
Marfyas; stretched at his full length, p. 301.—
Flea'd alive, Pl. 13, 3.
Medusa: heads of Medusa, Pl. 4, 1, 2, & 4.—
3, 3.—15, 1.—24.—37, 3.—41, 2.
Mercury, standing, Pl. 14, 4.—Flying, ib. 5.
—His harpè, or sword, Pl. 15, 1.—Mercury,
as the god of gain; with Fortune, Pl. 15, 3 —
With Minerva, ib. 4. and with Pudicitia, ib.
5.—Mercury; as presiding over a planet,
Pl. 26, 1.—Terminal Mercury, Pl. 15, 6.—
Mercury; conducting souls of the departed
into the other world, Pl. 37, 2.—to the throne
of Pluto, Pl. 40, 2.—Mercury, introducing
Juno, Minerva, and Venus, to Paris, Pl. 34.—
At the creation of Nerienè, Pl. 9.—In the
council of the gods, Pl. 34.
Minerva, Pl. 3, 3.—Sitting at the right hand
of Jupiter, Pl. 3, 2.—and holding his thunder-
bolt, Pl. 4, 5.—With living serpents about her
bosom, ibid. 3, & 4.—Taking moderately,
out of Mercury's purse, Pl. 15, 4.—At the crea-
tion of Nerienè, Pl. 9.—In the council of the
gods, Pl. 34.—Rejected, by Paris, ibid.—Pre-
ferred, by Hercules, p. 162.—Small figure of
her: See, Palladium.
Minos - - - - - Pl. 38, 1.
Modestly: see, Pudicitia.
Muses: see, Calliope, &c.
Music of the Spheres: see, Harmonia Mundi.
- N.
Nature - - - - - Pl. 20, 1. & 32, 1.
Necessitas - - - - - Pl. 13, 5.
Neptune - - - - - Pl. 30, 1.
Nerienè, creating; to be the comfort, (and sof-
tener,) of Mars, Pl. 9.
Niè - - - - - Pl. 31, 2.
Niobe, and her youngest daughter - - p. 111.
Nymphs, attending Diana, Pl. 13, 5.—Attend-
ants of Venus, Pl. 7, 5.—Nymphs of the moun-
tains, Pl. 34.—Sea-Nymph, p. 237.—Water-
Nymph, Pl. 34.—Air-Nymphs, Pl. 28; 2, 3,
&c. 4.
- O.
Oceanus - - - - - Pl. 9, & 25, 5.
Omphale, and Hercules - - - - - Pl. 1, 5.
Orbis Terrarum - - - - - Pl. 32, 3.
Orion; as a Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.
Orpheus - - - - - Pl. 37, 1.—38, 2.—40, 1.
Oficilla: see, Bacchus.
- P.
Palladium - - - - - Pl. 3, 4.
Pan: head of the Mild Pan, Pl. 35, 11.—of
the Terrible Pan, ibid. 12.
Paris - - - - - Pl. 34.
Peace - - - - - Pl. 22, 10.
Pegasus, p. 308.—As a Constellation, Pl. 24.
Perseus, Pl. 15, 1.—As a Constellation, Pl. 24.
Philosophy - - - - - Pl. 21, 1.
Phosphoros - - - - - Pl. 26, 4.
Pictura; or, the Goddess of Painting, Front.
Piety; as exercised, in acts of devotion, Pl. 21, 7.
—As shown forth, in acts of virtue, ib. 8.
Pisces; the Constellation, Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.
—26, 1.
Planets; the seven - - - - - Pl. 26, 1.
Plenty; in general, Pl. 22, 11.—In particular,
ibid. 12.
Pluto - - - - - Pl. 40, 2.
Pomona - - - - - Pl. 35, 5.
Pollux: see, Castor.
Polyhymnia - - - - - Pl. 12, 7.
Procyon; the Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.
Prometheus, at the creation of Nerienè, Pl. 9.
Proserpine - - - - - Pl. 40, 2.
Providence - - - - - Pl. 23, 3 & 4.
Prudence - - - - - Pl. 21, 3.
Psyche - - - - - Pl. 6, 5 & 6.
Pudicitia - - - - - Pl. 21, 10.
- Q.
Quirinus - - - - - Pl. 20, 4.
- R.
Rhea Sylvia - - - - - Pl. 8, 4.
Rhine - - - - - Pl. 31, 6.
Rhodopè - - - - - Pl. 35, 2.
River-Gods, Pl. 26, 3.—29, 2.—31.—34.
Rome - - - - - Pl. 32, 10.
Romulus, and Remus; suckled by the wolf,
Pl. 20, 5. and 31, 1.—Romulus, as deified:
see, Quirinus.
- S.
Saturn; as presiding over Time, Pl. 26, 2.—As
presiding over a planet, ibid. 1.
Satyr; head of one - - - - - Pl. 35, 10.
Scamander - - - - - Pl. 34.
Scorpius; the Constellation, Pl. 24.—25, 2 &
3.—26, 1.
Sculpture: the Genius of it - - - - - Front.
Scylla - - - - - Pl. 35, 3. Ditto; 36, 1.
Sea-Deities - - - - - Pl. 9.
Sea-

- Sea-Horses - - - - - p. 237.
 Seasons: see, Year.
 Security - - - - - Pl. 22, 8.
 Sibyll, Pl. - - - 36, 1.—38, 1.—39, 1.—40, 1.
 Simois - - - - - Pl. 34.
 Sirius; the Constellation - - - - - Pl. 24.
 Sisyphus - - - - - Pl. 39, 2.
 Sleep - - - - - Pl. 36, 2.
 Socrates - - - - - Pl. 21, 1.
 Sol: see, Apollo.
 Soul; handed from heaven, to be embodied,
 Pl. 27, 3.
 Souls, of the departed; waiting for a passage,
 Pl. 37, 1.—Paying their fare, before they
 enter into Charon's boat, *ibid.* 2.—Landing
 in the other world, *ib.* 3.—Souls, in Erebus,
 Pl. 38, 1.—In torments, Pl. 39, 2.—In Ely-
 sium, Pl. 40, 1 & 2.
 Sphinx - - - - - Pl. 31, 2.
 Sylvanus - - - - - Pl. 35, 7.
- T.
- Tantalus - - - - - Pl. 39, 2.
 Tartarus; the entrance to it - - - - - Pl. 39, 1.
 Taurus; the Constellation, Pl. 24.—25; 1, 2,
 & 3.—26, 1.
 Tellus; receiving a soul, that is to be embodied,
 Pl. 27, 3.—With the celestial globe, and the
 four seasons of the year dancing round it, *ibid.*
 4.—Under the throne of Jupiter, Pl. 25, 3.
 —Under the chariot of Sol, Pl. 26, 4.—At
 the creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.
 Temperance - - - - - Pl. 21, 6.
 Terpsichore - - - - - Pl. 12, 3.
 Thalia - - - - - Pl. 12, 2.
 Thetis - - - - - Pl. 30, 2.
 Thunderbolt; with wings to it - - - - - Pl. 2, 2.
 Tiber - - - - - Pl. 31, 1.
 Tigris - - - - - Pl. 31, 3.
 Timolus - - - - - Pl. 35, 1.
 Tisiphone - - - - - Pl. 39, 1.
 Tityos - - - - - Pl. 41, 5.
 Tranquillity - - - - - Pl. 22, 4.
- Tritons; holding up Venus, in her shell, Pl.
 30, 3.
- U.
- Venus of Medici, Pl. 5.—Venus, in her shell,
 Pl. 30, 3.—Venus, and Cupid, Pl. 6, 4.—
 Venus, and Mars, Pl. 8, 1.—Venus, as De-
 fidia, *ib.* 2.—As presiding over a planet, Pl.
 26, 1.—Venus; in the council of the gods,
 Pl. 34.—Preferred, by Paris, *ibid.* and re-
 jected, by Hercules, p. 162.
 Vertumnus - - - - - Pl. 35, 6.
 Vestals, Pl. 10; 2, 3, & 4.—Lamp, sacred to
 Vesta, Pl. 10, 5.
 Victory, Pl. 23, 1.—Hovering over Venus,
 Pl. 34.—As an attendant of Mars, Pl. 9.
 —Introducing Venus to the throne of Jupiter,
 Pl. 34.
 Virgo; the Constellation, Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.—
 26, 1.
 Virtus; see, Fortitude.
 Urania, Pl. 12, 8.—With her globe, on a co-
 lumn, *ib.*
 Urn; that of Minos - - - - - Pl. 38, 1.
 Vulcan; making a helmet, Pl. 10, 1.—At the
 creation of Neriené, Pl. 9.
- W.
- Wind-Deity, with Flabrum - - - - - Pl. 28, 1.
 Wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus, Pl. 20, 5.
 and 31, 1.
 World; or, Old World: see, Orbis.—New
 World: see, Britain.
- Y.
- Year; the four seasons of it, Pl. 27, 4.—The
 Great Platonic Year, *ibid.* 2.
- Z.
- Zephyr, and Air-Nymph - - - - - Pl. 28, 4.
 Zodiac, Pl. 9; and 34.—All the Signs of the
 Zodiac, Pl. 24.—25, 2 & 3.—26, 1.

CLASSICAL INDEX:

OR,

A LIST of such Passages in the ROMAN POETS; as may receive any manner of light, from the foregoing Work.

Roman Poets of the FIRST AGE.

	Dial.	Note		Dial.	Note
ENNIVS:			Sat. Lib. 16. §. 1	5	15
ANNAL. Lib. 1. §. 21	10	1	23. §. 33	13	27
129	7	70	28. §. 57	7	8
Epicharmus. §. 12	6	80			
Alcmaeon. 7, &c.	8	86	VARRO.		
Chryses. 13	16		Octogefis. §. 336	7	14
Andromeda. §. 2.	12	22	Satyra Menippæa. §. 461	7	70
Thyestes. §. 1.	13	61			
			CICERO.		
ACTIVS.			Translation of Aratus. §. 21	9	107
Erigone. §. 362	8	86	§. 61	11	31
Prometheus. §. 628	16	115	§. 125	11	65
Trachynia. §. 715	9	7	§. 154	11	22
Incert. §. 785	6	80			
			CATULLVS.		
PACVIVS.			De Atq. Carm. 61. §. 40	8	10
Antiope. §. 17	4	12	De Nupt. Pel. Carm. 62. §. 28	14	41
			§. 150	16	42
PLAVTVS.			§. 311	10	75
Amphitruo. Prol. §. 143	8	115	De Coma Ber. Carm. 64. §. 5	12	24
Act. 5. Sc. 1. §. 64	9	15	Ad Gellium, Carm. 85. §. 6	14	3
Bacchides. Act. 2. Sc. 3. §. 22	12	79			
Act. 3. Sc. 3. §. 30	17	3	LVCRETIVS.		
Rudens. Act. 2. Sc. 4. §. 9	7	7	Lib. 1. §. 66	8	112
Truculentus. Act. 2. Sc. 6. §. 34	7	72	119	2	25
§. 49, &c.	7	72	251	13	61
			2.	47	16
CÆCILIVS.			3.	993	16
Incert. §. 10	4		1097	16	180
			4.	1155	6
TERENCE.			1158	8	109
Eunuchus. Act. 2. Sc. 3. §. 26	7	10	5.	10	10
Hecautont. Prol. §. 25	2	36	28	9	32
Act. 4. Sc. 3. §. 1, &c.	2	36	736	12	74
Phormio. Act. 1. Sc. 1. §. 10	10	77	740	13	54
			741	13	39
AFRANIVS.			745	12	76
Sella. §. 189	10	5	746	12	75
			746	13	53
LICINIIVS IMBREV.			1197	10	33
Næra. §. 1	7	70	6.	297	6
			427	13	32
LVCILIVS.			1271	16	30
Sat. Lib. 4. §. 6	16	113			

Poets

Poets of the AUGUSTAN AGE.

		Dial.	Note			Dial.	Note
	VIRGIL.			Georg. 4. ♀.	342	-14	38
Ecl. 1. ♀.	6	-6	75		345	-7	66
	28	-10	89		361	-14	60
	72	-15	74		363	-14	108
3.	59	-2	13		371, &c.	-14	92
4.	1, &c.	-12	55		382	-14	1
	10	-8	14		407	-14	1
	46	-10	75		423	-14	33
5.	73	-14	37		425	-11	111
6.	2	-8	33		451	-11	34
	75	-15	50		482	-16	131
7.	25	-9	92		484	-16	193
	32	-8	94	Æn. 1. ♀.	4	-20	47
8.	13	-9	99		7	-3	10
10.	62	-15	59		16	-6	39
Georg. 1. ♀.	1	-11	2		38, &c.	-20	71
	17	-15	81		42	-6	83
	20	-15	71		52	-13	37
	31	-14	3		52, &c.	-13	57
	32, &c.	-11	51		54	-13	57
	38	-16	206		71	-13	57
	96	-8	110		93	-12	49
	204	-11	2		126	-7	5
	211	-13	35		126, &c.	-20	21
	217	-11	81		255	-6	22
	233	-11	4		292	-10	42
	245	-11	6		499	-8	97
	328	-6	36		591	-8	22
	404	-15	50		740	-8	62
	418	-13	71	2.	167	-6	67
	447	-12	93		172, &c.	-6	65
	453	-11	24		406	-12	49
	462	-13	13		417	-13	10
	482	-14	88		612, &c.	-6	22
	490	-2	48		684	-8	22
	498	-20	39		688	-12	49
2.	98	-15	44	3.	96	-3	11
	126, &c.	-20	15		120	-13	57
	325, &c.	-20	30		275	-8	64
	334	-13	37		438	-6	70
	339	-13	37	4.	26	-16	13
	342	-11	118		122	-6	80
	389	-9	87		141	-8	1
	392	-9	83		143	-8	25
	392	-20	1		150	-8	22
	473	-10	12		175	-16	150
	490, &c.	-2	48		176	-13	83
	521	-12	64		181	-13	86
3.	37, &c.	-16	189		182	-13	85
	85	-12	36		186	-13	90
	359	-12	39		247	-15	41
	554	-16	150		248, &c.	-15	40
4.	52	-12	73		511	-8	102
	125, &c.	-15	57		569	-8	114
	231, &c.	-11	115	5.	662	-20	19
	329, &c.	-15	74		721	-12	89
	333, &c.	-14	63		740	-12	83
							Æn.

CLASSICAL INDEX.

343

	Dial.	Note
Æn. 5. 5. 837	12	90
839	20	16
855	16	64
6. 25	20	4
129	9	6
129	9	116
131	9	115
274, &c.	16	5
278	16	55
289	9	52
298, &c.	16	86
418, &c.	16	92
435	16	101
436, &c.	16	191
473	16	102
575	20	12
577	16	108
578, &c.	16	109
586, &c.	6	31
605	16	165
620	16	16
638, &c.	16	192
645	16	194
658	20	15
701	16	59
741	16	190
802	9	7
802, &c.	9	3
835	3	12
843	6	10
854	15	23
7. 26	12	100
37	8	44
84	16	162
116	3	17
179	20	17
187	9	111
353, &c.	16	158
409	16	113
448	13	84
448	16	150
513	16	160
551, &c.	16	161
563, &c.	16	162
608	9	12
658	9	24
8. 32	20	5
64	14	67
77	14	65
137	15	41
194	9	53
198	9	53
203	9	52
210, &c.	20	23
204	9	51
267	9	53
277, &c.	9	20
298	9	14
409, &c.	13	73
304	12	87
		T t t t

	Dial.	Note
Æn. 8. 5. 387	7	55
407	7	77
426, &c.	6	35
437	6	71
438	6	70
523, &c.	20	25
601	15	73
630, &c.	9	107
654	5	5
677	3	19
677	8	20
704	8	65
713	14	79
728	14	83
9. 5	13	79
26	3	19
104, &c.	6	20
449	3	5
638	8	8
670	13	71
670	20	20
10. 32	3	8
58	15	43
62, &c.	6	48
212	14	22
11. 83	5	10
679	9	12
12. 77	12	100
164	12	28
206, &c.	6	14
402	9	103
701, &c.	15	48
811	6	50
888	14	124

Lib.

HORACE.

I. Ode 1. 5.	5	10	65
29, &c.	3	24	
33	8	39	
35	3	24	
2.	2	36	
31	8	92	
33	7	15	
41, &c.	8	1	
4.	13	37	
7.	12	63	
10.	6, &c.	130	
12.	1	30	
21	9	77	
16.	12	71	
17.	1, &c.	22	
19	10	26	
18.	16	39	
21.	2	8	
24.	3	52	
30.	5, &c.	43	
31.	9	100	
10	7	41	
14	10	52	
17	10	94	
		Lib.	

CLASSICAL INDEX.

Lib.		Dial. Note	Lib.		Dial. Note
I. Ode.	35. 18, &c.	10 71	I. Sat.	3. 133	6 19
	21	10 59	5.	40	3 20
	21	10 94		63	14 37
	23	10 87	6.	54	3 20
II.	8. 15	7 32		121	8 79
	13. 21	16 204	8.	1, &c.	15 64
	22	16 20	9.	59	10 20
	35	16 131	10.	44	3 2
	14. 8	9 32	II.	3. 17	6 19
	16. 11	16 24		35	6 19
	22	16 24		67	8 133
	17. 5, &c.	3 22	6.	101	12 50
	19. 29	9 85	7.	14	15 61
III.	1. 40	16 24	I. Ep.	1. 30	9 10
	3. 9	9 7	2.	4	10 3
	10, &c.	9 2		23	10 26
	13	9 77		63	10 31
	16	9 108	3.	17	8 74
	2	8 46		25	9 99
	59	6 38	7.	87	10 51
	61	6 79	12.	29	10 53
	11. 4	8 131	18.	42	21 17
	15, &c.	16 211	19.	4	9 98
	18	16 93	II.	1. 7, &c.	9 1
	19. 17	7 44		26	2 11
	21. 22	7 44		59	2 32
	22. 4	8 101		62	2 19
	24. 5, &c.	10 71		71	17 3
	9	16 41		86	2 8
	43	10 16		126	17 3
	44	10 20		146	2 12
	29. 53	10 88		156	5 20
	30. 16	8 52		178	10 67
IV.	3. 7	10 59	2.	187, &c.	10 79
	19	8 135	Ars Poet.	144	20 62
	4. 3	21 9		413	10 16
	44	13 8	Fast.		
	5. 18	10 49	Lib. I.	y. 2	11 2
	7. 12	12 71		37	9 110
	12. 1	13 39		95	12 119
	14. 25	14 90		114	12 127
	44	14 75		125	12 118
Epod.	2. 17	12 63		141	8 102
	8. 3	12 57		199	5 5
	15. 9	8 7		229, &c.	12 125
	17. 41	11 116		234	12 8
Carm. Sæc.	34	8 71		281	10 57
	35	12 21		286	14 86
	60	10 58		614	14 104
Lib.				645	15 21
I. Sat. 1.	19	6 26		652	11 67
	36	13 34		711	10 53
	69	16 186	II.	28	6 19
	71	16 180		72	12 35
	2. 30	6 37		79	11 23
	94	6 37		81	11 42
	99	6 37		155	8 93
	126	9 106	Lib.		

CLASSICAL INDEX.

345

Faßt.		Dial.	Note	Faßt.		Dial.	Note
Lib. II. §.	155	15	59	Lib. VI. §.	755	9	102
	312	12	14		772	12	81
	312	12	109	Amorum.			
	418	9	107	Lib. El. I. §.	10	8	93
	455	11	67	I.	2.	31	10
	496	9	108		3.	11	98
	501	9	109		8.	50	12
	597	14	123		59	8	59
	607	6	26		31	7	57
	634	15	35		40	7	66
	856	12	10	13.	2	12	101
III.	43	12	59		10	12	95
	45	7	84	14.	31, &c.	8	1
	108	11	8		34	17	17
	235	12	72	II.	6.	46	13
	363	10	33	III.	1.	1, &c.	10
	404	12	96		3	14	63
	500	9	86		10	6	36
	690	14	46		6.	40	14
	729	9	77		44	14	60
	773	9	82		10.	3	106
	789	9	88	12.	22	15	50
	848	6	78	Ars Am.			
IV.	1	7	19	Lib.	§.	32	6
	14	8	43	I.		88	7
	127	15	57		213	8	12
	143	14	17		220	15	37
	162	11	56		226	15	31
	162	11	77		232	9	85
	196	8	43	II.	122	17	3
	231	15	59		310	6	70
	371	12	39		537	10	20
	388	11	106		540	10	62
	424	8	106		563	7	66
	603	8	116		614	7	11
	712	12	102		657	7	14
	714	12	97		670	12	57
	895	12	66	III.	62	12	58
	907, &c.	15	69		62	12	114
	944	12	99		65	12	114
	954	6	53		84	12	92
V.	16	12	22		141	8	60
	37	16	169		143	8	93
	80	8	45		180	12	26
	104	8	130		347	9	98
	127	10	58		348	9	85
	160	12	99		348	9	100
	169	15	41		388	12	45
	209, &c.	15	54		411	9	99
	217	12	112		452	7	16
	323	10	51		504	6	68
	356, &c.	15	53	Rem. Am.			
	413	11	96	§.	39	7	30
	550	12	81		547	7	20
VI.	91	10	53		660	7	16
	358	15	25		702	7	30
	375	9	110	Heroïdes.			
	487	6	26	Ep. 4. §.	39	8	93
	652	6	57		159	12	28
	707	8	80	5.	28	6	29
				Heroïdes.			

Heroides.		Dial. Note		Metamorph.		Dial. Note	
Ep.	7. 7.	60	14 17	Lib. II. 7.	255	14	76
	8.	105	12 29		272, &c.	15	13
	9.	77, &c.	9 76		325	6	11
		98	9 45		325	6	35
	11.	13	13 56		752	6	60
		14	13 7		773	6	55
	12.	79	8 101		848	6	11
	13.	33	9 85		849	6	35
	15.	23	8 1	III.	45	11	6
		24	9 85		180	8	96
		165	8 63		293	21	1
	16.	64	8 119		421	8	9
		81	10 27		421	9	81
		88	15 43		607	9	84
	17.	117, &c.	10 27		608	9	94
	20.	41	10 20	IV.	17, &c.	9	84
		60	14 39		20	9	77
Ibis.					92	12	90
	7. 201	12	70		188	7	64
Conf. ad Liv.					189	7	66
	7. 121, &c.	14	64		193	8	10
		164	10 73		490	16	111
		282	12 96		494	16	137
		361	16 40		656, &c.	15	39
Metamorph.					665	8	120
Lib. I. 7.	14	14	14		719	8	126
	59	13 32			726	8	126
	72, &c.	11 118		V.	319	16	168
	108	13 18			325	16	171
	127	7 5			339	8	45
	166	6 27			506	16	206
	176	6 15			553	19	7
	184	16 169		VI.	74	6	2
	265	13 11			76	14	6
	270	13 79			118	8	106
	331	14 8			130	6	59
	333	14 21			175	15	41
	528	8 123			217	8	92
	564	8 7			231	8	90
	579	14 63			265	8	39
	671	8 117			293	8	81
	690	15 59			298	8	85
II.	13	14 49			487	12	40
	23, &c.	12 46			686	13	23
	25	12 80			705	13	24
	26	12 56		VII.	411, &c.	9	35
		12 115			542	9	42
	27	12 61			581	16	41
	28	12 62			821, &c.	12	45
	29	12 66		VIII.	13	10	61
	30	12 72			31	8	1
	41	12 28			150	15	50
	50	8 10			181	11	12
	63	12 39			207	11	106
	83	11 56			270	7	2
	85	12 36			373, &c.	11	113
	119	12 113			481, &c.	16	119
	133	12 44		IX.	88	10	45
	143	12 90			180, &c.	9	32
	195, &c.	11 56			185	9	32
	231	12 25			259	0	57

Metamorph.	Dial.	Note	Lib.	Dial.	Note
Lib. IX. §. 268	9	57	I. El. 10. §. 70	10	55
481	7	41	II. 1. 90	16	75
X. 21	16	92	3. 11	8	3
22	16	94	5. 7	8	60
160	21	8	III. 4. 31	8	4
161	21	10	35	8	60
XI. 48	14	125	IV. 13. 15	10	76
158	15	45	Lib. PROPERTIUS.		
166	8	60	II. El. 20. §. 7	8	91
172	15	45	23. 19	7	67
195	13	48	27. 12	13	32
257	12	40	31. 16	8	70
592, &c.	16	77	III. 15. 38, &c.	21	15
619, &c.	16	66	20. 18	12	21
XII. 39, &c.	13	89	IV. 1. 5	5	8
53, &c.	13	88	2. 25	12	8
93	14	48	4. 40	50	
XIII. 26	16	183	6. 30	8	21
399	14	51	57	8	65
895	14	117	68	8	65
XIV. 143	12	57	70	8	72
624	15	58			
638	15	76			
820	9	108			
827	9	109			
XV. 31	12	85	De Cult. Hort.		
39	9	19	§. 44	12	66
189	12	13	160	12	58
189	12	109	427	15	76
201, &c.	12	60			
211	12	67	Lib. FAB.		
212	12	70	III. 10. §. 9, &c.	3	41
488	14	107	IV. 6. 6, &c.	3	42
547, &c.	14	106	21. 1, &c.	15	47
654, &c.	9	104	Lib. MANILIUS.		
789	12	17	I. §. 26	11	104
Trift.			103	11	39
Lib. I. El. 6. §. 2	9	99	265	11	74
II. 125	3	5	269	11	61
296	7	54	273	11	70
521, &c.	14	16	306	11	6
528	14	17	317	11	10
IV. 2. 2	15	20	319	11	12
37	15	37	324	11	20
42	14	84	341	11	25
44	15	20	350	11	28
V. 3. 43	9	83	361	11	78
Ex. Pont.			381	11	106
Lib. II. Ep. 8. §. 19	15	26	386	11	111
10. 12	12	52	399	11	109
III. 1. 11	12	61	402	11	112
13	12	65	409	11	95
124	6	71	424	11	100
3. 16	7	28	430	11	103
IV. 1. 30	14	17	162	11	82
Lib. TIBULLUS.			163	11	83
I. El. 4. §. 33	8	9	164	11	72
37	9	82	199	11	76
38	9	89	212	11	74
			Lib.		
			Uuuu		

CLASSICAL INDEX.

Lib.		Dial.	Note	Lib.		Dial.	Note
II.	232	11	65	V.	13	11	60
	258	11	53		14	11	61
	259	11	78		20	11	13
	443	11	82		20	11	37
	492	11	69		22	11	32
	529	11	54		25	11	24
	661	11	82		36	11	83
III.	257	11	65		37	11	86
	332	11	53		60	12	87
IV.	190	11	44		206	11	43
	203	11	53		207	11	110
	261	11	68		262, &c.	11	13
	272	11	69		306, &c.	11	119
	467	11	63		319	11	19
	506	11	74		338	11	68
	522	11	115		411	11	22
	530	11	41		445	11	31
	560	11	62		484	11	22
	797	11	67				

Roman Poets; of the THIRD AGE.

Lib.		Dial.	Note			Dial.	Note
	LUCAN.			Sat.	5.	133, &c.	28
I.	45, &c.	11	50				10
	65	9	98	6.	62		62
	146, &c.	6	10				
	189	15	19			PLTONIUS.	
	577	16	123	Bel. Civ.	115		8
	662	12	20		250, &c.		10
II.	360	14	46	Fr. in the	} 566		
	397	16	162	Corp. Poet.			13
III.	587, &c.	4	16				
	638	4	24	Lib.		SILIUS ITALICUS.	
IV.	57	11	75	2.	484		10
	652	9	44	3.	33		9
V.	561	4	6		44, &c.		9
	629	4	8		323		6
	642	4	11		524		13
	649	4	12	4.	410		15
VI.	254	10	22	8.	361		6
	394	11	61	10.	352		16
	468	13	63		357		16
VII.	133, &c.	4	13	12.	622, &c.		13
VIII.	686	10	97		720, &c.		13
IX.	132	11	56	13.	320		15
	354	6	62		326, &c.		15
	364	9	36		364		6
	656	16	169		790		16
	678	8	126		845		16
	796	4	2	14.	467		15
					475		15
	PERSIUS.			15.	18, &c.		10
Prol.	6	9	99		29		6
Sat. I.	78	4	12		77, &c.		9
	117	3	25		101, &c.		10
3.	76	10	21		285		12
5.	31	15	35	16.	76		9
	82	10	50		261		6

349

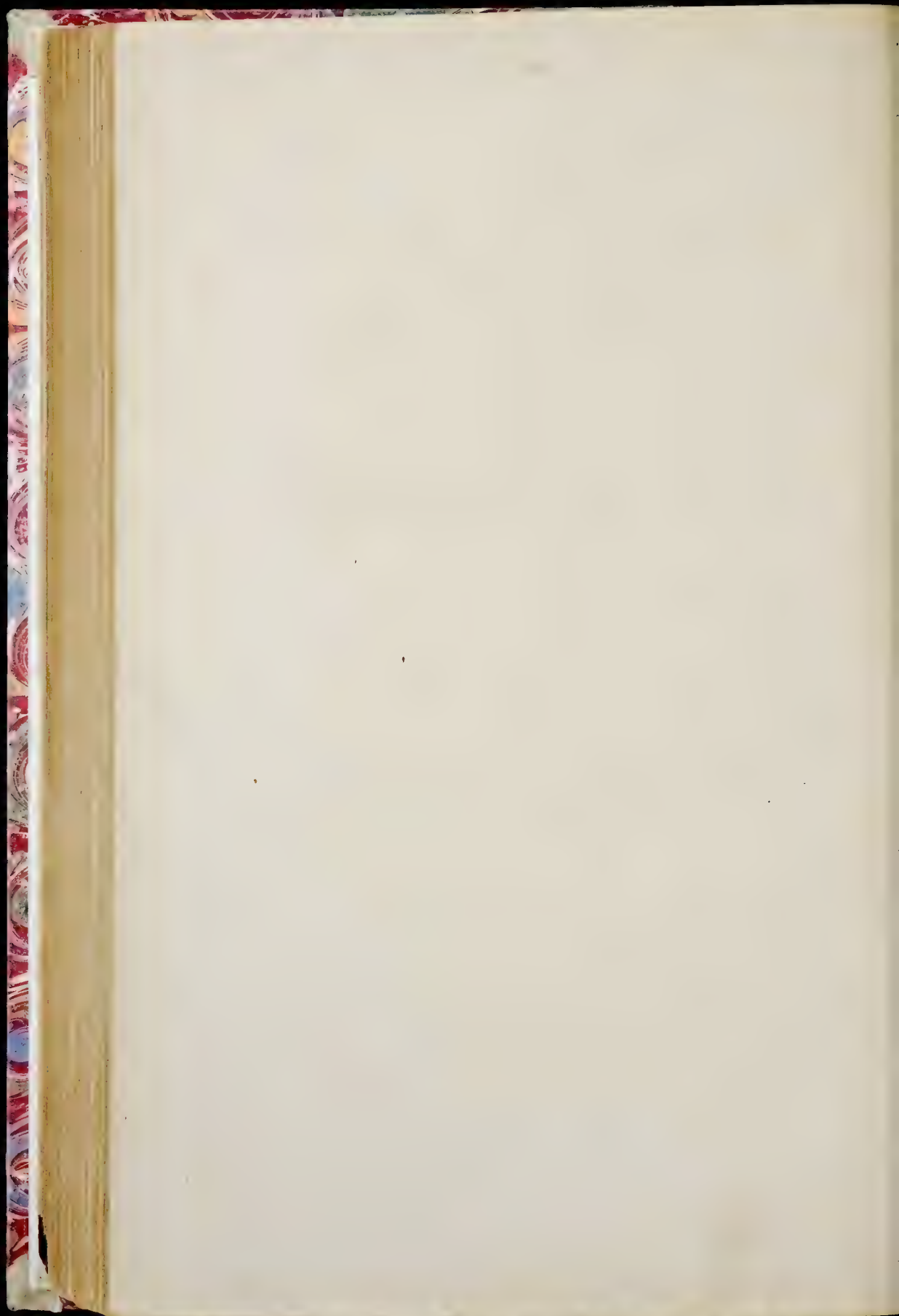
		Dial. Note		Lib.		Dial. Note	
VALERIUS FLACCUS.				2. Syl. 7. 131		16	
Argonaut.				3.	1.	18	29
Lib. 1. 1.	16, &c.	11	50			12	77
	78	10	67			27	52
	106	14	66			39	61
	116	6	80			40	76
	129, &c.	11	87			48	15
	132	14	45			132	79
	154	9	12			135	59
	593, &c.	13	57		2.	15	119
	610	13	10			34	14
	652	13	52		3.	7	10
	680	14	6			62	36
2.	102, &c.	7	61		4.	25	104
	207	16	51			29	7
	208	7	62			83	18
	271	9	85		4. 1.	16	128
	492	8	1		3.	67	14
3.	47, &c.	15	86		5.	5	70
	56	15	82			6	73
	524	14	124		6.	31	7
4.	93, &c.	12	31			40	9
	670	6	80			57	71
5.	210	14	110			53	9
	413, &c.	11	122		5. 1.	156	16
	414	12	29			235	7
	416	11	115		2.	26	44
6.	56	6	11			124	9
	56	6	36			129	9
	174	6	79		3.	6	98
	457	7	18			7, &c.	9
8.	29	12	23			115	9
	70	16	56			291	14
	156	14	66		4.	19	12
						10	98
					5.	4	16
							8
STATIUS.				Thebais.			
Sylva.				Lib. 1. 1.		24, &c.	
Lib. 1. Syl. 1. 1.	69	14	102			11	50
	217	12	68			28	28
	235	7	63			91	136
2.	10	8	31			111	14
	44	16	87			203	6
	118	14	19			338	12
	249	9	99			351	13
	270	7	8			352	13
3.	62	15	59			435	9
	73	14	97			437	9
	75	14	98			631	8
4.	25	9	104			633	16
	101	9	102			662	10
	108	9	103		2.	45	7
	3	9	98			47	14
	4	8	135			49	16
	8	7	79			136	12
	18	14	123			208	13
5.	4	12	5			218	14
	5	12	78			236	6
	62	10	22			233	6
6.	217	12	68			528	12
	73, &c.	16	49			716	6
7.	34, &c.	4	36		3.	2	12

CLASSICAL INDEX.

351

Lib.		Dial. Note	Sat.		Dial. Note
14. Ep. 48. §. 1, &c.	- - - - -	9 42	§. 152, &c.	- - - - -	17 3
107. 2	- - - - -	9 91	§. 1, &c.	- - - - -	8 143
177. 1	- - - - -	9 15	54	- - - - -	8 143
179. 1, &c.	- - - - -	6 78	88	- - - - -	10 31
			107	- - - - -	5 32
Sat.	JUVENAL.		9.	2	- - - - - 8 79
2. §. 98	- - - - -	10 76	10.	124	- - - - - 2 50
3. 20	- - - - -	15 57		180, &c.	- - - - - 13 57
86, &c.	- - - - -	9 48	333	- - - - -	14 46
144, &c.	- - - - -	6 80	335	- - - - -	14 46
186	- - - - -	8 5	356, &c.	- - - - -	10 69
4. 103	- - - - -	6 19	360, &c.	- - - - -	10 23
149	- - - - -	8 115	365	- - - - -	10 69
5. 101	- - - - -	13 16	366	- - - - -	10 80
125	- - - - -	9 52	11.	107	- - - - - 7 63
6. 15	- - - - -	10 44	12.	4	- - - - - 6 61
172	- - - - -	8 83	13.	20	- - - - - 10 1
392	- - - - -	12 121		38	- - - - - 12 8
604	- - - - -	10 92		78	- - - - - 12 28
7. 29	- - - - -	9 99		81	- - - - - 7 2
64	- - - - -	9 98		81	- - - - - 14 1
67, &c.	- - - - -	3 16	15.	110, &c.	- - - - - 17 4
82, &c.	- - - - -	4 33	16.	31	- - - - - 6 19

X x x x



THE

GENERAL INDEX.

- A.
ABUNDANTIA; how distinguished, p. 148.
 Achelous, - - - - - p. 235.
 Actius, the Poet, - - - - - p. 13, & 23.
 Ades; what part of the subterraneous world was meant by that name, - - - - - p. 259.
 Æacus, - - - - - p. 259, & 282.
 Ægeon, - - - - - p. 278.
 Ægis; the proper signification of that word, among the Romans, - - - - - p. 62, N. 78.
 Æolus, - - - - - p. 209.
 Æquitas; how marked out, - - - - - p. 138.
 Ælitas, - - - - - p. 191.
 Æternitas, - - - - - p. 187.
 Afranius, the Poet, - - - - - p. 13.
 Africa, - - - - - p. 242.
 Africus, (the S. W. Wind,) - - - - - p. 202, 205.
 Ages: the four Ages, or gradations of life, see, Infancy, &c.
 Air-Nymphs; see, Auræ.
 Albulæ, - - - - - p. 233.
 Aleto, the Fury, p. 275.—From what part of Italy Virgil makes her descend into hell, p. 276, N. 162.
 Alexandria, - - - - - p. 244.
 Albus, - - - - - p. 192.
ALLEGORIES; and Allegorical Representations: those of the Greeks and Romans, not to be confounded together, p. 5.—The ancients dealt much more in Allegories, than they are generally imagined to have done, p. 208, 229, N. 74, 239. See the greater part of the articles in this Index.—How exact the ancient artists were in adapting not only the characters, but the very postures and colour of their figures, to the things signified by them, p. 228. See, Sculptors.—Generally point out the thing intended easily, and clearly; and often, by some single circumstance, p. 292.—Propriety and simplicity, their general character, *ibid.*—The modern artists fail much, in both, *ib.*—The obscurity, and extravagance of the modern Allegories; instanced, from Ripa, p. 293, &c.—Their lowness, and frivolousness; from Venius, Rubens's master, p. 295.—Defects of this kind in Rubens himself: shewn from his designs, for the Entry of Ferdinand of Austria into Antwerp, p. 296. From his paintings, in the Banqueting-House, at Whitehall, p. 297; and from those in the Luxemburg palace, at Paris, p. 298.—Instances of Dominiquin's and Raphael's falling short of the propriety and simplicity of the ancient allegorists, p. 144, & 299.—Faults of our poets; in their allegorical descriptions: instanced, from Spenser, p. 302, &c.—Faults of our translators of the ancient poets; in relation to their Allegories: instanced, from Dryden, p. 309, &c. See, Machinery.
 Aloidae, - - - - - p. 278.
 Altus, in the Roman poets, sometimes relates to the attitude of a person, or figure, p. 55, N. 36.
 Amphitrite, - - - - - p. 219.
 Anaduomenè: see, Venus.
 Andromeda: as a Constellation, - - - - - p. 168.
 Anguis; or, the great Serpent: its windings on the ancient globes, - - - - - p. 165.
 Anio, - - - - - p. 233.
 Annona: how distinguished from Abundantia, p. 148.
 Annus; spoken of personally, p. 190.—See, Magnus Annus.
 Anteros; one of the two chiefs over all the Cupids: the cause of love's ceasing, - - - - - p. 69.
 Apenninus; mentioned personally, - - - - - p. 248.
 Apollo: the distinguishing character of his person, - - - - - p. 83.
 Apollo Actius: how represented, on the Promontory of Actium, p. 93.—How in the temple built to him by Augustus, on the Palatine hill, p. 94.
 Apollo Belvedere: the noblest of all the ancient statues, that remain to us, - - - - - p. 83.
 Aquarius, - - - - - p. 172.
 Aquila: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 166.
 Aquilo; (the N. E. Wind,) p. 202, 205, & 206, N. 37.
 Ara: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 175.
 Arabia: how represented, - - - - - p. 242.
 Arcitenens: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 171.
 Arcti: see, Helice and Cynosura.
 Arcturus, - - - - - p. 178.
 Argo: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 174.
 Aries, - - - - - p. 173.
 Arts: the politer Arts, never much practised by the Romans themselves, p. 5.—Long before they were received at Rome, p. 7, 36, 37.—No taste, or rather a total insensibility to the finest works of art, encouraged among the Romans.

- Romans; till the second Punic war, p. 38.—
 Minucius was the first, who (in the time of that war, introduced the love of the Arts among them, p. 39.—It got ground, very rapidly, *ibid.* Was gradually fed, and augmented; by the triumphs of their generals, p. 40. and the rapaciousness of the governors, over the nations conquered by them, &c. p. 41.—Arrived to its perfection, under Augustus, p. 43.—Sunk after his death; and was quite fallen, by the time of Gallienus, *ibid.*—See, Painting, and Sculpture.
- Asia: how represented, - - - - - p. 241, 247.
 Aethos: mentioned personally, - - - - - p. 248.
 Atlas, - - - - - p. 245, 246.
 Audius: how distinguished, - - - - - p. 232.
 Augustus; his character, as a critic and writer, p. 26.—An extreme piece of vanity, in that emperor, p. 85, 86.
 Auræ; Sylphs, or Air-Nymphs, p. 207. See N. 42, *ibid.*
 Auriga: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 169.
 Aurora, - - - - - p. 194.
 Aufter, (the S. Wind,) p. 202, 203, & 206, N. 37.
 Autumnus, - - - - - p. 191.
- B.
- Bacchus, a great warrior, p. 127, 128, N. 77, 78.—The distinguishing characters of his person, p. 128.—Equal to Apollo for beauty, p. 130. and joined with him, as presiding over Poetry, p. 131, N. 98.
 Boötes, - - - - - p. 165.
 Boreas, (the N. Wind,) p. 204.—His aspect; in a painting of Zeuxis, p. 205, N. 23.
 Briareus, - - - - - p. 267.
 Britannia, - - - - - p. 242.
 Brontes, - - - - - p. 209, N. 55.
 Bruma; the true signification of the word, among the Romans, p. 192, N. 76.—Spoken of personally, *ibid.*
- C.
- Cæcilius; the Poet, - - - - - p. 11.
 Cæruleus: see, Colours.
 Cæus, - - - - - p. 278.
 Calliope; the chief, of all the Muses, p. 90.—How to be distinguished, from the rest, *ibid.*
 Calumny; represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
 Cancer: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 169.
 Canicula, - - - - - p. 177.
 Canis Major: see, Canicula.
 Canis Minor: see, Procyon.
 Capella: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 169.
 Cappadocia, - - - - - p. 242.
 Capricornus, - - - - - p. 172.
 Carbasæ; used for the veils, of Water-Nymphs, p. 236, N. 125.
 Cares; spoken of personally, - - - - - p. 260.
 Carmina, Cantare, &c. used of other things, beside poetry, p. 8, N. 11, & 76, N. 76. See, Vates.
 Cassiopæa; as a Constellation, - - - - - p. 168.
 Castor, and Pollux; how much alike in their faces, attributes, &c. p. 135, N. 115.—Distinguished by their attitudes, p. 247.
 Cato, the Censor; a great enemy of the arts, and a friend to punning, p. 39, N. 20.
 Catullus; the Poet, - - - - - p. 15.
 Centaurs; in general, - - - - - p. 267.
 Centaurus: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 173.
 Centuries; spoken of personally: see, Sæcula.
 Cerberus, - - - - - p. 263.
 Ceres, - - - - - p. 103, 23.
 Cetus: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 176.
 Charon, - - - - - p. 267.
 Charybdis; spoken of personally, - - - - - p. 250.
 Chimæra, - - - - - p. 267.
 Choice, between a virtuous life, or a vicious one; expressed by several allegorical stories, among the ancients, p. 141, &c.—The Choice of Hercules, p. 155, &c.—of Paris, p. 143.—of Ulysses, *ibid.* N. 26.—and of Scipio Africanus, p. 141, N. 24.
 Clementia; how distinguished, p. 246.—Long, before she was received as a goddess among the Romans, *ibid.*
 Clio; how to be distinguished from the other Muses, - - - - - p. 88.
 Cloud-Nymph: see, Nephelæ.
 Cold; spoken of, personally: see, Algius.
 Colours; the Latin names of them, very difficult to be ascertained in English, p. 167, N. 24.—p. 186, N. 35.—p. 228, N. 67.
 Concordia: how distinguished, - - - - - p. 148.
 Constellations: see, Arcti, &c.
 Copia: see, Abundantia.
 Cornua, of a lyre; whence so called, - - - - - p. 166.
 Corona: the Constellation - - - - - p. 165.
 Corus; (the N. W. Wind,) - - - - - p. 202, 205.
 Corvus: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 175.
 Crater: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 175.
 Crinitus; how significant an epithet, when applied to Apollo, p. 85.—Ditto, when applied to Iôpas, p. 93.
 Crowns: Ivy-Crowns much more usual for the Roman Poets, than those of laurel, p. 132, N. 99.—Laurel-Crowns; most properly, the reward of warriors and conquerors of old, p. 149.
 Cruelty: represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
 Cupids; the usual characters of their figures, p. 70.—Very numerous, p. 69.—Two chiefs, over all the rest, *ibid.* See, Eros; and Anteros.—Cupids, under the character of Somnus, p. 264.
 Curtius; (after his deification,) - - - - - p. 233.
 Cybele, - - - - - p. 240.
 Cygnus:

Cygnus: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 167.
Cynoiura, - - - - - p. 165.

D.

Dacia, - - - - - p. 242.
Damascus; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
Dances: often used of old, in a religious way;
and as acts of devotion, p. 102, N. 99.—
Dancing of characters, and stories; used among
the antients, p. 222, N. 37.
Danube; represented personally, - - - - - p. 230.
Death; how represented, - - - - - p. 260, &c.
December; spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 193.
Delphinus: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 167.
Delator, - - - - - p. 168.
Deus; the very different signification of that
word among the Romans, from what it carries
with us, p. 2, & 62.
Diana: the distinguishing character of her per-
son, - - - - - p. 100.
Dies; spoken of, personally, p. 193. See,
Orion.
Dii Patrii; what, - - - - - p. 315, N. 39.
Diræ: see, Furies.
Discord; represented personally, p. 260, N. 26.
Diseases, spoken of, personally, p. 260, N. 23.
Diyades, - - - - - p. 246, & 250.

E.

Edessa; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
Egypt, - - - - - p. 242.
Egestas; spoken of, personally, p. 260, N. 23.
Egypt, - - - - - p. 242.
Elyfium; in what part of Aedes, - - - - - p. 259.
Enceladus, - - - - - p. 278.
Ennius, the Poet, - - - - - p. 10.
Envy; spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 261, N. 26.
Erato: her figures difficult to be distinguished;
and why, - - - - - p. 89.
Erebus: the distinct meaning of the word, p.
258, N. 4.
Eridanus; how represented, - - - - - p. 231.
Eros: one of the two chiefs, over all the other
Cupids; the cause of love, - - - - - p. 61.
Eryx; mentioned personally, - - - - - p. 248.
Esculapius, - - - - - p. 133.
Etesia; spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 206.
Eumenides: see, Furies.
Euphrates, - - - - - p. 230.
Europe; how represented, - - - - - p. 241.
Eurus: (the S. E. Wind,) p. 202, 203, & 206,
N. 37.
Euterpe: how to be distinguished from the other
Muses, - - - - - p. 89.

F.

Falshood: represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
Falx; several of the senses of that word, among
the Romans, - - - - - p. 182, N. 8.
Fama, - - - - - p. 214.

Fanus; old name of, p. 102, N. 23, & 201, N. 10.
Fata: see, Parca.

Fatum; among the Romans, signified what-
ever was spoken, i. e. decreed, by Jupiter,
p. 151, N. 70.—They had no personal re-
presentation of Fatum, as a single personage,
p. 151.

Fauns; (the rural deities of that name,) p. 253.
Felicitas; how marked out, - - - - - p. 146.
Fides; (Fidelity, or Honesty;) represented per-
sonally, p. 145.—Sola Fides; downright
Honesty, *ibid.* N. 37.

Fabrum; a peculiar sense of that word, that has
been generally overlooked, - - - - - p. 266.

Flaccus, (Valerius;) his character, p. 33.—How
much superior to Statius, where they both
treat of the same subject, - - - - - p. 75, N. 62.

Floa, p. 240.—Her Character, the Roman;—
radix, *ibid.* N. 54, & 55.—Her life.

Lucretius's procession of the Furies, p. 100.
Flumen: the Constellation, - - - - -

Formosus, and Pilius; the different ideas at-
tached to the words, p. 84, N. 2, & 3.

Fortune: see Virtus.

Fortune: long, before she was received as a
goddess among the Romans, p. 150, N. 69,
& 154, N. 80.—How her figures were dis-
tinguished, p. 155.

Fountains: see, Statues.

Fance, - - - - - p. 242.
Fulmen; the true import of the word, p. 49,
N. 10.

Fulminans, & Fulgurans; their different signi-
fications, - - - - - p. 54.

Furies: vast numbers of them, p. 271.—The
Diræ, or three chiefs over all the rest, p. 272.
—See, Alecto; Megæra; and Tisiphone.

G.

Gemini: the Constellation, - - - - - p. 174.
Gemma; the natural signification of the word,
p. 165, N. 12.

Genius: one, supposed constantly to attend each
person born into the world, p. 154.—They
were represented exactly like the persons they
attended, *ibid.*—and were consequently some
male, and some female, *ib.*—The female
genius's were called, Junones, *ib.*

Germany, - - - - - p. 242.

Geryon, - - - - - p. 267.

Ghosts: see, Souls of the departed.

Giants; the Rebel-Giants, p. 277. See, Ty-
phoeus, &c.

Glaucus; how represented, - - - - - p. 222.

Gloria: see, Honos.

Gorgon, - - - - - p. 61, 267.

Gratiæ: (or, the Three Graces,) - - - - - p. 72, 250.

Grief; spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 260.

Growing-Figures; what, - - - - - p. 214, 274.

Gyges; one of the Rebel-Giants, - - - - - p. 278.

Y y y

Hama-

- H.
- Hamadryades, - - - - - p. 251, N. 59.
- Harpies, - - - - - p. 267.
- Hebe, - - - - - p. 188.
- Hecate, the proper name of the triple Diana ;
Trivia, an accidental one, - p. 102, N. 102.
- Helice : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 165.
- Hercules ; the distinguishing character of his
figures, p. 115.—Looked on as the great
Exemplar of life, by the Greeks and Romans,
p. 114.—His Previous Labours, p. 115.—
His Twelve fated Labours, p. 117, &c. &
N. 21, ib.—His Extraordinary Labours,
p. 121, &c. & N. 38, ib.
- Hesperus, or the Evening-Star ; how distin-
guished, p. 183, 195.
- Hiems ; how represented, - - - - - p. 191.
- Hieroglyphics ; a more intelligible sort of them,
much in use among the Greek and Roman
sculptors and other artists : see, Sculptors.
- Hilaritas ; how represented, - - - - - p. 147.
- Hædi : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 169.
- Honestus ; signified, Beautiful, among the Ro-
mans ; and why, - - - - - p. 309, N. 1.
- Honesty : see, Fides.
- Honos ; how marked out, - - - - - p. 149.
- Horace ; his character, p. 21.—A conjecture re-
lating to his death, *ibid.* N. 22.
- Hours ; represented personally, - - - - - p. 195.
- Hunger : see, Fames.
- Hyades ; spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 178.
- Hydra ; sometimes represented with a human
head, and snakes growing out of it, p. 118,
N. 24 ; & 267, N. 80.
- Hydrus : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 175.
- I.
- Janus ; how distinguished, - - - - - p. 197.
- Janus ; any open place, or passage, so called by
the Romans, - - - - - p. 196, N. 123.
- Jâpetus ; one of the Rebel-Giants, - - - p. 278.
- Ida ; represented personally, - - - - - p. 247.
- Ignavia ; spoken of, personally, p. 266, N. 72.
—Represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
- Ignorance ; represented personally, p. 261, N.
26.
- Immortality : see, Hebe.
- Inachus, - - - - - p. 234.
- Indigites (Dii) - - - - - p. 315, N. 39.
- Infancy ; represented personally, - - - p. 190.
- Ingeniculatus : a Constellation, - - - p. 166.
- Iris ; how represented, - - - - - p. 213.
- Imenides, - - - - - p. 236, N. 121.
- Immenos, - - - - - p. 235.
- Italy ; represented personally, - - - - - p. 242.
- Judæa ; how represented, - - - - - p. 242.
- Judgment of Hercules : see, Choice.
- Juno ; how distinguished, among the Romans,
p. 55.—Juno Matrona, signified the same
as Juno Romana, or THE ROMAN Juno, *ibid.*
—Juno, as presiding over the air, how repre-
sented, p. 210.
- Junones ; the genius's of women so called,
among the Romans : see, Genius.
- Jupiter ; the distinguishing character of his fi-
gures, p. 46.—How represented, when con-
sidered only as the director of a planet, p. 182.
—Jupiter Pluvius, p. 210.
- Justitia : see, Æquitas.
- Juvenal ; his character, - - - - - p. 34.
- Ixion, - - - - - p. 280.
- L.
- Lætitia, or Joviality ; how marked out, p. 147.
- Lares, - - - - - p. 245.
- Laurel-Crowns : see, Crowns.
- Laurus ; used by Virgil for orange-trees, p. 311,
N. 15.
- Leo : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 169.
- Lethum ; a distinct personage, from Mors, p.
261, N. 28.—How described, p. 263.
- Libertas ; how marked out, - - - - - p. 147.
- Libra : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 170.
- Livius Andronicus ; the Poet : why called Scrip-
tor by Horace, - - - - - p. 10.
- Lucan, p. 28.—His virtues, and faults, p. 29,
&c.—Quintilian falsely inserted in the list of his
Encomiasts *ibid.* N. 5.
- Lucifer : see, Phosphorus.
- Lucilius ; the Poet, - - - - - p. 14.
- Lucretius, p. 14.—Highly complimented by Vir-
gil, *ibid.* N. 48.
- Luctus ; spoken of, personally, p. 260, N. 23.
- Luna ; the planet, - - - - - p. 184.
- Luft ; spoken of, personally, - - - p. 261, N. 26.
- Luteus ; what colour, signified by that word,
p. 194, N. 97.
- Luxury ; spoken of, personally, p. 261, N. 26.
- Lyra : the Constellation, - - - - - p. 166.
- Lyre ; one sort of Lyre called Testudo, and
why, - - - - - p. 107.
- M.
- Machinery : the true idea of its usage, among the
antients, p. 316.—and the mistakes about it,
among the moderns, p. 317, &c.
- Machines : see, Allegories.
- Mæcenas ; a very bad, affected writer, - - p. 17.
- Magnus Annus, or the Great Platonic Year ;
represented personally, - - - - - p. 189.
- Manhood ; represented personally, - - - p. 190.
- Manilius ; the Poet, - - - - - p. 24.
- Mars, p. 77.—In his planetary character, p. 183.
—The fine relieve, relating to his marriage
with Nerienè, explained, - - - - - p. 79.
- Marfyas : the whole series of his story might be
collected from different antiques, - - - p. 96.
- Martial, - - - - - p. 34.
- Medusa ; the three different characters of her
face, in the works of the ancient artists, p. 61.
- Megæra ; the Fury, - - - - - p. 277.
- Melpomenè ;

- Melpomenè; how to be distinguished from the other Muses, - - - - - p. 91.
 Mens; spoken of, personally, p. 138, N. 9.—
 Mens Bona, *ibid.* N. 11.
 Mercury; the distinguishing character of his person, p. 104.—How represented, as director of a planet, p. 184.
 Mesopotamia; represented personally, — p. 230.
 Merus; spoken of, personally, p. 260, N. 23.
 Mimas; one of the Rebel-Giants, - - - p. 278.
 Minicius; spoken of, personally, - - - p. 233.
 Minerva; the distinguishing character of her person, - - - - - p. 59.
 Minos, - - - - - p. 259, 268.
 Minotaure; how represented, - - p. 310, N. 3.
 Montfaucon; not so careful or exact as he should have been, in his Collection of Antiquities, - - - - - p. 4.
 Months; spoken of, personally, p. 193.—See, December.
 Morbi; see, Diseases.
 Morpheus, - - - - - p. 266.
 Mors, - - - - - p. 260, &c.
 Mortes, - - - - - p. 261.
 Mountains: the Genius's, of Mons Cælius in Rome, p. 246.—Of the Palatine-hill, *ibid.*—Of a hill, in the Campus Martius, *ib.*—Of the Apennines, p. 248.—Of Mount Eryx, in Sicily, *ibid.*—Of Athos, in Greece, *ib.*—Of Rhodope, in Thrace, *ib.*—Of Atlas, in Africa, p. 245.—And of Ida, Timolus, and Taurus, in Asia, p. 246.
 Mummius; instances of his remarkable ignorance, as to works of art, p. 40, N. 27.
 Mundi Harmonia; represented personally, p. 181.
 Muses: see, Calliope, &c.
 Music of the Spheres: see, Mundi Harmonia.
 N.
 Nævius; the Poet, - - - - - p. 8.
 Naiads, - - - - - p. 236.
 Naples; represented personally: see, Parthenope.
 Nature; represented personally, - - - p. 239.
 Necessitas; how marked out, - - - - p. 151.
 Nemesis, - - - - - p. 263, N. 50.
 Nephelè; a Cloud-Nymph, - - - p. 209, N. 48.
 Neptune; the distinguishing character of his person, - - - - - p. 65, & 218, N. 5.
 Neptunus; or, the descendants of Neptune, p. 217, 224.
 Nereids, - - - - - p. 217, 224.
 Neriènè; see, Mars.
 Nile; how distinguished, - - - - - p. 229.
 Nimbus: see, Nubes.
 Niobe: the fine set of figures relating to her story, in the Villa Medici; not disposed so judiciously, as they should have been, p. 98, & 99.
 Notus: see, Auster.
 Nox; spoken of, personally, - - - p. 193.
 Nubes; used for a veil, as well as Nimbus, p. 287.
 Numa; a Poet, - - - - - p. 8.
 Numicius; spoken of, personally, p. 233, N. 99.
 Nymphs: see, Auræ; Dryads; Hamadryads; Naiads; Nereids; Nephelè; Neptunus; Oceanitides; Oræades; Tiberimides, &c.
 O.
 Oblivia; spoken of, personally, p. 266, N. 72.
 Oceanitides, - - - - - p. 217, 223.
 Oceanus, - - - - - p. 217, 218, & 240, N. 12.
 Οὐρανὸς (or, the part of the earth formerly supposed to be inhabited;) represented personally, - - - - - p. 239, N. 7.
 Old-Age; represented personally, p. 190, 260.
 Ophiuchus: the Constellation, - - - p. 166.
 Optimus Maximus; the true meaning of those words, when applied to Jupiter by the Romans, - - - - - p. 49.
 Orbis; represented personally, - - - p. 241.
 Orchus; the whole subterraneous world, p. 259.
 Oræades; or, Mountain-Nymphs, p. 246, 250.
 Oriens; (or, the Civil-Day;) spoken of, personally, - - - - - p. 193.
 Orion: as a Constellation, - - - - - p. 177.
 Orpheus, - - - - - p. 281.
 Otia; spoken of, personally, - - p. 266, N. 72.
 Ovid; his Metamorphosis, the last poem that he wrote at Rome; p. 23.—And the most faulty of any he did write there, *ibid.*—His great fault, in general, *ib.* N. 31. & p. 241, N. 13.
 P.
 Pacuvius; the Poet, - - - - - p. 13.
 Pætus; what idea was annexed to that word, among the Romans, - - - p. 68, N. 14.
 Painters: some good subjects recommended to our modern painters, from descriptions in the old poets.—The manner of representing the Venus Anaduomenè, p. 220, N. 17.—Aurora, setting out, p. 194.—Driving away Nox and Somnus, p. 195.—Cerberus; dragged by Hercules, into the light, p. 269.—The Destinies, p. 153, N. 75.—The Furies; in general, p. 271, & 273, &c.—The Garden, of Flora, p. 72, 250.—Love, and the Graces; sprinkling flowers over a new married couple, p. 72.—Megæra, tormenting the Lapithæ, p. 277.—Nature; looking on Jupiter, for aid, p. 240.—Piety; wiping away the tears from the face of a good man, p. 145.—Scipio; preferring Virtue to Pleasure, p. 142.—Procession of the Seasons, p. 192.—Somnus; in four compartments; and with a very well-chosen companion, in each, p. 265.—Tisiphonè, pursuing Iô, and vanquished by the genius of the Nile, p. 275.—Vengeance, embracing Death, p. 263.—The Genius of the South-Wind, p. 203, 204. The Genius of the North-Wind.

Wind, p. 205, N. 24. The four chief Deities of the Winds, how fit to contrast and set off one another, p. 205.

Painting: see, Poetry.

Palatinus, (Apollo:) see, Apollo Aëlius.

Pan, ----- p. 254

Panes: see, Satyrs.

Parcæ; how represented, ----- p. 152.

Parthenope, ----- p. 244, N. 30.

Party-rage; represented personally, p. 260, N. 26.

Pater, used for a governor; from the old patriarchal form of government, p. 52. 128. & 217, N. 1.

Pax; how represented,—p. 148; & 310, N. 3.

Pegasus: the Constellation, ----- p. 167.

Penates; the Great Penates, p. 58, N. 53; and the Lefs, p. 245.

Peneus, ----- p. 234.

Perfidy; spoken of, personally, p. 261, N. 26.

Pergamus; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.

Perseus; as a Constellation, ----- p. 168.

Perfius, the Poet, ----- p. 31.

Phædrus, the Poet, ----- p. 24.

Phantasos, ----- p. 266.

Philosophia; the character of her person, p. 137, N. 2.

Phobætor, ----- p. 266.

Phosphorus, or, the Morning-Star, ----- p. 194.

Pietas; or Devotion: her distinguishing character, p. 144.—As Filial Piety; (or, Duty to parents) p. 145.—As Parental Piety; (or, Tenderness to children,) *ibid.*

Pices: the Constellation, ----- p. 172.

Planets: see, Sol, &c.—Machines to shew their different motions, mentioned by several of the ancient writers, p. 180.—A very noble idea for one; in Valerius Flaccus, *ibid.* N. 122.

Plautus, ----- p. 11.

Pleiades, ----- p. 178.

Pluto, ----- p. 282.

Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture; their comparative powers, p. 67.—Advantages of Poetry, over each of the other, p. 67. 214. & 221.

Poetry. The rise of it among the Romans, p. 7, &c. Introduced for the service of religion,

p. 8. This, one reason why most of their first poets dealt so much in dramatic poetry,

p. 14. What remains to us of all the writings of the Roman poets of the first age,

p. 15. The character of these old Poets balanced; from what Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian say of them, p. 16.—The flourishing state of Poetry among the Romans; or, the Augustan age, p. 17, &c. The highest excellence the Roman Poets ever attained to,

was to be good copiers of the Greek, p. 22, 23. Dramatic Poetry not so high in the Augustan age, as in the age before, p. 23. What remains to us of the poetical writings of the

Augustan age, p. 25.—The third age; or, the Fall of Poetry among the Romans, p. 28, &c.

What remains to us of the poetical writers of this age, p. 28. 32. & 34.—The comparative character of all the three ages, p. 35.—

For the particular characters of all the Roman Poets of these three ages, who have written any thing that remains to us; see, Livius, Nævius, &c. each under his proper article.—

Their comparative character; as to exactness, and knowledge of the arts, p. 44.—The Roman poets had a more credible, and a less credible set of stories; and the marks, by which they used to distinguish the latter from the former, p. 60, N. 62. & p. 82, N. 84.—Sirocks in them probably taken from some old paintings, or relievos, that are lost to us, p. 55. 81. 84, N. 4. 96. 105, N. 120. 120, 191, 204, 214, 222, & 229.

Pollux: see, Castor.

Polyhymnia; her figures difficult to be distinguished, and why, ----- p. 89.

Pomona, ----- p. 251.

Porphyrio; one of the Rebel-Giants, p. 278.

Priapus, ----- p. 252.

Procyon: the Constellation, ----- p. 177.

Propertius; the Poet, ----- p. 22.

Proserpine, ----- p. 283.

Proteus, ----- p. 221.

Providentia, or Divine Providence; how marked out, ----- p. 150.

Providentia, or Human Prudence; see, Prudentia.

Prudentia; how marked out, ----- p. 138.

Psyche; (or, the Soul,) p. 71.—Several Psyches, *ibid.*

Pudicitia; how represented, ----- p. 146.

Pulvis; used by the Romans, to signify a Circus: in the same manner, as Arena was used by them to signify an amphitheater, p. 121, N. 42.

Q.

Quies; spoken of, personally,—p. 266, N. 72.

Quirinus; the character of his person,—p. 133.

R.

Rage: see, Party.

Religion: occasional hints at some few of the resemblances, between that which was professed of old, at Rome; and that, which is practised there now.—In their mutual receiving of legends, and strange stories, for sacred truths, p. 198, N. 132.—In making saints of old women, &c. p. 281, N. 192.—In the doctrine of Erebus, among the ancient Romans; and that of Purgatory, among the modern, p. 258.—In the latter's making the same honours and characters concenter in the B. Virgin; which were attributed by the former to Juno, Diana, and Cybele, &c.

p. 240, N. 10.—In their devotional pomps and processions, p. 156, & 192. In offering up their devotions to old trees, p. 252, N. 59. In paying more worship to the statues of the very same person under one character, than under another; and in one place, rather than another, p. 48, N. 8. and, p. 234, N. 107. In their priests making the statues they worshipped, play tricks with their worshippers, p. 60. 155.

Repentance; represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.

Rhadamanthus, - - - - - p. 259.

Rhæcus; one of the Rebel-Giants, - - p. 278.

Rhamnusia, - - - - - p. 263, N. 49, & 50.

Rhine; represented personally, - - - - p. 231.

Rhodope; see, Mountains.

Robigo; spoken of, personally, - - - p. 253.

Rome; how represented, - - - - - p. 243.

Romulus; see, Quirinus.

Rubigus; spoken of, personally, - - - ib. N. 69.

S.

Sabinus, - - - - - p. 311, N. 17.

Secula; spoken of, personally, - - - p. 189.

Sagitta; the Constellation, - - - - - p. 167.

Salus; how marked out, - - - - - p. 146.

Sapientia, the original name for Philosophy, among the Romans, p. 131, N. 1. See, Philolopia.

Saturn; as presiding over a planet, p. 181.—As the God of Time, p. 182.

Satyr, - - - - - p. 254.

Scamander, - - - - - p. 247.

Sceptrum; the true idea annexed to that word, of old, - - - - - p. 51.

Scorpius; the Constellation, - - - - - p. 171.

Sculptors. The Greek and Roman artists, and their sculptors in particular, practised a sort of Rational Hieroglyphics; or in other words, had a method of expressing their sentiments, by the figures of things: whether animate, inanimate, or imaginary, p. 71.—Thus they expressed ACTIVITY, or inclination for action; by the short dress, of the person represented, p. 244.—The CERTAINTY of events; by one of the vast nails, or pins, used by them to fasten the beams in their strongest buildings, p. 151, and, Uncertainty; by wings, p. 310, N. 3.—The CHARACTERS of persons: sometimes, by the attitudes of their figures, p. 50, 69, 155, 240, & 268, and sometimes, either by the materials employed, or the colours of them, p. 53, 152, 229, & 264.—The STINGS of CONSCIENCE; by the serpents, in the hands of the furies, p. 280, N. 189.—DEFENCE; by a club, p. 154.—The DIGNITY of a person; by long robes, p. 103.—The Roman EMPERORS called the Hope, the Joy, the Security, &c. of their Subjects; by having the figures of

Spes, Lætitia, or Securitas; on the reverse of their medals, p. 260. Ditto, called Gods; by giving them either the resemblance, or the attributes of such and such deities, p. 62, & 156.—EQUALITY, of Day and Night; signified by a balance, held even, p. 171.—ETERNITY; by several very clear emblems; and among the rest, by that of a Serpent, placed circularly, and holding his tail in his mouth, p. 188.—The FIERCENESS of any person's temper; by his having a Lion, at his feet, p. 79.—GAIN; any opportunity of making it, not to be deferred: by Mercury offering a purse, and ready to fly away, p. 108.—Golden-Age; the restoration of it: by the Genius of the Great Platonic Year, p. 189.—The Hereditary-Right of the Julian family: by Romulus's Sacerdotal Scepter, on the medals of Julius Cæsar, p. 134, N. 111.—HONESTY, or openness of behaviour; by the transparency of the robes, on the goddess Fides, p. 145.—HOPE; by a bud, just opening, p. 147.—The thoughtfulness, and idleness, of LOVE; by representing their Cupids under the figures of children, playing, p. 70.—The power of Love, over the human soul; by Cupids caressing, or tormenting Psyche, p. 71. Ditto, by their playing with butterflies, or torturing them, *ibid.*—That Love harmonizes and softens men of the roughest tempers; by Cupid with a lyre in his hand, and riding on a lion, who seems quite tame, and pleased with listening to him, *ibid.*—That Love subdues the greatest warriors; by Hercules, bending under a little Cupid, p. 126.—That it weakens and effeminates them: by Cupid, stealing away the club of Hercules; and by that hero's dressing himself in his mistress's clothes, p. 127.—The power of Love over all living creatures; or over all the elements: by Cupids, sometimes riding on a lion; sometimes, on a dolphin; sometimes in a car, drawn by butterflies; and sometimes, breaking the fiery bolt of Jove, p. 71.—The MILDNESS of any one's temper; by placing a young (lamb, or) kid, at their feet, p. 79.—That NATURE produces, and nourishes all things; by the emblems of each element, and the number of breasts they gave to the figures of that goddess, p. 239.—The PERSONS of their gods; by their attributes, or things consecrated to them, p. 58, N. 51.—The PIETY of any persons; by their having an altar by them, or their sacrificing upon it, p. 154.—PLENTY; by Amalthea's horn, p. 143.—A prince's being the PRESERVER of his people; by an oaken-crown, p. 233.—The firmness of a PROMISE; by two hands joined, p. 146.—PROVIDENCE; by a globe, suspended in the air, p. 150.—An entire SENTENCE; (to

Z z z z

WIT,

- wit; That "Augustus Cæsar, was born, to govern the world;" clearly and distinctly expressed by the figures on a medal, p. 172.—The power of SLEEP; by the figures of that deity, resting on a lion, p. 264.—TIME, in general; the swiftness, or slowness of it; by Saturn's wings, or fetters, p. 182.—The particular TIME of year; by the Zodiac on gems, and Phœbus's head coinciding with such a part of it, p. 187, N. 45.—A VIRTUOUS life; its difficulties: by steep ascent up a craggy mountain, p. 140.—The UNIVERSAL MONARCHY, of the Romans: by the Genius of Rome, either oppressing, or raising up the Genius's of the different nations, round about them, p. 243.—Ditto; by globe, under the foot of the goddess of Fortitude, p. 139.—By the Genius of Rome, holding the globe of the world in her hand, p. 242.—By the Genius of Italy, sitting on the globe of the heavens, *ibid.*—The particular WISDOM of any action; by representing the goddess of Wisdom, as present at the execution of it, p. 122.
- Sculpture: see, Poetry.
- Scylla; how represented, - - - - - p. 249.
- Seasons; the four Seasons of the year: see, Ver, &c.
- Security; represented personally, - - - p. 147.
- Segesta; spoken of, personally, p. 244, N. 31, & 32.
- Seia; ditto, *ibid.*
- Seneca, (L. Annæus:) see, Tragedies.
- Septentrio: see, Boreas.
- Sidon; represented personally, - - p. 245, N. 33.
- Silentia; spoken of, personally, p. 266, N. 72.
- Silius Italicus; his character, - - - p. 32, & 44.
- Silvium; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
- Simois, - - - - - p. 247.
- Sinus; sometimes used by the Roman writers, for the drapery of figures, - - p. 203, N. 12.
- Sirens; how represented, of old, - p. 302, N. 7.
- Sirius: see, Canicula.
- Sisyphus, - - - - - p. 279.
- Sloth; represented personally: see, Ignavia.
- Smyrna; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
- Sol; as a planet, - - - - - p. 185.
- Solanus; the E. Wind, - - - - - p. 202.
- Solus; the meaning of the word when applied to Fides, or Innocentia, - - - p. 145, N. 37.
- Somnia; spoken of, personally, p. 266, N. 74.
- Somnus; represented personally, - - - p. 264.
- Soul: see, Psyche.
- Souls, of the departed; represented personally, p. 267, & 271.
- Spain; represented personally, - - - p. 242.
- Sparta; represented personally, - - p. 245, N. 33.
- Spes; how marked out, - - - - - p. 147.
- Stars: see, Arcturus, &c.
- Statius; the Poet, p. 32.—Juvenal; falsely inserted in the list of his Encomiasts, p. 33, N. 33.
- Statuaries: see, Sculptors.
- Statues; good subjects, for fountain-statues.
- Venus, in her shell, p. 220.—The transformation of Acis, p. 235.—The Genius of mount Atlas, p. 246.
- Suspicion; represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
- Sylphs: see, Auræ.
- Sylvanus - - - - - p. 253.
- T.
- Tantalus, - - - - - p. 279.
- Tarus; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
- Tartarus; what part of Ader, - - - p. 259.
- Taurus; the Constellation, - - - - - p. 173.
- Taurus; the mountain: represented personally, p. 256.
- Tellus, - - - - - p. 240.
- Tempe; used by the Romans for any very pleasant vale, as well as that in Thessaly, p. 116.
- Temperantia, - - - - - p. 143.
- Tempests, and Bad Weather; deified among the Romans, - - - p. 209, N. 49, & 51.
- Terence, p. 11.—The surprising elegance of his stile, considering the time he lived in, p. 12.—Owns his having been assisted by Scipio and Lælius, *ibid.* N. 36.
- Terpichore; her figures difficult to be distinguished, and why, - - - - - p. 89.
- Testudo: see, Lyre.
- Tethys, - - - - - p. 217, 218.
- Thalia; how to be distinguished from the other Muses, - - - - - p. 89.
- Theology, of the Romans. They used the word Deus, in a very different manner from what we do the word God, p. 2.—They applied that name to any intelligent being, which they looked upon as more powerful than man, *ibid.* But held there was but one God, in our sense of the word, p. 47, N. 4, *see*, p. 176.—They held, that every thing in the moral as well as the natural world, was produced and actuated by the will and influence of the supreme Being, p. 47, N. 4, & 316, N. 47.—They supposed an infinity of nominal deities, as deputies and assistants under him, p. 47, but own, that this was only a supposition; and that it was intirely owing to their own ignorance and weakness, p. 2, N. 1.—In this view, they admitted of bad gods, as well as good, p. 2, N. 1, 260, N. 26, 272, N. 113, & 276, N. 162. And flocked heaven and hell, and each of the elements, with one or other of them, p. 2, 47, &c. 479, N. 118, 208, 217, 239, & 258, &c.—Out of all this variety of supposed gods, they set up twelve, as chiefs over all the others, p. 46, N. 2.—Distinguished three even among those twelve, as much superior to the rest, p. 57, &c. N. 49, &c. *ibid.*—And speak of these three, as equal in power; and as one and the same

- fame being, p. 63, & 64; & N. 80, & 81, ib.—They also believed the immortality of the soul, p. 152. 190.—They supposed fix of their chief heroes to have been received into the highest heavens, p. 113, &c. Several other heroes, &c. to have been received among the stars, p. 179, N. 116. and that the souls of all other people were conveyed into a general receptacle, appointed for them underground; where they were either rewarded, or punished, according to the merit or demerit of their actions in this life, p. 259, N. 16, 268, N. 91. 270, N. 104. & 283, N. 106. See, Religion.
- Thetis, ----- p. 223.
- Tiber; represented personally, ----- p. 227.
- Tiberinides, ----- p. 236, N. 121.
- Tibullus; his character, ----- p. 22.
- Tigris; represented personally, ----- p. 230.
- Time: see, Saturn.
- Timolus; represented personally, ----- p. 248.
- Tisiphone, ----- p. 273.
- Titius, ----- p. 278.
- Timolus: see, Timolus.
- Tragedies; (the collection of Latin tragedies, published under the name of L. Annæus Seneca.) ----- p. 34.
- Tranquillitas, (or Serenity of mind,) how represented, ----- p. 147.
- Tranquillitas; a goddess, presiding over fair weather, ----- p. 209, N. 50.
- Treachery; represented personally, p. 261, N. 26.
- Triton, ----- p. 221.
- Trivia: see, Hecate.
- Truth; represented personally, ----- p. 261, N. 26.
- Tyana; represented personally, p. 245, N. 33.
- Typhceus, ----- p. 278.
- Typhon, ----- p. 278.
- Tyre; represented personally, ----- p. 245, N. 33.
- U.
- Vates: some old prose-writers among the Romans, so called; and their character, p. 9. See, Carmina.
- Venus, p. 66.—The Venus of Medici: several of the beauties of that figure, p. 66, & 67. Always injur'd, by any copy; and, particularly, by all the prints of it, *ibid.*—Venus; as the goddess of Jealousy: how described, p. 74, &c.—The Venus Anadumene, p. 219, &c.—Venus; as presiding over a planet, p. 183. See, Hesperus, and Phosphorus.
- Ver, ----- p. 191.
- Vertumnus, ----- p. 252.
- Vesta: not certain, that there were any figures of this goddess, among the Romans, p. 81, & 82; & N. 83, & 84. *Ibid.*
- Victoria; how marked out, ----- p. 149.
- Virgil, p. 17, &c. ----- Horace's character of his pastoral poems, p. 17, N. 2.—His Georgics, falsely accused by Seneca, p. 18, N. 3.—The political crime of his *Æneid*, p. 18. The poetical excellencies of it, p. 20, & 21.—His great and fine imagination, in describing the appearance and actions of their deities, p. 20, N. 16; & p. 65, N. 5.—His judgement, in omitting such circumstances in his imitations of Homer, as would have clashed with the taste and customs of the Romans, p. 53, & 210.
- Virgil: the famous MS Virgil in the Vatican, with pictures; of wharage, p. 105; N. 121.
- Virgo; the Constellation, ----- p. 169.
- Virtus; the idea annexed to that word, among the old Romans, p. 109, & 139.—How represented, p. 139, & 140.
- Vulcan; sometimes applied to the imaginary beings only to signify that they were represented with wings, p. 264, N. 59; & 265, N. 66.
- Urania; how to be distinguished from the other Muses, ----- p. 91.
- Urna; Sic proluir urna; a proverbial expression, among the Romans, p. 172, N. 69.
- Ursa Major: see, Helice.
- Ursa Minor: see, Cynosura.
- Vulcan; his low character, p. 80, & 81.
- Vulturnus; one of the Northerly Winds, p. 202, N. 4.—Spoken of personally, p. 206, N. 38.
- Vulturnus; the River-god, ----- p. 233.
- W.
- Want; spoken of, personally, ----- p. 260.
- Water-deities; those of the Sea, p. 217. Those of the Rivers, p. 227, &c.—Habitations, for the former, p. 186, N. 43; & p. 225, N. 55, &c.—Habitations, for the latter, p. 226, N. 61.
- Weather: Bad Weather; see, Tempests.—Fair Weather; see, Tranquillitas.
- Winds: the three divisions of them; and which most in use, among the Romans, p. 202, N. 4.—How represented, on the famous temple of the Winds at Athens, p. 202.—How described, among the Romans: see, Auster, &c.
- Y.
- Years; spoken of, personally, p. 190. See, Annus.
- Youth; represented personally, ----- p. 190.
- Z.
- Zephyrus; (the W. Wind,) p. 202.—Walking before Ver, in the procession of the Seasons, p. 192.—Several Zephyri, of an inferior order, p. 204.
- Zethes, ----- p. 208, N. 47

DIRECTIONS for the Binder.

Place the Author's Head, facing the Title-page.

Plate, N ^o	Dial.	Page
1, 2, 3, & 4. - - - - -	after 6 - - - - -	facing, 64.
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, & 10. - - - - -	7 - - - - -	82.
11, 12, 13, 14, & 15. - - - - -	8 - - - - -	112.
16, 17, 18, 19, & 20. - - - - -	9 - - - - -	136.
21, 22, & 23. - - - - -	10 - - - - -	162.
24, & 25. - - - - -	11 - - - - -	180.
26, & 27. - - - - -	12 - - - - -	200.
28, & 29. - - - - -	13 - - - - -	216.
30, & 31. - - - - -	14 - - - - -	238.
32, 33, 34, & 35. - - - - -	15 - - - - -	256.
36, 37, 38, 39, 40, & 41. - - - - -	16 - - - - -	284.

Plate 9, 18, 24, & 34; to be done with guards.



se for the coin itself, and correspond
the owner's name on a gem than to the ar
owner's name was, without doubt, offer
ed on a gem, sometimes probably in
native, often in the genitive; and usual
ly in large characters. It is where
s in the nominative or genitive occurs in small
in such a manner as to be part of the original
gn that critics have recognized in it the artist's
ature; in the latter form we have ventured to
that the genitive name may indicate a copy
the known work of some great master of earlier
t. Mr. King seems to admit a somewhat similar
uation in the case of cameos. The genitive
oins may equally imply that they were copies
e by the artisans of the Mint from an original
one noted die-designer.

us the name ETAINETOY occurs on coins
well as of Catana as of Syracuse, and may
been that of a master die-sinker employed
both these wealthy and neighbouring cities.
ugh has been said to show that the so-called
t's signature on gems present as curious a
le as ever archaeologist or critic set himself to
vel, while the forgeries of the last century, and
bly even of far remoter times, only serve to
e the confusion worse confounded.

r. King's volume is illustrated by engravings
wood by Mr. Utting, and by some copper
as by Salandri. The former clever, but,
aps, too bold for the rendering of delicate
entious on a gem, the latter excellent
point of delicacy and truth. One may wish
e had represented the great gems in Euro
t cabinets. Of these, unfortunately, but a few
given, the great majority being taken from the
resting little collection belonging to Mr. King
self, a collection, however, by no means calcu
l for the illustration of a *Handbook of En
ed Gems* in general. We close Mr. King's
ic with some regret at having to allude to ex
agances or inaccuracies in it; but these are, for
ers to whom critical accuracy is not of value,
s than counterbalanced by its thoroughly read
character, and by the great store of information
l sorts that it contains.



SPECIAL 85-B
OVERSIZE 5925

